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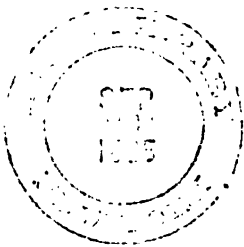
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## PREFACE.

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After THE JOURNAL OF SACRED LITERATURE had extended to fourteen volumes, in two series of seven volumes each, circumstances rendered it desirable to begin the present volume on an entirely new basis. The property came into the hands of the present Editor, and, greatly to his gratification and encouragement, he at once received a very large addition to the number of the subscribers. Most of the gentlemen who thus took an interest in the work, did so for the first time, and consequently had not the back volumes. Had these been accessible, no difficulty would have occurred; but, as not one complete set is obtainable, it became necessary, in justice to so many supporters, to commence another series; so that, without inflicting injury or inconvenience on old friends, the new ones might have the work they patronize in some completeness. It is hoped that this arrangement will satisfy all parties, as we do not conceive any valid objection can exist against it.

The title has been a little altered on the following grounds. Ever since the JOURNAL commenced, while *principally* devoted to Biblical learning, it has never been entirely so, but has admitted as many subjects as the term *Sacred Literature* would legitimately include, without touching on disputed ecclesiastical matters. Yet this plan has not been recognized by all before whom the work has come; and they have thought that papers on Church History, and kindred subjects, have been out of place.



The new title will clearly convey the scope of the JOURNAL, and tend to prevent this misapprehension in future. No internal alteration is contemplated, except to give increased attention to every department, so as to make the work worthy of the continued and enlarged support of the religious and learned world. Former obstacles are now removed, and the Editor is enabled to give his best energies to a publication which he hopes is destined to be still highly useful in the cause of Sacred Literature and Biblical Science.

Grafton Square, Clapham.  
March 22, 1855.

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**BUNSEN'S CHRISTIANITY AND MANKIND.\***

It is an evil incident to extensive mental productions that they are apt either to be unnoticed by the public press, or reviewed in a very cursory and inefficient manner. Such would probably be the fate of the work before us, both on account of its voluminousness and its recondite character. To *read* it alone would occupy a large portion of time—to *study* it, still more—and to write upon it is a task requiring more qualifications than ordinarily fall to one man. Fortunately, it is divided into portions, containing treatises bound together by no close logical tie. We propose, therefore, to attend to the first portion, entitled, *Hippolytus and his Age, or the Beginnings and Prospects of Christianity*, prefacing, however, our remarks by a short description of the whole work.

This whole production is an accretion of materials around the well-known work of Chevalier Bunsen, *Hippolytus and his Age*, published a few years since. That acquired great popularity on various grounds—archæological, religious, and economical, for it was comprised in four moderate volumes. The author says, in the present preface :—

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\* *Christianity and Mankind, their Beginnings and Prospects.* By Christian Charles Josias Bunsen, D.D., D.C.L., D. Ph. In Seven Volumes. London : Longmans. 1854.

"I hope that this treatment of the subject, imperfect and unequal as it is, justifies the words of the title, *The Beginnings and Prospects of Christianity*. But it is impossible to conceal from oneself that pictures of bygone historical characters and ages cannot prove all they assert and represent. Such compositions are buildings erected upon a substruction, both philosophical and philological, to which a few detached essays and notes cannot do justice. The present volumes, therefore, appear flanked by two other works. The first presents, in two parts, a key to the philosophical, historical, and theological views which pervade *Hippolytus and his Age*. It bears the title, *Sketch of the Philosophy of Language and of Religion, or the Beginnings and Prospects of the Human Race*. This sketch comprises the aphorisms of the second volume of the first edition, better digested and marked out so as to form an integral part of a philosophical glance at the primordial history of our race with regard to the principle of development and of progress. The second substruction, the philological, is also presented as a separate work, and forms three volumes. The remains of Antenicene documents constitute three sections, none of which have hitherto been given in a complete and satisfactory manner—the literary remains, the constitutional documents, and the liturgical records."

Even this slight description furnished by the author gives an idea of breadth and fulness, but it falls far short of conveying an adequate view of the multifarious learning and valuable matter contained in the work.

The first volume begins with a review of the "Seven Generations of the Apostolic Age and their Representatives," which are as follows:—*First*, the age of St. Peter and St. Paul; *second*, the Johannean age, including the Epistle of Barnabas; *third*, the age of Ignatius and Basilides, with notices of the "Problem of the Trinity" and "Problem of the Origin of Evil;" *fourth*, the age of Valentinus and Marcion, and the author of the Epistle to Diognetus, Polycarp of Smyrna, and Justin Martyr, including also the Shepherd of Hermas; *fifth*, the age of Pantænus and Clemens, of Irenæus, and of Victor and Tertullian; *sixth*, the age of Hippolytus; *seventh*, the age of Origen. It will be readily seen, especially by those who know anything of the character of the mind of the learned author, what fruitful themes these may become in his hands, and how many novel and startling opinions may be hung on the seven-linked chain thus furnished to his erudition and fancy. Apart from some weighty objections which will be afterwards stated, we have read this portion with deep interest and, we hope, great improvement. The very grouping together of the acting agents and documentary records of these several epochs is highly suggestive, and tends to rescue those primitive ages from the mistiness and uncertainty which too often hang over them. The volume concludes with the five

letters to Archdeacon Hare, on the *Life and Works of Hippolytus*, and some essays on his doctrines.

The second volume cannot be opened without awakening a deep interest in the minds of all who love Christian antiquity, or who, in other words, attach importance to the early ages of the Church. Its contents are thus epitomized in the introduction:—

“The first part presents the documents of early Christianity, in which the common consciousness and the Christian life of that age are authentically recorded. They are the picture; their interpretation and application are attempted in the second part. Such being its object, it, first of all, lays before us the picture itself, in an explanatory form. It, secondly, reflects in that picture the present time, connected with it through the history of fifteen centuries. Lastly, it endeavours to deduce from it a practical application for the reform of our present state. Of the subjects which come thus under our consideration, there is one which unites the two elements, the community-life and theology—namely, the liturgies of the Ancient Church. I have excluded from the general text-books of Ancient Christianity all liturgical formularies which contain extraneous matter not common to all Ancient Churches, and, consequently, to all the liturgies transmitted to us. The object of the first part of the picture is to restore the authentic texts of the *Church and House-Book of the Early Christians*, and of the *Law-Book of the Antenicene Church*. The first we exhibit rescued by our researches from the rubbish in which it was enveloped for centuries, and disencumbered of the fraud and misunderstanding by which it was defaced. The second, the Law-Book, we have been enabled to present in its more original text, under the guidance of the Coptic collection. They are both mere single leaves rescued from the flood of time; the legacies of seven generations, who wrote, with their own blood, the annals of the life of their hidden community, so important to universal history. In spite of the fictitious form which disguises their real contents, they exhibit the venerable picture of that primitive age in a recognizable and intelligible shape. They are essentially a childlike appendix to the New Testament, and, at the same time, an independent test of its truth, as being the fulfilment of what the Gospel promises. For here we find, on the one hand, a continuation of the ordinances of the apostles, as given in their canonical epistles; on the other, the advice which the three great apostles and the brother of our Lord had communicated in their canonical writings, applied, in the apostolic spirit, to the wants of the Church, and of the human race renovated in that Church. These little significant books, then, as a whole, represent nothing less than the framework of the new world, which was to arise out of the spirit, life, and death of Christ, and out of the exhortations of His apostles—that is to say, the world-renewing Christian society, or the Universal Church. The revelation given to us by Christ had no other historical basis than in what the Bible records. The actual historical proof, however, of the truth of the Biblical revelation lies only in the Church. The Church, again, is in an eminent sense that primitive congregation whose quiet and exalted working in the first seven generations these leaves authenticate.”

What pregnant words are these, as indicating the treasures furnished by the author for the use of earnest students of Church history ! What Bunsen calls the *Church-and House-Book* and *Law-Book* of the Antenicene Church are, severally, the Apostolic Constitutions and Apostolic Canons, which, after being raised too high or sunk too low by partizanship in various ages, receive here their due authority and meed of praise. We cannot agree with the author when he says of the former, that it is "a book recording that Christian wisdom and piety inspired by the Holy Ghost," unless he merely means that it reflects the state of mind which early inspiration formed and left behind it. Still, these works must take a high place from their acknowledged antiquity and their general excellence. The English translation of these documents occupies only a hundred pages of this volume ; their interpretation and application extend much further. To these follow the imaginary apology of Hippolytus, which has already excited so much various criticism ; and the volume concludes with "Essays on the Christian Sacrifice and Worship, and on the constitution of the Ancient Church." We have only indicated the grand outlines of these two first volumes ; for, in introduction, notes, and appendices, they give a vast deal more than our design leads us to describe. They alone form a work worthy of careful study, and will well repay it, amidst constant dissent on the part of the reader to the author's peculiarities of opinion.

Volumes three and four are entitled, *Outlines of the Philosophy of Universal History, applied to Language and Religion*. These are recondite to a degree which will recommend them only to a very select circle of readers, and we will only point out their general contents. The first part treats of the "Nature and Principle of Development in Language," and includes the linguistic and ethnological results of the most recent Iranian, Semitic, and Chamitic researches of historical philology ; and the last results of the researches respecting the non-Iranian and non-Semitic languages, and Asia and Europe, or the Turanian family of language. The substance of these papers is communicated by Dr. Aufrecht, Professor Max Müller, and Bunsen himself, and the whole is intensely curious. The second part gives the "General Results of the Historical Analysis of the Languages of Asia and Europe," under the following heads :—the phenomenology of language, or the vestiges of its formation, development, and decay ; the speculative elements, or the inductive method for finding the origin of language and the law of development ; the application of facts and theory combined to the problem of the unity of the human race. The remainder of the fourth volume

then treats of the "Nature and Principle of Development in Religion," in the following sections:—the philosophical basis of the principle of development; the historical or philosophical basis of the principle of development in religion generally; Christ's social religion, his own declarations respecting his relation to God and mankind, and the teaching of the apostles on this point; the principle of development in the post-apostolical phases of Christianity. Here perhaps, more than anywhere else, the subjective tendency of the author is displayed, leading him into the attractive, but dangerous, wilds of speculation, remote from the well-trodden and more homely paths of historic reality. This philological section of the work is illustrated by many engravings of alphabets and characters; and in an appendix there is a full account of "the universal alphabet, and the conferences attending it, held at the residence of Chevalier Bunsen, in January, 1854."

We come now to what must be regarded as the most substantially valuable portion of the work—three volumes of *Analecta Ante-Nicæna, Collegit Resensuit Illustravit C. C. J. Bunsen, &c.* Vol. I. contains *Reliquiæ Literariæ*, including all passages in the New Testament and in the early writers which are thought by the author to refer to Church life. We cannot give a complete list, but may mention what are called *Loci Christologici Novi Testamenti*, extracted from the Gospels and Epistles; *Dicta Christi ἀπαφα*; and, what will be found a most daring instance of subjective criticism, *Petri Apostoli Epistola Prior Restituta*—i. e., eighteen verses only of the first chapter, and the doxology in verse 18 of the third. The Ignatian Epistles are given according to the Syriac abridged form. Fragments of Basilides and Valentinus, a fragment of Marcion, and the Epistle of Diognetus follow; then a fragment of Hegesippus concerning the canon of the New Testament; then, *Clementis Hypotyposeon Librorum Octo quæ supersunt*, and, finally, *Ex Hippolyti libris Refutationis omnium Hæresium Electa*. These are all valuable documents, but those of the second volume, *Reliquiæ Canonicae*, will probably be thought more so. The whole volume is occupied with the apostolical canons and constitutions, their text, as existing in fuller or briefer forms, being given. The third volume, or the seventh of the whole work, has the title, *Reliquiæ Liturgicæ: cum Appendicibus ad tria analectorum Volumina*. It contains an outline of the history of the liturgies; the liturgy of the second century, the precatory prayer as used in the time of Origen, and the liturgy of Alexandria in the fourth century; the liturgy of St. James; the sacramental liturgy of the Church of Constantinople, of the African Church, and of Rome. All these

documents are given with notes and illustrations, which, apart from the mere opinions of the writer, throw great light on the general subject.

Such is the view given us by a rapid circuit of what we may call this *moles* of literature, though certainly it is not *rudis indigestaque*. There is indeed a want of close coherence of the grand divisions, although each separate part is connected enough, and well worked out. Let us now descend to particulars, and endeavour to give some more definite idea of the first two volumes, treating of the beginnings and prospects of Christianity.

The key to Chevalier Bunsen's opinions, as expressed in these volumes, is a dissatisfaction with the existing phases of Christian life, and an endeavour to bring to bear upon them some well-grounded plan of reform. This indisposition to take things as they are, and to make the best of them, is of course grounded more deeply in peculiarities of mental character, partly national, partly the result of study and association; but the proximate cause of the production of these volumes, is, we think, what we have stated. Too experienced in the ways of men, and in the stubborn nature of old established institutions to expect much benefit from mere utilitarian views of ecclesiastical improvement, the character of his mind has rather led him to seek it in antiquity,—to gather in the remote past causes and reasons for altering and modifying the present. The discovery of the work now generally admitted to be by Hippolytus, gave an admirable occasion for following out this tendency. The discrepancies between the opinions and practices of the second and third centuries and our own times, were seized upon as proving our present degenerate condition. The former period was comparatively perfect—the latter exceedingly faulty: what better could be recommended to us than to return to the old paths, and correct our errors by the light of the past?

All this seems pleasing and feasible until we more minutely inspect that which is old. We then find that “’tis distance gives enchantment to the view.” The actual state of a community fifteen hundred years ago is gathered with difficulty from a pretty extensive literature; how much is the task impeded when the written monuments are scanty and imperfect. It is easy indeed to construct theories on few premises, as we think Bunsen has done; but there is a vast difference between the exactness with which this may be done in physics, and the same process in moral questions. A single bone may be enough to enable a Cuvier to build up a megatherium the like of which no museum ever saw, because there is a fixedness and certainty in the works

of God, and a series of mechanical relations which may be confidently relied upon. But it is a very different thing to argue from one or two works of early Christian writers to the whole state of society at the time they flourished. Yet something like this has been done by the accomplished author before us. He has studied Hippolytus till he finds, as he imagines, the marks and evidences of a state of Christian society more apostolic, and more scriptural. It may be so; but all minds cannot thus extract so much out of a little. Much may be said on the other side of the question, and it would not be difficult to shew that so far from the former times being better than these, we really have the advantage over them.

But we will leave these matters of Church history, and confine ourselves to the more biblical and exegetical portions of the two first volumes. Here we have serious fault to find with the author as to his method of interpretation, which, as far as we can understand it, is utterly without foundation, we had almost said rhapsodical and wild. We say, as far as we can understand it, for, like many learned men of his nation, the Chevalier does not always express himself so as to enable us to grasp a clear meaning as attaching to his expressions. Is it a peculiar characteristic of mind in us or in him, and so many of his contemporaries, which makes us unable to derive information from their mental productions? If German writers of the class we are now speaking of *do* convey a plain meaning to one another, then it follows that we are obtuse, and want an organ which they fortunately possess. Again and again have we endeavoured to comprehend passages in these volumes, but have failed and given up the attempt in despair. Even when we have had a full conviction that the thing intended is heterodox and indefensible, we have still found a difficulty in so understanding it as to take it to pieces and expose its errors. Perhaps we may make this appear possible to our readers before we conclude.

The first volume begins with a consideration of the "Pentecost Miracle," as the gift of tongues and its accompanying circumstances are designated by Bunsen. Now in what does he make that miracle to consist?

"One hundred and twenty persons," he says, "not only Galilæans, as they were naturally supposed to be, but believers from various parts, assembled together on that festive day, expecting the end of the world. Suddenly, during a violent storm of wind, accompanied by lightning, the persons so assembled felt moved apparently to praise God, not in the formularies of their sacred language, but in the profane sounds of their heathenish mother-tongues, of which the Greek was foremost, as the Spirit gave them utterance."



We read this passage with deep regret when we first consulted these volumes, and were disposed to condemn the whole work on account of such a preliminary exhibition of weakness. The dogmatic assumption of this exposition first strikes us as peculiarly offensive. There is no "I think," or "as some suppose," or any other qualifying clause, but we are treated to a view of a most solemn and sacred transaction which does violence to all our cherished convictions, without a word of apology. This will be found to be a characteristic of most of Bunsen's exposition, and this deprives it of any value. He dogmatizes calmly and deliberately, as though in giving new views of inspired writings he were inspired himself, and had a warrant from heaven to enlighten Christendom, deeply sunk in ignorance and error. Leaving the spirit for the matter, we ask on what authority mention is made of *lightning*, of the expectation of *the end of the world*, or of the praises in *heathenish mother-tongues, of which the Greek was foremost*? Can any assumptions be more entirely gratuitous than these? And for what are they made, but to deprive what is called by the writer a miracle, of all miraculous character? The hundred and twenty were *thought* to be Galilæans; this was a mistake; they each praised God in their own language, and the *other tongues* of the sacred historian were only the native ones of the speakers, and *other* merely to the ignorance of the audience. Wherein then does the miracle consist? Perhaps we may discover further on.

"What more portentous and deeply significant sign could there be, that religion was henceforth to cease to be an external or sacerdotal and ceremonial worship? At that moment, and with that sound, the true temple of God opened. This was in reality the temple which Christ had said he could raise on the ruins of the old. The house of Levitical worship, with all its sanctity, and the proud temples of the Hellenic world, with all their ideals of beauty, were doomed to perish, but after a severe and bloody struggle. That world-rending and world-renewing power, centring in spiritual faith and brotherly love, manifested itself by unanimous but dissonant praise of God, by inspired prayer in the mother-tongue."

This is an example of the obscurity of thought we alluded to above, through which we confess ourselves unable to penetrate. We cannot see how the splendid results here described are connected with the phenomena Chevalier Bunsen assumes. An evident miracle might justify almost any grand accomplishment, but here was nothing but a few Jews praising God, or uttering rapturous exclamations, in their own languages, which we may presume they had often done before, in the exciting circumstances in which they had been recently placed. We say

this on the assumption that they were not all native Jews, for which there is not the least shadow of authority.

"The speakers themselves were overpowered by the sudden wind, and scintillating flashes of the electric fluid (ver. 3), while those who gathered round and listened to them were no less awe-struck by hearing the praises of God, and wonderful things uttered in their own tongues, which they little expected to hear from Galilæans (verses 4—8). The speakers at first made convulsive sounds, but soon recovered their equilibrium; not like those, who, in the time of St. Paul, after having lost in the midst of the divine service the power of articulation, were unable to express their emotions otherwise than by sounds of the brute creation, extorted by their overpowering sensations. Nor, according to St. Luke's account, were the pious hearers overcome to such an extent as some later learned interpreters appear to have been. They did not regard the screams which had been uttered at the first moment, but listened to what they heard spoken in their own tongue. If this be a rationalistic interpretation, it is that of St. Peter. Where does the apostle state that he and his friends received the power of speaking languages not their own, or that the utterance of convulsive sounds was a proof of Jesus of Nazareth being the Christ, and of the Spirit of God having come down upon the believers in the Galilæan? No apostle, no apologetic writer, no father from Clemens to Origen, ever dropped any such hint."

Granted that there is this historic silence respecting the miracle, how does this affect the matter in hand? If the want of after-testimony to any supernatural event recorded in Scripture is to be conclusive against its existence, much that we now revere must be robbed of its greatness by a negative rationalism. We thought the proper mode of interpretation was to enquire, What saith the Scripture? not, What say the fathers and ecclesiastical historians. We admit that in a case of doubtful miracle, other testimony or evidence may be brought in, but the case is different when the miracle is clearly revealed; to bring in external considerations to neutralize it is then sheer folly, to say nothing worse. It seems then that the only miracle was the "wind" and the "electric fluid." How much better to deny anything supernatural, than thus to rob of all its wondrous nature an event thought miraculous wherever the Gospel is known, by raising into the sphere of miracles mere natural phenomena!

And yet Bunsen persists in talking of the "Pentecostal Miracle," meaning thereby nothing but the sign which he asserts the combined praising of God in many vernacular tongues proved to be to the hearers.

"Peter tells them a story as simple as it is true, the great event of his days and of all days—the glorification of God through Christ, not as an external fact, but as a divine principle of life in mankind. He tells

them that what they had heard, each in his own native tongue, referred to a fact of which all present were witnesses, he and his friends being sober people and of sound mind; and he concludes by saying that they themselves are called upon to partake of this miraculous blessing, for their own salvation's sake. And how was this to be done? By speaking or understanding foreign tongues, or inarticulate sounds? No! by looking up to God through Christ's holy life and example, by acknowledging their own sinfulness with a sincere aspiring faith, and by accepting the symbol of immersion, instituted by the Baptist [?], and elevated by Jesus into that of regeneration; by a solemn pledge to live henceforth to God's glory and the good of mankind, and by loving all men as their brethren. This indeed they did, by associating themselves together with prayer and thanksgiving and common meals, by leading reformed lives, and by having all their earthly goods as much as possible in common. On that day, accordingly, not only the Christian Church was born, but also the Christian state. This is the miracle of Pentecost, and one of the greatest events in the world's history."

So we believe, with *our* view of the transactions of the day, but what there was supernatural in Bunsen's, we are at a loss to discover. But our readers will think we have said sufficient on a subject which ought not to require to be thus canvassed, and we have given extracts enough to enable them to form their own opinion of the matter.

A short note on the last words of the above extract is so characteristic of the cool assumption of the author in matters of biblical criticism, that we think it worth while to quote it. "The true reading of the 47th verse is: 'Ο δὲ κύριος προσετίθει τοὺς σωζομένους καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό. 'And the Lord daily joined together such as were saved (by this their act of faith in Christ, which prompted them to reform themselves, and confess Jesus of Nazareth to be the Messiah).' See Lachmann, and compare Winer, § 17, 3." From this, novices would think that *conclamatum est* might be said of this text, whereas, although it is true Lachmann adopts the arrangement above given, both internal and external evidence are thought to be against it by other editors. Tischendorf, for instance, gives the old order in his text. This is not the way matters of learned import should be treated, unless indeed all true learning is soon to be banished from us. When a writer finds that some peculiar reading of a Scripture text will further his views, we do not blame him for taking the benefit of the doubt; but then it should be assumed hypothetically and modestly, not as a matter of certainty. But we are sorry to find that, in a way equally trenchant, Bunsen employs criticism whenever it suits his purpose. *Stat pro ratione voluntas* might indeed be used as his motto in very numerous places in these volumes.

Under "the first generation" the author treats of St. Peter and his two Epistles, and there broaches his hypothesis respecting the extensive interpolation of his second Epistle, to which we have before referred. Our readers must already have wondered on what authority such an extraordinary criticism rested, but we must now tell them that the evidence is entirely subjective, consisting only of the opinion of the writer. He finds the germ of the idea in verse twelve of the fifth chapter of the first Epistle, of which he says—"He wrote to the same congregation a short letter, which is thus qualified: 'Exhorting and testifying that this is the true grace of God wherein ye stand.'" In our version the whole passage reads thus:—"By Silvanus, a faithful brother unto you as I suppose, I have written briefly, exhorting and testifying that this is the true grace of God wherein ye stand;" and, as far as we are aware, the verse has always been regarded as referring to the Epistle itself, which Peter was about to send by Silvanus. But Bunsen concludes that δι' ὀλίγων cannot describe a letter of the length of the second Epistle, and looks around for some shorter document; and, as fortune favours the brave, he finds it mixed up with much extraneous matter in the second Epistle. "That short letter, I believe, is still in existence. If we read, without any preconceived opinion, the first section of what is now called the second Epistle of Peter (i. 1—11), we find not only the same diction as in the first, but the very same exhortation, which was required, together with Silvanus's verbal explanation, to confirm those Christians in their faith, just as the words in the longer Epistle indicate. Moreover, that section concludes (ver. 11), with the very same words, 'of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ,' which precede, in the conclusion of our present Epistle, the doxology, 'To Him be glory both now and for ever. Amen.' This doxology, I believe to have been the conclusion of the short letter of Peter, referred to in his longer Epistle; the text of which is subjoined." We leave all this to the judgment of our readers, because argument on such a matter is needless. Much has been made to hang on the formula of philosophy, *Cogito, ergo sum*; Chevalier Bunsen adopts another, and makes it equally pregnant of consequences, *Credo, ergo est*.

One more example, and we will leave the subject. In a note we find this criticism. "In the longer Epistle, συγκληρονόμοι (iii. 7), the constant reading of all ancient MSS., arbitrarily changed into συγκληρονόμοις, is merely συγκληρονόμος, which has been misunderstood." This sounds *ex cathedra*, and might easily mislead a tyro, but how does the case stand? Bunsen means to say, that modern critics are wrong in adopting συγκληρονόμοις, as Tischendorf does; but, instead of defending what he

calls "the constant reading of all ancient MSS.," he rejects ancients and moderns alike, and adopts *συγκληρονόμῳ*. He means to say, but does not, that the *Iota subscriptum* has been always mistaken for the plural ending. We need only remark, that for this emendation there is no basis but *fancy*, or as some prefer to call it, *conjecture*. In no MS. or version, that we know of, is there the slightest evidence that such a reading was ever thought of.

It thus clearly appears that the value of Bunsen's critical labours on the New Testament is just nothing. After these illustrations, no one will think of purchasing or reading the work in the hope of finding reliable information on any Biblical subject. A state of mind is indicated quite opposed to the sober and reverent treatment of any ancient writer, much more of the Holy Scriptures. The example thus furnished is very salutary, and we trust it will not be lost upon our readers. A looseness of thought exists as to the text of Holy Writ, shewing itself in arbitrary changes, and in a disposition to add or deduct according as some theory or opinion has to be served. The result of this, as inseparable, we think, as the sowing and the harvest, the tree and the fruit, is a want of reverence for the revelation of which the letter is the casket and depository, manifesting itself in such crude opinions as that on the Pentecostal miracle. We by no means advocate a cleaving to a *received text*, merely because it is established, but, on the contrary, have a very high estimation of a critical apparatus for discovering *the true text*. But then, we eschew conjecture as a very dangerous implement in feeble human hands, and must have no alterations but what rest on evidence. On this principle we fear no evil results from critical science, but quite the contrary; while, on the other hand, to admit such a course of procedure as our author does not hesitate to use, is a direct step to the destruction of all objective revelation, and of all true faith. We deeply regret to have to express so decided an opinion of the laborious production of an excellent man and accomplished scholar; but it is the general admiration we feel for Chevalier Bunsen which makes us sensible of the necessity of faithfulness in the matter before us. We are conscious of a reverence for genius, and desire to be on our guard lest it should ever make us think lightly of the *ΤΡΥΤΗ*.

As a critic and an expositor we can place no reliance on Bunsen; it may therefore be asked, In what does the value of this work consist? We reply, that it is no slight advantage to have so clear an exhibition as is here given of the mode of thinking of a pious and learned man, who, doubtless, is only the representative of a large class of thinkers. But this is but a small

cause after all, for commending a work ; there are far higher reasons why we receive these seven volumes as a boon, and could wish them to be in the library of every *advanced* theological student. Before we proceed we may refer to the very pleasing style in which the writer presents his thoughts, making the volumes easy of perusal, and in many parts giving a kind of fascination to the work. Take as an instance, his account of "Hermas's Shepherd, or the Book of the Shepherd," which extends from page 182 to 215 of the first volume. As treated in most ecclesiastical histories, this is a very dry and uninteresting subject, more often than not presented as having no more interest about it than an old monkish legend of the middle ages. But Bunsen translates the piece, points out its relation to the mind of the Church at the period of its publication, and gives a charm to the whole. Indeed, while we have felt our best convictions hurt by his Biblical criticism in the first volume, we have, on other grounds, been highly delighted with it. His grouping together the events and writers of the several early epochs he describes, has given a life to what seemed before very destitute of animation. Like Neander (though most unlike in correct criticism) he has the power of adorning a plain subject, and giving novelty to that which is common-place. We should be ungrateful therefore, if we did not, on this account alone, speak well of these volumes.

But it is the vast amount of documentary history, in relation to the early Church, furnished by these volumes, which, to us, constitutes their charm. If introduced by a friend to a beautiful garden, we should not decline the invitation to enter because we knew that some of its fruits were poisonous, but, avoiding them, should give up ourselves to the enjoyment of those which were refreshing and wholesome. So, the waywardness of Bunsen's mind on certain subjects, and the pernicious principles he often seems to favour, do not make us reject the masses of real information which he here presents in an accessible form. Five of the volumes, out of the seven, relate almost entirely to ecclesiastical matters ; and the three last are the repository of original documents, the Greek beautifully printed, and the whole arranged and annotated. And it also happens that the materials thus furnished relate to subjects too much neglected, namely, the early Canons and Liturgies, which are so fruitful of information to a thoughtful mind. Many costly volumes must have been procured before what is here given could be otherwise obtained.

The erudition of the Chevalier is immense, and excites our wonder, even when we long for a more judicious application of

it. That one mind should have studied all the subjects introduced in these volumes is remarkable; how much more so, that it should have been able to grasp them so as to write about them with the amount of skill here displayed. Some degree of superficiality may be expected in such a variety of disquisitions, and we cannot help wishing that strength had been gained by less diffusiveness. In Church Archæology most subjects seem familiar to our author; his knowledge of languages is extensive, as vehicles for thought; while in philology he seems quite at home. When we remember that he is a layman, engaged in very responsible professional duties, we must surely feel deep respect for his talents and acquisitions; and that he has devoted the energies of a life to pursuits which avoid the pleasures and the follies of courts. No man can have done what Bunsen has, without having been a *labourer* in the literary field. We think of Brougham while writing about Bunsen, as to versatility of pursuit; but probably the German will generally be thought to have the superiority in the possession of hard-earned lore. From a well-stored mind it is comparatively easy to pour fourth elegant literary disquisitions, but to write learned books like those before us can only be done by years of *toil*.

But if we were to put Bunsen in a class, we should allot him to the department of the Belles Lettres, as being able to treat pleasantly of matter of higher erudition. It may be said of him, *nihil tetigit quod non ornavit*; his mind approaches heavy literature with an elasticity and grace which will always make him a pleasant writer, and he will have the merit of alluring to deeper contemplation by the amenities of the man of letters. O that we might feel that all this natural genius and acquired knowledge were given to the cause of revealed truth *as we view it*! The learned author will probably smile at this; but still there is truth, and there is error, and if we are right, he must be wrong. One consolation is that we believe he is piously conscientious; that he loves the Bible and the Church; and while we can give no quarter to the errors we have been compelled to point out, we yet view him with affectionate respect, as one who is not *against* but *for* that adorable Redeemer, who, no doubt, passes by more faults and imperfections than we, censorious as we are, can discover in each other.

Before we conclude this paper, we must allude to a subject of great importance which is closely connected with it. We cannot but feel that the author of these volumes has made himself acquainted with much of the theological writing proceeding from the press of this country, whether in an ephemeral form or in volumes, and that his mind has been so repelled and offended by

crudities and follies that he has fallen into the contrary extreme of a daring and irreverent criticism. We cannot read many of his pages, which treat on the opinions of English religious life, without feeling painfully that he has no respect for them, and that he is only restrained by politeness towards the land of his long sojourn, from expressing contempt. If such is really the case, the inquiry should be instituted as to how far there is ground for this depreciatory tendency, and as to the best way of removing such dangerous stumbling-blocks, if proved to exist.

Now, no one acquainted with our literature in its religious relations can be ignorant of the fact, that a profession of superior piety is too often identified with weakness of judgment, if not with ignorance and stupidity. A very valuable volume has just appeared, which was entirely originated by a knowledge of this sad phase of the cultivated mind of Britain. Its author says, "In the opening paragraphs of his powerful essay on Jonathan Edwards, Professor M'Dougall remarks on the too extensive diffusion of the idea, that evangelical religion, in its strict, personal form, comports ill with solidity and compass of intellect. In a course of somewhat desultory reading I was forcibly struck with the prevalence of this idea in certain departments of our literature."<sup>b</sup> Also, in the third part of *The Restoration of Belief*, the anonymous author speaks in a rather melancholy strain of popular errors of Biblical criticism and interpretation, by which unbelief is encouraged, and desiderates an intelligible principle of exegesis as one means of counteracting infidelity. We do not hesitate to say that we thoroughly believe that such is the fact; and that the nonsense which appears every month in the shape of religious works tends to foster a dislike to evangelical religion in minds of an acute order. It is generally by *good* men, truly and emphatically so, that what are known as religious books, or books of practical piety, are written and published, and it follows that, if they are often puerile in their Biblical and theological knowledge, they must operate badly. We trust none of our readers think that we are censorious, or that we overstate the matter when we affirm that these puerilities abound, and that their effect is precisely that which has been stated.

We sometimes know not which most to wonder at—the audacity with which ridiculous things are said and printed about Biblical interpretation and theological doctrine, or the peculiar mental feebleness by which they can be embraced and enter-

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<sup>b</sup> *The Christian Life, Social and Individual*. By Peter Bayne, M.A. Edinburgh : James Hogg. 1855. A work of great compass of thought, illustrating its positions by interesting biographies.



tained. We should not marvel so much if this weakness were confined to unprofessional persons, although, then, it would be very pitiable; but, when it extends to, and almost characterizes a class of, Christian ministers, our astonishment and regret are great indeed. Before any divine subject is treated of, how careful and anxious should be the preparation! How earnest should we be not to promulgate our own views, but to ascertain the mind of the Spirit! How fearful lest, in attempting to teach others, we should mislead them and do them harm! Perhaps these salutary emotions may be experienced by those who so egregiously err in commenting on the Bible, but, if so, it is lamentable that their hearts should be so much better than their heads: that there should be such a sad discrepancy between judgment and feeling.

If it is conceded that injudicious, and even ignorant persons do so often take upon them to expound the deep things of God, and that they gain a popularity which makes it dangerous for us to expose their errors, can it be wondered at that men like Bunsen should go on the *noli me tangere* principle, and wish to keep clear from the least suspicion of belonging to such an inept and emasculated school. It ought not to be so; wise men *ought* to discern between things that differ and distinguish between the precious and the vile; but human nature is prone to extremes, and has a special tendency to build up a fancied wisdom on the presumed ignorance of other men. Still, it is the bounden duty of all of us to give no offence, neither to the Jew, the Gentile, nor the Church of God: and it is especially to be desired that piety should not be of such a kind as to prejudice against itself and its principles those who can feel that its best adornment would be a reasonable thoughtfulness.

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## SACRED POETRY.\*

To some readers of our Journal, the pages often appear too recondite, and the information has been designated by the expressive word *dry*. But it must be remembered, and we believe it is by candid minds, that the high themes we discuss can only be made interesting to those whose training fits for their comprehension. We say this *generally*, for it is by no means the case that all our articles are unreadable by ordinary persons. We have the means of knowing that many of both sexes, who only profess to have had an ordinarily good education, find much mental food in the repast we furnish to Biblical critics and philosophers. At all events, we have in most numbers a paper or two which is not recondite, and we are now about to present such a one to our readers.

With all the talk about the depressed state of poetry, a vast deal yearly leaves the press, and that which is consecrated to the service of religion is not behind that which is more secular. There is one aspect of this prolificness to which we attach great importance, because of its bearing upon the tastes of the masses of the community; we mean the supply of poetry to magazines and newspapers. Few of these ephemeral sheets appear without a corner dedicated to the muse; and very often gem-like productions delight us, are read, and then, perhaps, for ever forgotten. But it is more frequently the case that such occasional contributions have no merit whatever, and often they are execrable, both as to matter and style. We are sorry to be obliged to say that this charge may be preferred with truth against what is called religious poetry, and which comes forth so abundantly in publications which appear under the patronage of Christianity. If a man, or woman, puts some commonplace or Scriptural idea into rhyme, and divides it into five or six verses, it seems to be a rule with some editors to admit it. It is too bad thus to give the shelter of religion to maudlin sentiment, bad figures, and bad versification; and we are not sure that the good cause is not often seriously injured by the practice. Persons not favourable to piety

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\* 1. *A Vision of Prophecy*, and other Poems. By James D. Burns, M.A. Edinburgh: Johnstone and Hunter. 1854.

2. *The Transcript*, and other Poems. By William Ball. London: Cash. 1855.

3. *The Poetical Works of Beattie and Blair*. With Lives, &c., by the Rev. G. Gillilan. Edinburgh: Nichol. 1854.

take up a religious magazine which would profit them if they would read its solid papers; but the eye is first attracted by some miserable display in poet's corner, and the whole work is thrown aside in disgust. It is quite natural it should be so. When we open the Bible, there is poetry, but it is dignified, chaste, and often tender; always pure. But we turn from the Scriptures to the works of those who profess to make them their guide and model, and we discover the most offensive puerilities. Let editors see to this. More than once lately a worse offence has been committed, by the collection and republication in a separate form of these miserable travesties of sacred song. Not contented with annoying us in the pages of the *Evangelical* or the *Church of England Magazine* (*exempli gratia*) these abortive attempts at poetry start up to life in gilt edges and handsome cloth binding.

It is remarkable that so much toleration should be given to bad poetry in the form of psalms and hymns, even in cases when a compiler begins *de novo*, and can exclude what he pleases. We can understand the difficulty there is in expurgating Watts, who has now an antiquity to tolerate and shelter the strange conceits and bad rhymes which disfigure the beauties of his hymns; and the same remark will hold good of Brady and Tate, and Sternhold and Hopkins. But how can we account for new collections of psalmody exhibiting these offensive figures and couplets? The fact is, that poetry has not yet become a part of education among us; or rather the department of instruction which would give an ear for appropriate metaphors and decent rhymes is altogether ignored and neglected. We wish there were a reform in this respect, and that all schools would endeavour to give some idea of what poetry ought to be. We are not speaking of the higher kinds of poetry, or of the poetic faculty; but merely of such a measure of taste and refinement, as would render it impossible for much to be admired and used which is now popular among us.

But we have now to speak of *volumes* of sacred poetry, two having been put into our hands nearly at the same time. Of the writers we may say that we know nothing: we are ignorant of their ecclesiastical status or social relations, except so far as we can gather something about them from their works. Although very different in the character of their minds, there is yet a great resemblance in many respects. Both have published a lengthened poem followed by shorter pieces, and both have dedicated their powers to the service of the Redeemer. Both are distinguished by a fine taste, and delicate susceptibilities.

We imagine Mr. Burns is a clergyman of the Church of

Scotland, but he has no preface, and gives no explanation of his feelings or motives. In place of such a formal introduction we have the following beautiful lines :—

“ No laurel leaves, no sweet unfading flowers,  
Bloom in the garland of these simple lines ;  
They are but rushes woven in random hours,  
Like those some lonely shepherd-boy entwines :

“ The while his fingers plait the scentless wreath,  
He finds some pleasure in his idle skill ;  
At even, he leaves it withering on the heath,  
Or strews its fragments on the moorland rill.”

The longest piece of the collection is *The Vision of Prophecy*, to which the following argument is prefixed.

“ The destinies of the world controlled by the Spirit of God, and announced by him to man directly, or through the Hebrew Prophets (I.)—First announcement of a Redeemer coeval with the Fall (II.)—Clearer revelations made in after-times to the same effect: this the crowning theme, or ‘ Spirit of Prophecy ’ (III.-V.)—The fortunes of the Jewish people particularly foretold and verified (VI.-VIII.)—Those also of the descendants of Ishmael (IX.)—Prophecy verified in the overthrow and degradation of ancient empires and cities: Nineveh, Babylon, Tyre, and Egypt (X.-XII.)—In the succession of the four empires of the Old World (XIII.)—In the rise of the Antichristian power (XIV.)—Its calls to guilty nations, and threatenings of retribution (XV., XVI.)—The final triumph of a kingdom of righteousness and peace (XVII.)”

The treatment of this subject is highly original and poetic. There is a plaintive tenderness joined to a deep-toned piety, which confers a charm and leads us to wish for more when the task is ended. The writer has a deep perception of the sin by which the world is burdened and made miserable, and of the power of divine truth to elevate its condition and promote its happiness. Invisible realities affect his imagination, and often confer a sublimity on his diction. Perhaps the following stanzas will give a fair idea of the nature and merits of the whole piece.

“ How clear the strains which sounded  
From ravishing harps, touched with no earthly skill !  
Though then the compass of their notes was bounded,  
The unutterable burden lingers still.  
Sweet from the holy mountain, temple-crowned,  
The heaven-breathed hymn stole up the air ;  
While surges of harmonious sound,  
From cymbal, trumpet, and dulcimer,

In solemn undulations rolled  
 Around the pillared courts at even,—  
 High chants, in which the minstrel-king foretold  
 The peaceful glories of a sinless reign;  
 Or in the stately cadence given  
 To rapt Isaiah's deep and passioned strain.  
 Hark! how the jubilant song swells ever clearer  
 As Earth beholds its Saviour nearer.

“ He was thy theme of glory,  
 O Prophecy! He fixed thine eye from far :  
 His was the name that faltered through thy story,—  
 His was thy Sceptre,—His thy Eastern Star!  
 With joy didst thou behold the heavenly Child  
 In Bethlehem born in lowly guise,  
 And the meek mother, undefiled,  
 Droop over Him her dove-like eyes;  
 Thou didst behold the sorrowing Man,—  
 Didst follow Him through want and woe,—  
 Wast His first mourner, for thine eye outran  
 The passage of His days, and wept to see  
 Afar the sinless Sufferer bow  
 His bleeding temples on the bitter tree.  
 Thou, too, didst first proclaim Salvation  
 Through that divine and dread Oblation.

“ By thy high sanctions guarded,  
 The father of the faithful held his hope;  
 Thy sacred voice his steady trust rewarded,  
 What time he stood beneath Heaven's cloudless cope  
 And, in the starry troops that filled the skies,  
 And round its azure limits stood,  
 Beheld his own proud destinies,—  
 The innumerable multitude  
 That should arise, and call him blest.  
 Thou didst the chosen people guide,  
 And cheer the weary tribes with hopes of rest,  
 When wandering on through deserts, faint and slow,—  
 Under thy covering shadow hide  
 Their tents from harm; in cloud and flame didst move  
 Before their armies, till, in Canaan's borders,  
 They settled in their peaceful orders.

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“ In accents wild and mournful,  
 Thy voice entreats a fallen world to rise,  
 O Prophecy! Infatuate and scornful,  
 It recks not of its awful destinies;  
 The oppressor under thy uplifted rod

Still waves his reddening scourge of guilt,  
 Still murmurs in the ear of God  
 The cry of blood by brothers spilt;  
 The generations groan with woe;  
 With giant stride Vice walks the earth,  
 And Evil spreads in darker, deadlier flow,  
 A deluge more appalling than of old;  
 And Pleasure revels loud, and Mirth  
 Entwines her rose-wreath; Avarice, for gold,  
 Leads forth her pilgrims over seas and mountains,  
 And Gain still thirsts for fresher fountains.

“ With lurid splendour glowing,  
 Thy cyphers stand on the world’s girdling wall,  
 But no Belshazzar on the sign is throwing  
 A fearful eye, or lets the wine-cup fall;  
 Unheeded are the few interpreters  
 Who, lifting faithful voices loud,  
 Expound the cryptic characters,  
 Amidst the riot of the crowd;—  
 But, O ye kings! in time be wise!—  
 Ye nations! hear the dread command,—  
 Awake from sensual slumber, ere the skies  
 Are cloven, and the strong all-shattering blast  
 Proclaims the reckoning at hand,  
 And the long day of visitation past.  
 Unmoved ye hear the summons to repentance,—  
 Unpitied must ye bide the sentence.

“ Even now thy latest vision,  
 Thy loveliest, brightens through the mists of Time.  
 The day-spring breaks,—a purple light Elysian  
 Through the clear ether gladdens every clime.  
 The idols fall unsceptred from their thrones;  
 Hushed is the stormy trump of War,—  
 Its pageantry is past, its groans,  
 And the loud crashing of its car;  
 The choral song of gladness swells  
 From Arctic lands and Austral isles;  
 Peace, like an undeparting angel, dwells  
 On earth, and Rachel’s wail is heard no more;  
 Hope sweetly sheds her rainbow smiles;  
 Salvation lifts the cross on every shore.  
 Come, then, Lord Jesus! all creation groaneth,—  
 Thy bride her absent Spouse bemoaneth!”

As we have no reason to think Mr. Burns is one of the modern prophetic school, we presume he refers, in the above

passage, to prophecy in the general sense, as meaning the threatenings of Holy Scripture and its revealed eschatology. There is something perfectly awful in the way in which men forget all the terrible warnings against selfish luxury and covetousness, and all the other national and individual sins which the Bible forbids. A warning voice cannot be too often raised against these vices and follies, both by the pulpit and the press, and this is the legitimate office of the public instructor. But no good, we think, ever results from predicting the end of the world, as some definable event. As though to mark the folly of this prying into matters not made known to us, it does not appear that such confident auguries of coming doom make men less worldly, or induce them to be wise in time; and even those who profess to believe that, in a few years, the present state of things will end, still build, and plant, and save money; furnishing another illustration of the truth of the principle—"If they believe not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead;" that is, if the certainty of our own dissolution and the coming judgment of God, matters clearly revealed, do not lead to holy action, more dubious things will not. This is a digression; but we should be sorry to see fine poetry devoted to a service which we feel it our duty to discourage.

We are most attracted by the minor pieces of this volume, many of them being very perfect in their structure, and containing, in a small compass, a fine sentiment. It is generally thought that such diminutive poems give but little opportunity for genius to display itself, but we are disposed to question the truth of the opinion. A different kind of ability may be wanted, certainly, for a sustained poetic effect, and one of a few verses, but still there is room in the latter for the exercise of great taste and skill. A thought has to be compressed, and put in the appropriate setting or framework of elegant diction, and for this no ordinary abilities are demanded. The two following are very perfect of their kind, and we are glad of the opportunity of recording them here:—

"FAITH WORKETH BY LOVE.

"O mourn not that the days are gone,  
The old and wondrous days,  
When Faith's unearthly glory shone  
Along our earthly ways;  
When the Apostle's gentlest touch  
Wrought like a sacred spell,  
And health came down on every couch  
On which his shadow fell.

“ The glory is not wholly fled  
That shone so bright before,  
Nor is the ancient virtue dead  
Though thus it works no more.  
Still godlike Power with Goodness dwells,  
And blessings round it move,  
And Faith still works its miracles,  
Though now it works by Love.

“ It may not on the crowded ways  
Lift up its voice as then,  
But still with sacred might it sways  
The stormy minds of men.  
Grace still is given to make the faint  
Grow stronger through distress,  
And even the shadow of the saint  
Retains its power to bless.”

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“ TO A FRIEND DEPARTED.

“ The memory of thy truth to me  
My heart will ne’er resign,  
Until, beloved ! mine shall be  
As cold a bed as thine.  
High o’er my path of life it will  
Hang ever as a star,  
To cheer my steps toward the hill  
Where the immortal are.

“ The lesson of thy gentle life,  
Thy trials meekly borne,  
Will keep me hopeful in the strife  
When fainting and out-worn ;  
Then, for a darker hour remains  
The memory of the faith  
That triumphed over mortal pains,  
And calmly fronted death.

“ I once had hoped that side by side  
Our journey we might go,  
And with a perfect love divide  
Our gladness and our woe ;  
But thou hast reached thy Father’s home,  
And happier thou art there  
Than I, left wearily to roam  
Through days of grief and care.



“ Though all is changed since thou art gone,  
I would not wish thee here,  
Far rather would I weep alone  
Than see thee shed a tear ;—  
The thought of thy great happiness  
Is now a part of mine ;  
Nor would I wish my sorrow less  
To see that sorrow thine.”

The latter piece is of a kindred character with many in the volume ; and we conclude that Mr. Burns has had to experience those deep and tender sorrows which linger around beloved departed ones. This will make the book popular, for “ who has not lost a friend ? ” A general knowledge of human nature may enable a writer to describe some emotions he has not himself experienced, but surely no one who has not himself hung with vain retrospections and longings over the grave could have penned the following :—

“ MEMORIAL LINES.

“ I know thy God hath given thee sweet releasing  
From the great woe thy gentle spirit bore,  
Yet in the heart still throbs the thought unceasing,—  
Beloved ! thou wilt come to us no more.  
No more ! although we feel thy sainted vision,  
The while we speak of thee, is lingering near,  
And know that, in the bliss of thy transition,  
Thou still rememberest us who mourn thee here.

“ We loved, and still we love thee. What can sever  
This holy bond ? The spirit is not dust ;  
Sweet is thy memory in the soul for ever,  
And fondly guarded as a sacred trust.  
Dear was thy living image when before us  
It stood in all thy youthful beauty’s glow,  
Yet still more dear thy spirit hovering o’er us  
With the bright crown of glory on its brow.

“ How oft the weary heart, its grief dissembling,  
Sees the calm smile upon thy features still,  
And hears along its chords, like music trembling,  
The low clear tones to which it once would thrill !  
The vision fades,—we feel we are forsaken,  
The gloom returns, the anguish and the care,—  
And tender longings in the heart awaken,  
Which wish thee here, though thou art happier there.

“ Alas ! how far the Past outweighs the Present,—  
The forms that come no more the friends we see !  
How the lone spirit feels 'tis far less pleasant  
To smile with others than to weep for thee !  
Yet, in the struggle of its silent sorrow,  
The pining heart can sometimes break its chain,  
And from the Saviour's word this hope may borrow,—  
Beloved ! we shall see thee yet again.”

As a specimen of the way in which a single Scripture idea is made the vehicle of fine imaginings, we will extract the following :—

“ ICHABOD.

“ Most hapless child ! to thee the gate of life  
Death has unbarred,—strange keeper of the door !  
And thine eyes open on this scene of strife,  
As thy faint mother's close for evermore.  
What is thy world but one vast sable room,  
With shields sepulchral hanging round its gloom ?

“ Thy mother meek had sorrow in thy birth,  
Which never vanished in redeeming joy ;  
Thy natal hour awoke no festal mirth,  
And heard no joyous greetings, wretched boy !  
Thy father lay upon his bloody bier,  
And how could she who loved him linger here ?

“ What time thou camest hither, didst thou not,  
Upon the border of that dolorous bourne,  
Meet them, and him thy grandsire ? Had their lot  
Been thine, thou surely hadst been less forlorn.  
Didst thou not see them walking, hand in hand,  
Nigh the dim portals of that shadowy land ?

“ Upon thy natal day they all went thither ;  
Thy father was the first, all bathed in blood ;  
Thy grandsire next ; and she, the last, did wither  
In the pure bloom of perfect womanhood,—  
That gentle lady, who had mourned their sin,  
Crushed in the storm which burst upon her kin.

“ The Priest, the Warrior, and the Wife depart,  
And thou hast come upon the funeral eve ;  
But will thy coming cheer the drooping heart  
Of Israel ? thy poor mite of life relieve  
This heavy sum of slaughter, and atone  
For beauty and for bravery that are gone ?

- " She whispered, clinging to the perilous edge  
Of life, a name wherein all omens mingle,  
And types of blackest doom,—a fearful pledge  
That God had made all ears to creep and tingle  
At the dread judgments that had fallen on guilt,  
For which no victim's life-blood might be spilt.
- " Thy name has passed into a proverb; thou  
Hast pointed many morals; when we see  
Honours departing, mounting hopes laid low,  
And glory tarnished, we remember thee:  
We hear it like an echo in the aisles  
Of antique temples and imperial piles.
- " On Grecian friezes strewn through laurel shades,  
On bronze corroded by Oblivion's rust,  
On proud Palmyra's tottering colonnades,  
On ruins raked and sifted into dust,  
On the dim vestiges of Babylon's walls,  
And old Assyria's marble-panelled halls,—
- " Time's iron pen carves Ichabod!—a name  
That seems the eternal language of our sighs,  
The spirit of all homilies on fame,  
The sum of immemorial elegies;  
The sole immortal legend that remains  
To mark the site of palaces and fanes.
- " Thy memory shall never fade, because  
'Tis bound up with decay, and has the range  
Of an unending fate. While the deep laws  
Of being shall unfold themselves through Change,  
And old things fade and moulder, thou shalt be  
Too sure of mournful immortality!
- " It may be well that we so little know  
Of thy succeeding life, mysterious child!  
Thy features muffled with a veil of woe,  
Thou art the spirit of sorrow deep and wild,  
And all thy story may be thus comprised,—  
Most strangely born, most mournfully baptized.
- " May the dark riddle of thy life be read  
In this thy baptism of tears and blood?  
Was thine a blighted being? Did men dread  
The quick infection of thy neighbourhood?  
Or, as might chance, did days of thoughtless mirth  
Defy the dismal auguries of thy birth?

" Or didst thou, in unconscious sympathy,  
Die with thy kindred on thy natal night?  
And born and named so sadly, didst thou sigh  
Thy breath away, or sicken at the light,  
And only leave the darkness of one womb,  
To creep into another,—the dark tomb?"

" I well believe this was thy happier fate,  
And that the dewy eyes of the next morn  
Saw a sad pomp emerging from the gate  
Of Shiloh: on one bier three bodies borne,—  
The grandsire, and the mother, and the child;  
All blighted,—stem, and branch, and blossom undefiled."

Let us now turn to the *Transcript* and other Poems, by Mr. Ball. This gentleman does give us some introductory matter, informing us that "the poems were printed two years ago for private distribution, and are now made accessible to some inquiry for them beyond the limits of such distribution." We also discover that "Glen Rothay, Rydal, Westmoreland," is the favoured sphere of the author's residence and rambles, and this will account for much of the description which the pieces contain. The *Transcript* occupies 118 pages, the *Memorial* nearly as many; the rest of the volume being taken up with minor pieces. The *Transcript* consists of six books, entitled, Repentance, Faith, The Church, The Mist, The Snow-storm, and New Year's Eve. It is quite evident that Cowper has been Mr. Ball's model, perhaps unconsciously; and the style of treating religious subjects is very similar to that of the bard of Olney. We are not comparing the two authors, who are, substantially, very different; but still there is an obvious sameness of structure and execution. A love of external nature, a benevolent heart, and a disposition to treat religious errors caustically, are evident all through this volume. In some places the sentiments seem those of a member of the Society of Friends, though we are not aware that the author belongs to it. Two passages, didactic and descriptive respectively, will convey some conception of our author.—

" Untutor'd souls that humbly look within  
Learn more of evidence than e'en the wise  
Who know to marshal revelation's proofs;  
These feel the plague within them, crave a cure,  
And find it in the Gospel,—prove its power,  
Themselves the witnesses, and need no more;  
One thing they know, they languish'd and were heal'd,  
Were blind and now they see: Oh, for the increase  
Of proof like this, a cloud of witnesses

Attesting to the virtue of the Faith  
 That justifies, because on Jesus fix'd !  
 Reasoning may drive us from Opinion's hold  
 But from Experience never ! Things unseen,  
 And things desir'd the most, once evident,  
 Are ne'er explain'd away : Union by Faith  
 With Christ the Vine shews fruit too palpable  
 To be gainsaid—proves it the work of God  
 Thus to believe—a new creation wakes,  
 Old things recede, and all things are made new !  
 Born to new life by Faith, a cottage child  
 Grows wiser in divine philosophy  
 Than all the schoolmen : In this mortal state  
 The confidence of trust, the yielded will,  
 Obedient love, and patient hope, compose  
 True Wisdom's part ; prepare to live, to die,  
 And work the wonders promis'd by the Schools ;  
 But ne'er perform'd, till, in the school of Christ  
 Strength is put on that worketh all in all."

\* \* \* \* \*

" Beloved Rydal ! at all seasons sweet,  
 And never more than now, when Winter proves  
 A power o'er other scenes, to waste, deform,  
 That thou canst still resist : The Ice that binds  
 Thy waters, only brings a joyous troop  
 Gliding and sliding, while the chair-sledge waits  
 Upon the dame, urg'd by bland chivalry,  
 Whose feet might seem to borrow Hermes' wings :  
 Fire on the ice, that tells how genuine glee  
 Can work e'en on cold hearts, sends up its blaze  
 Among the o'erhanging wood of those fair Isles,  
 Whose charms reserv'd from too familiar gaze  
 Of curious Boatman, now invite the step  
 Of charter'd Ice-rover : deep heather-beds  
 Open for pathlets, led through mossy glades,  
 'Mid rustling leaves, and under greenwood bowers  
 Of olden growth, entwin'd with mistletoe,  
 And bright with ivied store—where ferns abound  
 Green as the Spring, and free as Summer air :  
 The rocky shores, streak'd with gold lichen, here  
 Give outline sharp ; and, there, are deeply-set  
 In fringe of underwood, that smites the ice,  
 Hindering to dip, as wont, into the wave,  
 Gentle rebuke, which he that now explores  
 These secret island-beauties, in still pause,  
 May hear with every breeze that creeps within  
 To search the heron's nest : The mountain view,

How glorious from these isles ! So minds recluse  
 That hide their wealth, oft, from their privacy  
 See more of heavenly heights, and more aspire !  
 An easy landing offers, where the strand  
 Lies homeward, in a hollow, richly girt  
 With stately Sycamores bordering the road,  
 On the lake's margin, where the quarry-man  
 Alas ! makes havoc ; sycamores that still  
 Breathe on mine ear an Arnold's honour'd name,  
 In the deep whispering of their solemn shade :  
 He taught me first their beauty, and transferr'd  
 To me love for those Trees, now lov'd the more  
 While life shall last, for him their voice recalls :  
 Oh, great in virtue as in power ! and true  
 To every social claim through all thy toils !  
 Pleasant thy memory ! verdant as the vale ;  
 Enduring as the mountains ; bright and pure  
 As this sweet Mere, when sunbeams are abroad ;  
 Whose waters, while they gladden all their banks,  
 Within their central depths reflect the heavens ! ”

“ The Snow-storm ” contains a highly interesting and well-sustained narrative of John and Sarah Green, lost in a snow-storm among the fells between Langdale and Easedale ; a rustic sale having drawn them from their home, they return over the fells contrary to the advice of others, and never get back. The tale of Agnes, eight years of age, who, with marvellous good sense, provided for the family of the absent parents is deeply affecting. In this collection, as in the former, the smaller pieces are greatly to our taste, and display many excellent qualities of head and heart. We quote three of them, and we are sure our readers will think them ornaments of our pages.

“ A CHILD SWEEP AWAY BY A FLOOD OF THE BOTHAY.

“ Thy babe is safe, fond mother, grieve  
 No more ! o'er death's cold river  
 Her cradle living green doth weave  
 With flowers that never wither :  
 Leave, on the rude wave, dying, leave  
 Thy murmurs ! Bless the Giver  
 Who takes his own with Him to live  
 For ever and for ever !

“ Through her bright morn, that no dim eve  
 O'ertook, was He not with her ?  
 Did He not ransom and forgive  
 Then to Himself receive her ?

Did not thy faith His arm perceive  
Beneath her in the river?  
Leave to its flood, thy wailing leave  
For ever and for ever!

"She rests—no more, fond mother, grieve  
That she hath pass'd the river  
Safe, where with living green do weave  
The flowers that never wither:  
Leave, in its depths, thy sorrows leave—  
Would'st thou recall her hither,  
Who, now on angel's food shall live  
For ever and for ever?

"That happy land doth sweet reprieve  
From sore temptation give her—  
How would Time's onward billows heave  
To trouble or deceive her!  
Thee, too, may heavenly banks receive,  
Fond mother, o'er the river!  
Then wilt thou grieve with her to live  
For ever and for ever?

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"SUNSHINE ON THE FUNERAL DAY.

"Ah, wherefore clothes the smiling sun  
Our vale *to-day* with beams so bright?  
They shine to speak the vanish'd one  
Rejoicing now with 'saints in light.'

"Oh, then, we will not chide but love  
The living radiance, lighting down  
To tell of holier life above—  
Of raiment white, and victor's crown.

"She wears them now; she bent the knee  
In contrite faith at Jesus' feet,  
Sought Him in tears, 'without one plea,'  
And found Him on His mercy-seat.

"No more we chide the smiling ray,  
Such token to riv'n hearts that brings:—  
Heaven's blessed Sun doth brood to-day  
O'er our sad vale with healing wings!"

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## "HAD I THAT MYSTIC WAND.

"Had I that mystic wand, the pen of poet's hand,  
That buds at his command, dipp'd in Castalian dew,  
I'd wave the magic plume, and bid thy page to bloom,  
With flowers of rich perfume, and Heliconian hue.

"Or might I own the power, vouchsaf'd in holier hour,  
I'd rear a fadeless bower, amid its stainless snows,  
And love to call up there, full many a blossom rare,  
And wreath the lily fair, with Sharon's living rose.

"But oh! though 'tis not mine, those sacred flowers to twine,  
Nor such as deck the shrine of the Parnassian hill;  
Yet I can weave for thee, the blooms of friendship's tree,  
That, nurs'd by Memory, lives fresh and fragrant still."

Without affirming that these two volumes belong to the very highest order of genius, we may safely attribute to them an excellence which will make them popular and useful among those who love to see the best powers of the mind consecrated to the service of God. Both Mr. Burns and Mr. Ball prove, in every one of their pages, that they are baptized with the true religious spirit, and that, out of the abundance of their hearts, their lips have uttered these sacred songs. The productions of Mr. Burns rank above the more subdued pieces of Mr. Ball; but we can only assign a level position to them both on the ground of an enlightened piety. The latter gentleman has deprived his volume of a *universal* audience by the expression of very strong views on subjects controverted in the religious world; but the former is thoroughly Catholic in his sentiments, and dwells, in these pages, more on the Christian system generally than on its conventional accessories. But we have read both authors with pleasure and profit. They have touched chords which have proved in unison with our own emotions, and from gratitude, as well as from duty, we cordially speak well of them to our readers.

The edition of Beattie and Blair, which we have connected with the new works above noticed, belongs to the series of the "British Poets" now publishing by Mr. Nichol, of Edinburgh, under the editorship of Mr. Gilfillan. We have before expressed our approval of this cheap and really handsome publication, which supplies eight volumes a-year for one guinea; not volumes of poor paper and small print, but, in every respect, library books, which those who feel the infirmities of age can read with ease. We are glad when a religious poet allows us to praise the labours of publisher and editor, as in the present instance. The works of Butler might have offered an opportunity, but, on looking through



Hudibras, we felt that too much of the wit was at the expense of religion, while many of the minor pieces of this author ought to have been consigned to oblivion. Mr. Gilfillan makes some apology for the vicious taste and objectionable expressions of Butler; we rather wish he had left out some examples of these. The Hudibras, of course, would not admit of curtailment and alteration; but it is worthy of consideration how far the fact of a poet having written one famous piece, obliges us to collect and publish *all* his remains, good, bad, and indifferent. We have no doubt, however, about perpetuating what is opposed to good morals, or would raise a blush on the cheek of virtue. Christian men should have nothing to do with such wares, except to throw them as far away as possible from society.

The volume before us is perfectly unexceptionable on this ground. The muse of Beattie and of Blair appears dressed in pure garments, and all her words are such as the pure in heart will love. The editor speaks somewhat disparagingly of Beattie, but we think without cause. Perhaps we are deficient in the qualities necessary to criticize poetry in the artistic sense, and certainly every man must say what he thinks of a work, if his opinion is to be worth anything. Now, we confess to finding in the minstrel an inexpressible charm, and had rather read it than many poems thought to display a higher art. Blair's "Grave" is a marvellous production, abounding in moral sentences, set in a massive and gloomy framework. We cannot help wondering what would have been the character of Blair's works had he cultivated poetry extensively, or how he would have treated less exciting topics.

Mr. Nichol has recently added Herbert's *Temple* and other poems, and the *Synagogue*, by Harvey, to this really handsome collection of British authors.

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**DAVID, FROM HIS ANOINTING TO HIS ACCESSION.**

NEXT after the regret which the true Christian feels when he looks around and contemplates the numerous divisions amongst his fellow-Christians, we may perhaps rank the sorrow which he experiences on a first view of the hidden character of the Revelations made by God in his blessed word. He is inclined to think that it would have been much better if every word and sentence of the Bible were plain to every one; that every one might, without difficulty, understand its full meaning, so that on the one hand, the true Christian might have no doubts; and on the other hand, the careless and ungodly might be without excuse.

A little careful attention will, however, make him think otherwise. The plan adopted by God, with respect both to the mode of delivering his will, and also to the subject matter and language of that will, is the same as that which is exhibited in nature, and in all the doings of God. God saw fit to reveal even the plan of salvation in a very obscure manner to our fallen parents. It seems clear that they could have understood little more than that God was willing to save them by substituting a victim, which, dying as a sacrifice, should enable God to remit the punishment due to themselves. Sufficient truth to lead them to seek their salvation, and to enable them to attain it, was doubtless given, but nothing more; and as ages progressed, God revealed only by gradually opening intimations of his will, the plan of man's redemption, and not until the Spirit had, after our Lord's ascension, been given to man, did man receive the complement of the will of God concerning him.

Again, in the first ages of the world, man very imperfectly understood the means of providing himself with food and raiment, and other bodily comforts. It has been the work of all the generations from Adam to the present time, to add little to little in discovering all those arts which are now known, and in acquiring all that knowledge which man now possesses. We know not, indeed, what the powers of human nature may be, even in this life; but our experience hitherto would incline us to believe that there is no limit to its capacities and abilities; at least, this experience shews us, that hitherto man has gradually progressed in knowledge and power; and we can only know what man is capable of, by studying the progress of the human race; for to whatever any individual of the present age has attained, he

owes something to the labours of men who lived not long before him, and they to others preceding them; and so on, one age owes to another, until Adam is presented before us a debtor in respect to knowledge and power to none but his Creator.

Now these considerations might be sufficient to induce the Christian to repress his feelings of regret that the word of God is not, at first view, plain and intelligible to all; but there are other considerations more weighty, perhaps, than those we have offered, and calculated not only to make him cease from this regret, but to cause him to rejoice that the case is as described.

If it had been otherwise, and the Bible had not been a book sealed up to many, and in some measure obscure to all, the Christian would have wanted those incentives to the study of it which now supply him with energy and strength; and this blessed book, instead of being a lamp, and a guide, and a source of comfort and holy delight, might have been a kind of negative temptation to inactivity and spiritual sloth.

The case is similar with respect to everything with which we have to do. If we can exhaust a book at its first reading, do we care to take it up again? If we do, it is without any eagerness or zest. On the contrary, we are content to read over and over again, a book, the meaning of which we cannot soon fathom, or the fulness of which we cannot, without much study, perceive. Is it the mere desire to earn bread, which makes a man work with cheerfulness from day to day, reproducing the same kind of work at which he has wrought for years before? Why does he not grow weary of being ever engaged upon one, or a few things? Is it not that, upon each successive article of his manufacture, he strives to improve his skill, and to make each one superior, in some respect or other, to the one just out of hand? And is not this the case with every man, in whatever place his lot is cast; in whatever trade or profession he may be engaged? It may be doubted whether, if this *tendency* to seek perfection were not found in man, he would be able to work at all: doubtless, the men of this generation, if deprived of it, must fall back to barbarism; but it is a part of man's nature, and therefore man cannot lose it. God might deprive him of it in measure, yet if he did so deprive the men of a highly civilized age, and they did in consequence (as they would) return to a state of barbarism, even in this state the tendency would be found, if it were only to such a degree as to rouse the ambition of the rude warrior to number more trophies than his neighbour, or of the hunter to be, and be esteemed more unerring in his aim than his brother.

The truth is, that to whatever degree of civilization man may

have attained, there is always something beyond to which he aspires, or the knowledge of which he thirsts after: he is never satisfied with his present knowledge and his present attainments.

Now whether this ingredient in the nature of man was originally implanted by God or not, he now watches over it, and has adjusted everything so as to harmonize with it. Amongst other things, he has given man such a revelation of his will as must call for all man's powers of mind, memory, and intellectual vigour, to interpret it in all its parts, and as to all its bearings; taking all care to make the mere plan of salvation plain, and most readily intelligible to the meanest capacity, so that all may be without excuse. He has veiled everything else of which he has spoken, and has given his entire word to man to be not only a book of instruction, guidance, and correction, but also a holy and sanctified means of keeping him happy and cheerful in this troublesome world; as well by its intrinsic character, as by its adaptation to the requirements of his nature in affording him materials for the exercise of his mind, and all his intellectual powers.

And these materials are such as yield him fruits in proportion to his labour and diligence, which fruits, as they satisfy his purest appetite and desires, yield him the greatest conceivable amount of happiness to be enjoyed in this life. Thus the Bible becomes not only a book which man must study to become wise unto salvation, but a sanctified means and source of the greatest intellectual pleasure. That it is such a book, we have abundant testimony in the zeal and eagerness with which men, intellectually gifted, but careless as to the practical effects of Christianity, study it. It has ever been an inexhaustible mine, in which they have laboured with exceeding delight, and not without profit too—albeit it be of only a worldly value—whilst true Christians, by digging deeper, have ever found purer ore, and have been proportionably more greatly enriched and gratified.

These remarks seem necessary to introduce the subject of this paper, which is to be the apparent ambiguities and discrepancies existing in the account given of David's life, from the time of Saul's first sending for him to court, to the beginning of his reign as successor to Saul. But before proceeding to our subject, we must offer a few remarks upon the manner in which such ambiguities and discrepancies ought to be treated.

It has been proposed to consider the parts of this narrative as dislocated, and attempts have accordingly been made to rearrange them. Some have proposed to leave out, and have indeed left out, parts of the account, without, so far as we can

learn, the least shadow of authority, and simply because they have supposed the narrative unintelligible without such omissions. Now it is to be considered that if the Bible is accepted as on the whole a trustworthy book, it is sufficient if we shew that any given narrative supposed or alleged to be ambiguous or inconsistent, is indeed possible; and that if we shew that it is probable we offer more than sufficient proof of its authenticity and credibility. We think no one can find fault with this rule, for we must remember that it is utterly impossible that many of the narratives in the Bible can be proved to be true, except from the authority of the Bible itself.

As Christians, believing in the authenticity of the Bible, we believe *primâ facie* that it is true; and if we are startled by the nature of any narrative in any particular, we have sufficient to re-assure us if we find that the narrative is consistent. Of course we do not mean that a Christian is to receive the Bible as the word of God, without any more satisfactory proofs that it is such, than because it contains consistent and probable statements; we rather suppose that he is already satisfied, upon good grounds, that as a whole, the Bible is the word of God. If it can be shewn that one part is altogether at variance with another, he is certainly at liberty to deal with the two parts in attempting to re-adjust them, and he must labour herein with a good conscience, according to the wisdom given him. As for instance, if in one part of the narrative referred to, it were said that David was the son of Jesse, who was the son of Obed; and in another part that David was the son of Obed, who was the son of Jesse, here, supposing that the names refer to the same individuals in both statements, it is quite clear that there must be error in one of those statements, and the student of Scripture must deal with the case as best he can. It is hardly within our province here to lay down rules for such a case, or to treat further of it; we use it only as an illustration.

We may, however, say a few words more in a general way, respecting the interpretation of Scripture, and they will be consistent with the remarks just made.

The supposing dislocations in any part of Scripture is a dangerous thing; the absolute erasure of any part of Scripture is still more dangerous. With respect to the first process, we may ask where is it to end? We grant that upon good authority, and with sufficient reason, it may be justifiable to divide, say a chapter into two portions, and place the latter part first, and the first part after that. But if we break up a chapter into verses, or even larger portions, saying they have been dislocated, why may we not also take down all the type, assort the letters to the several

compartments in the compositor's stand, and then re-arrange them so as to make up any narrative we may desire to see, or may think ought to be in the place of the one we have thus broken up and destroyed? As to the erasure of any part of the Bible, as we shall shew that it does not bear upon our subject, so we shall not here further notice it.

But to make this matter still plainer, let us consider whence this theory of dislocations and interpolations in Scripture arises. What first suggested it? Certainly either the variations found in the various ancient codices and versions; or, wanting such variations, the supposed indications in some of the books of their having been compiled from various sources.

Take the narrative in question as an example. If all the codices and versions agree, it is evident that no one can have the means of saying that the narrative had, since it was written, either been disturbed in its parts, or received interpolations; and therefore, if any one thinks of such things, he is confined to the narrative itself to find evidence respecting his theory. If he can find sufficient evidence to prove dislocations or interpolations, then of course the narrative must be amended accordingly; but inasmuch as the probability of so finding evidence from the narrative itself, is as, so to speak, one to a thousand, it is of course proportionably improbable that any such dislocations or interpolations can be proved. If all the codices and versions agree, it is *primâ facie* evidence that the narrative is in the same condition as when it first came from the hands of the compilers of the whole canon of the Old Testament.

Now, if the business of such compilers was simply to arrange the several books in order, each book being complete in itself, it seems quite clear that no inspiration was needed. But if it be suggested that an individual compiled the books of Samuel, for instance, out of a number of histories and tracts, it becomes a graver question whether inspiration was not necessary for such an one, and therefore whether the theory of dislocations and interpolations in a considerable portion of those books, *i. e.*, in the narrative in question, does not strike at, not merely the verbal inspiration of the Bible, but inspiration of the Bible *in toto*. We certainly look upon such theories with the greatest suspicion. If proof of such things is presented to us, we will admit it, whatever effect this may have upon the Bible; but when no evidence of dislocation or interpolation can be found by comparing the ancient codices and versions together, and when the narrative has, *primâ facie*, the stamp of inspiration upon it, there is no ground left for such theories but this—namely, that the narrative presents difficulties, and contains apparent inconsistencies. Here,

where they ought to leave off, either having resolved such difficulties and apparent inconsistencies, or having *proved* them to be such, many interpreters begin.

Where the codices and versions present various readings, a more difficult task is presented to the Biblical student. His care will be, in the first place, to ascertain which of those codices and versions have been copied from others of them. If A, B, C, D, E, agree, and he can shew that B was copied from A, and C from B, and so on, then the five must only count for one authority: if they are independent of each other, they count for five. He may then arrange them according to their age, but it will not necessarily follow that the oldest will be the most trustworthy, for one more recent may have been copied from another older than that, and may for other reasons be more trustworthy. If age were the criterion, our English authorized version would, in the next generation, be the least trustworthy of all. Further than this, in arrangement, we can hardly go; we must then bring in sober criticism, and do the best we can in settling the true reading of any disputed passage.

These observations, although very general, may, if they are just, at least shew us that we ought to exercise great patience before we resort to theories such as we have noticed. Of course we have only brought forward our narrative as an example, neither asserting nor denying that the codices and versions agree with respect to it, although we believe there is no difference amongst them as to it, to justify any alteration.

Now the account given of David between the periods before-mentioned, is shortly this:—Saul being afflicted with an evil spirit, a courtier informs him that he has seen a son of Jesse, who was cunning in playing, and a mighty valiant man, and a man of war, and prudent in matters. Hereupon Saul sends for David to court; Jesse furnishes him with various provisions, and sends him to Saul. He pleases Saul, remains with him, and becomes his armour-bearer. A war with the Philistines breaks out. Saul accompanies his army to the field; David returns to Bethlehem to resume his former occupation as a shepherd. During the war, Jesse sends David to see three of his brothers, who were soldiers in Saul's army. David hears the challenge of Goliath, the giant, and after some enquiries, offers to fight him. Saul demurs to his offer on account of his youth. David relates engagements he had had with a lion and a bear, and expresses his trust for deliverance in God. Saul puts upon David his own armour. David will not go in it because he has not proved it: he therefore goes with a sling and a few stones, which he had

placed in a shepherd's bag. David slings a stone, and kills the giant. Saul asks Abner who the young man is. Abner says he does not know; but at Saul's command, meets David and enquires, as does Saul on David's approach, who he is. David says he is the son of Jesse, the Bethlehemite. David deposits Goliath's head, which he had severed from the body, at Jerusalem, and places his armour in his tent.

The objections which have been raised against this narrative are, Firstly,—That David's ignorance of the use of armour at the time when he is about to fight Goliath, does not consist with his having been armour-bearer to Saul. Secondly,—That Saul's ignorance of David's person does not consist with his former knowledge of him at court. Abner's ignorance of David has also been noticed, but as we do not find that Abner ever before knew, saw, or heard of David; and as, if he had, he might join his master in his conduct hereafter to be noticed, we cannot further notice this part of the objection. Thirdly,—That Jerusalem was not wrested from the Jebusites until after David had ascended the throne; and that therefore it is difficult to conceive, either why David should deposit Goliath's head at Jerusalem, or how he could accomplish it if he was desirous of doing so.

We have a great dislike to the use of conjectures and suppositions in any important enquiry; we shall, therefore, not admit of such in this enquiry,—or at least if we think proper to do so, the reader is forewarned that they must only be taken for what they are worth. We seek to shew by a fair process of ratiocination that the narrative in question is quite consistent and that none of the above objections can be held good; and we wish to restrain ourselves from building up any theory, and from indulging in any fanciful inventions of our own. If we cannot shew the narrative to be consistent by fair and legitimate reasoning, we will not proceed.

We propose in the first place to *prove* that David had arrived at manhood when he was first sent for by Saul, and we do it thus:—The courtier who brought him into notice says, that he was a man—at least, he gives such a description of him as clearly shews that he was such—and not a child, or mere youth. The courtier, in addition to other matters known to him concerning David, might have had in mind the exploits of David with the lion and the bear; but we cannot ascertain from the narrative whether the lion and the bear had been killed by David before he first went to court, or after he had left court, and before he went to see his three brothers in the army. Neither do we find anything to incline us more to one view than to the other; but whether the courtier had, or could have had, these exploits in his mind or not, his description of David must be taken to be true,



and that description shews David to have been, at the time he was speaking to Saul about him, a man.

Again, Saul made David his armour-bearer; and although the term armour-bearer may well enough be rendered so as to exclude the idea of David's being ever engaged in war, yet it also excludes the idea of a child, or a mere youth.

Again, allowing two years from the time of David's first appearance at court to the fight with Goliath, we may proceed thus: Saul was a man higher from the shoulders upwards than any of the people. He was a man of great stature, and his armour would not only be large as to the measure of its parts, but also proportionally heavy; yet Saul puts his own armour on David. David, therefore, must then have been a full-grown man, else the armour would have been so disproportionate to his size, as to make the affair absurd, or rather, ridiculous; and moreover, David could not well have endured its weight. It is unnecessary to believe that David was of the same height as Saul, although he might be, for David's brother Eliab, was high of stature; nevertheless, Saul's armour must have been suitable in size and weight for him.

Again, it must be remarked, that David does not object to the armour being put upon him; he does not say it is too large or too heavy; he makes no remark until the time when he should proceed in it to the fight; then he hesitates, and declines going in it, because he has not proved it—that is, this particular armour, not armour in general—as if inexperienced in its use. He releases himself from it, and goes with his sling and shepherd's bag.

We find no intimation here of David's ignorance of the use of armour: not a single word is there to lead to any such conclusion; but the contrary is implied by the fact, that no person present is said to make any remarks upon the proceedings, nor to point out the folly of attempting to put the armour of a tall powerful man upon a mere youth. David was not a mere youth, and the proceedings seemed quite proper to all present. David is no doubt called a stripling, and his youth is spoken of; but it surely must be known even to partially informed persons, that even the age of thirty years was then, and long after, considered a youthful age. St. Paul, for instance, says to Timothy, "Let no man despise thy youth;" and many such proofs might be adduced.

The fact, therefore, that David was a full-grown man at his first appearance at court, is, we submit, clearly proved; and from that and what has been adduced in connexion with the proof of it, the first objection falls to the ground.

We propose now to consider the age of David at the res-

pective times of his first appearance at court, and when he fought Goliath. Jesse, the father of David, had eight sons, of whom David was the youngest; and Jesse went for an old man in the days of Saul. Let us take these days of Saul as the days during which David was with the army, and fought Goliath. We may with probability assign twenty-five as the age at which Jesse married; we may with probability allow eighteen years during which his eight sons were born to him. After this he would be forty-three, and if he were only sixty-eight when David fought Goliath, David would be twenty-five at that time. Again, David reigned forty years, and it is said that he died full of days, old and stricken in years. We cannot assign a less number than seventy as the years of David's life, and this would make him thirty years old when he began to reign: we may, then, with probability assign five years as the period elapsing between his slaying Goliath, and his accession to the throne. He would, therefore, be twenty-five years old when he slew Goliath, as in the first process; and if we deduct the two years assigned as elapsing between his first appearance at court, and the fight with Goliath, David would be twenty-three when he first appeared at court. Now it is quite true that we have brought forward probabilities along with the testimony of Scripture to elucidate that testimony; but we must insist that they *are probabilities*, and not *conjectures or suppositions*, and we proposed to shew that they are probabilities which carry with them something which approximates to proof; for there are five years which we may consider common property for any one to use as he deems most proper. We have thought it probable that Jesse was twenty-five when he married, but if any one would rather, let him make him thirty: he may deduct the five years thus added, either from the time elapsing between Jesse's marriage and the birth of David, his youngest son; or he may accept the eighteen years before-mentioned, and still make David twenty-five years old when he fought Goliath, thirty when he ascended the throne, and seventy when he died, and make Jesse seventy-three when David fought Goliath; or he may make Jesse twenty-five when he married, and David thirty when he fought Goliath, and Jesse at that time seventy-three; or he may make use of the five years in any other way consistent with the fact of David being a man at his first appearance at court, and Jesse being an old man at that time; but whatever view is taken, having proved that David was a full-grown man when he fought Goliath, and presuming him to have been from thirty to thirty-five years old when he ascended the throne, we must state his age, at the time he fought Goliath, somewhere about twenty-five or thirty. This would make him from twenty-

three to twenty-eight, or thereabouts, when he first came to court; or if we assign a longer period than two years between David's first appearance at court, and the fight with Goliath, it will only be necessary to shorten that between the fight and his accession to the throne. There is a period between his first appearance at court, and his accession, varying from seven to twelve years. If he was twenty-three and thirty-five at the respective times mentioned, there are twelve years; if he was twenty-three and thirty, there are seven years. Between the respective limits thus assigned, or others closely approximating to them, we think we must fix the age of David at the different periods referred to.

As David was a man when he first went to court, and of course also when he fought Goliath, and as he could not have been very far advanced in manhood at the former of those periods, because though he was an old man when he died, yet all the events from his first appearance at court to his death, after deducting forty years for his reign, with the events occurring during that time, certainly require that a few years should be assigned as the period during which those events took place, it seems quite clear that David must have been of some age about twenty-three when he first went to court. How long he remained there before returning to Bethlehem, the Scripture narrative does not say. We have a period of from seven to twelve years between his first appearance at court, and his accession. If we fix the fight with Goliath midway, instead of as before, David would then be from twenty-six-and-a-half to twenty-nine. Whatever date we assign between these several periods, the narrative will be seen to be consistent as respects this question of age, for it will read well whether we assign a shorter or longer period than two years between David's first appearance at court and his fight with Goliath; and the events recorded as happening between his fight and his accession, will, without any straining of the imagination, or excitement of surprise, fill up any interval varying from about five to ten years. Of course we do not insist upon the adoption of any particular dates or periods: we have proved the limits within which we may range, and every one may assign particular dates and periods as may best accord with his own views. What we submit as now proved, is this, that David was a man of about twenty-three years old when he first went to court, and a full-grown man when he put on Saul's heavy armour, and prepared to fight Goliath.

We hope to succeed in proving something with respect to the second objection, which will shew that the enquiry as to David's age is of some importance.

We have seen that the first objection cannot be sustained ; let us proceed to examine the second. It is thought to militate against the authority of this part of the Bible, that Saul having had David at his court, did not know him when he was conversing with him about Goliath, and after the fight. Let us see if we can throw any light upon the matter. Taking the narrative from an authentic document, we have to see whether we can perceive it to be a consistent narrative. Now Saul either recognized David when he saw him in the army, and after the fight with Goliath, or he did not recognize him. Suppose he recognized him? Then the account given being true, Saul must have *pretended ignorance* of David's person. Is there any reason why he should have done so? We think there is. We know that Saul had at this time incurred Jehovah's displeasure, and that the kingdom had been given to David. Saul also had been afflicted with an evil spirit, which at intervals came upon him and rendered him insane, or rather, lunatic. Now with respect to the kingdom, David must have known for what purpose Samuel anointed him. Jesse knew ; all David's brethren knew ; for Samuel anointed him in the midst of his brethren. The elders of the town of Bethlehem knew, for Samuel invited them to the ceremony. Saul knew that the kingdom had been taken from him and given to a *neighbour* of his, and no doubt would be desirous of knowing who his neighbour was, and would make enquiries, and would learn the truth. The family of David, Samuel, and the elders of Bethlehem were the chief parties concerned, and at first might be the only parties possessing a knowledge of what had been done, and was to happen with respect to the kingdom. But is it not more than probable, that after *Saul* knew, all the court would, from Saul himself, if at no other time at least during his ravings, hear something either altogether or partially revealing to them the secret, if it ever were a secret? Is it not probable that the connexions and acquaintance of Jesse and his family would be informed of the matter, and frequently converse about it? Is it not probable that the elder brothers of David, when in the army, would talk of it to their comrades? Is it not probable that the elders of Bethlehem would talk of it amongst themselves, and to others? We think it is much more difficult to suppose that the knowledge of what had taken place was confined to David's family, Samuel, and the elders of Bethlehem, for any lengthened period, than to believe that it was soon spread abroad throughout Israel, and soon came to Saul. We know that when Samuel had been appointed to succeed Eli, all Israel soon knew of it, although he was then only a child, and the revelation of God's purpose had been at first communi-

cated only to himself. Then again, Saul had been driven to frenzy and madness by his own wicked course of life, his impiety, and the knowledge of God's purposes concerning him and his kingdom. Is it not probable that the moment Saul found who David was, and that he had been anointed by Samuel, he would become jealous of him? No doubt on David's arrival at court, Saul loved him; but he probably had not then heard of the anointing, and did not know who his neighbour was; but he *would soon* know, and it may have happened, either that he immediately discovered David, or the war with the Philistines might break out soon after he acquired this knowledge, and so David would necessarily leave court.

Saul in his jealousy, and abandoned by God, might, in his impious rage, have determined upon David's destruction before David left his court to go back to Bethlehem, but his plans might not then be ripe, and he might not have found opportunity to injure or kill David whilst at Bethlehem. It would be necessary to use great caution in despatching one who was known by many of the people of Israel to have been anointed as his successor in the kingdom, and Saul might still have some fear of Samuel. But when Saul, on the field of battle, had promised his daughter to the man who should kill Goliath, and the earnest enquiries of a man respecting the reward had been reported to Saul; and when Saul found that that man was David, then his guilty fears would instantly be aroused. David, *his neighbour*, to whom his kingdom had been given, seeks his daughter's hand by proposing to kill Goliath. What shall he do? The young man had yet performed no feat, had yet done nothing to attract the attention of Israel to him, and therefore Saul's fears have not, up to this time, ripened into that ungovernable fury which afterwards took possession of him. Now, indeed, as before, he would be glad to kill David, if a convenient opportunity could be found. Perhaps the giant may do what he desires to be done, and so his own conscience be free from the guilt of shedding David's blood. A most happy circumstance this might appear to be to Saul: he accordingly calms himself, vainly hoping, as such guilty criminals often do, that God's threatenings will be averted; that David will be killed, and he be relieved from the painful suspense which every day hangs over him. He, therefore, affects not to recognize David; talks to him as if he had never before seen him, and offers him armour, after, as was necessary to keep up his dissimulation, making some remarks about his youth. These remarks Saul might think it necessary to make, because if he pressed David to fight, if he shewed himself much interested in the matter, he might arouse suspicion in David's mind,

and David might give up his resolution, and so the apparently favourable opportunity of ridding himself of his enemy would be lost.

Such thoughts as we have just treated, as possibly arising in natural order in Saul's mind, would of course explain his conduct. But Saul might affect ignorance of David's person for other reasons. After hearing of the enquiries of a man as to the reward for killing the giant, and finding that that man was David, he might reflect for a moment on the danger of taking any notice of him, because if he killed Goliath, the enthusiasm of the army, and people generally, David's anointing being at least partially known, might prove dangerous to himself, and therefore, although he could not long prevent its being known who David was, yet, as drowning men catch at straws, so he might contend against his evil fate as long as possible, and trust to the chance of David's being killed, when it would matter nothing to him whether it were known or not, who the unsuccessful champion was.

The preceding remarks refer chiefly to the time when David appeared before Saul, previous to the fight; but they apply also in a great measure to the interview after the battle. David has conquered: Saul sees him another step nearer the throne; he feels, as it were, that another dart from the Lord's quiver has pierced his soul. He knows not what to do. It is not expedient to propose to Abner the instant destruction of David. The army at the moment of deliverance, and flushed with success which had been procured by David alone, would no doubt mutiny, and avenge the death of their champion. He is too proud as a king, too sensitive as a man, to begin to bewail his unhappy lot, and to give vent to his poisoned feelings in tears or execrations: he therefore keeps up the dissimulation, cherishing perhaps, the vain hope, that an opportunity may yet arrive when he can kill David, and end his own troubles. We know to what miserable expedients Saul did at times resort. We know that he was driven to desperation, and though a man with more confidence as to his affairs than Saul had, might have done what we have deemed it possible he did, and we could not in such a case think such conduct strange; yet, when Saul is the man who is brought forward as possibly so acting, the actions so suit the man, that we feel no difficulty in admitting the probability that the case was as described.

After the fight with Goliath, Saul set David over the men-of-war; but he also made him captain over a thousand after he had attempted his life. In the account of each of these appointments, it is said or intimated that David was accepted by, and pleased

the people; but it is not said or intimated in either that he pleased Saul. Is it not probable that in each case Saul wished to expose David to danger, as he did when he required the foreskins of one hundred Philistines? Saul's designs against David appear to have gradually ripened. At first he wishes to kill him, but is at a loss how to do so without exciting the people. Then he watches David closely; then casts javelins at him; then endeavours to persuade Jonathan to kill him; and last of all, carries on an open war against him. As to Saul's fear of God, we have an express declaration, that even when he saw plainly that the Lord was with David, he hated and persecuted him to the death.

To our mind, a very strong, if not the strongest confirmation of the view at present brought forward, is the recorded fact, that *after* David had told Saul who he was, and *after* Saul must undoubtedly have heard of the anointing, and have known that David was his neighbour to whom the kingdom had been given, he yet will suffer him to go no more home to his father's house. Why? No doubt that he might, more easily and without involving himself in the transaction, kill him.

Again, to further strengthen these views, we may remark, that the observation which fell from Saul when the women came out of the towns to praise David, is very significant, and shews what had been upon his mind for some time. He says, "What can he have more but the kingdom?" In an unguarded moment he reveals all he knew, and all he felt.

We can only discover one solitary objection to the foregoing view of the case, and it is this:—The sacred historian says, that on the women of Israel giving David the ovation, "Saul eyed him from that day and forward," as if Saul's hatred began on that day. Now the Hebrew does not necessarily read "eyed." The passage is, &c. וּמִיּוֹם הַהוּא עָיַן שָׁאוּל אֶת דָּוִד The participle used comes from a root which signifies action upon another in almost any manner, and as this rendering, "eyed," appears to be the only instance of such a meaning being attached to the Hebrew word, and for general reasons, we prefer reading the passage, "and Saul was earnestly intent upon David from that day and forward." If this reading is admitted, the objection is done away with, because the text would clearly then have no reference to past time. But lest the proposed reading should not be admitted, and as we ourselves see no obstacle in the reading in the authorized version, let us proceed to examine the latter.

After the ovation, Saul's purposes against David ripen fast; his ungovernable fury can with difficulty be controlled; he loses the command over himself, which hitherto he has preserved, and

makes open attempts on David's life. Now before the ovation, Saul had meditated and sought David's destruction; yet as he had given no indications of it, the historian does not mention the fact, nor could he have done so unless God had revealed to him the state of Saul's feelings towards David at that period, and before. This of course was quite unnecessary for the purposes of the narrative, or at least, was altogether unconnected with the penman's labours. Even as an inspired historian, it was perhaps no part of his office to reveal the secret thoughts of the characters mentioned by him, except upon particular occasions; and therefore for God to reveal to him all the secret thoughts of Saul, was beside the purposes of the historian's office; but when Saul's jealousy increased at the time mentioned, and he shewed *by his actions* that he wished to kill David, the historian records the *fact*, and says that he eyed David from the day of ovation and forward, and (impliedly) watched to kill him. It is true that the throwing of the javelin did not take place on the same day as the ovation, for it was on the morrow, and therefore the historian must have had some other reason for saying what he has said as to Saul's purposes against David; but if Saul cast the javelin on the impulse of the moment, and without previously meditating some such act, then the historian could not with truth have said what he has said; and if Saul's hatred had existed previously to that attempt, then the historian could not have said what he has said, unless either by other previous acts or sayings of Saul not recorded, but known to the historian, Saul himself had disclosed his purposes, or God had, by the spirit of inspiration, led the historian to say what he has said. Now Saul does not appear to have made any *open* attempts on David's life, or to have said anything on the subject previous to the expression of his anger against the women, and the first recorded casting of the javelin. There is nothing in that expression spoken against David, and therefore if the historian was required to say anything about Saul's previous feelings towards David, a revelation to him was necessary. A revelation to the historian that Saul's purposes against David existed previous to the casting of the javelin, was necessary to preserve both the apparent truth, and also the clearness of the narrative, and therefore he recorded that Saul eyed David from the day of ovation and forward, for that event was a very remarkable one, and no other event occurring nearer to the day when the first open attempt was made, could be selected; but this does not exclude the probability that Saul sought David's life long before, and it will be seen that it was unnecessary that the revelation should be extended to the state of Saul's feelings previous to the day of



ovation. The revelation to the historian that Saul's purposes existed immediately after the ovation, was *necessary*, because otherwise the historian must have simply said that Saul cast the javelin, and made the other subsequent attempts on David's life; or have said that Saul began to hate David on the day he cast the first javelin at him. If he had said the latter, it would not have been true; and if he had simply said the former, no reason would have been given for Saul's hatred; but as a reason for Saul's hatred was necessary to be given, and as the historian could only deal with matters of history, unless aided by a revelation of the state of Saul's feelings previous to his overt acts against David's life, God bestowed that revelation, but he bestowed it in no greater measure than was necessary, and therefore did not reveal to the historian the state of Saul's feelings towards David previous to the ovation. This economizing of narrative is quite consistent with the plan of God in all his operations. All who have paid much attention to the framework of the Bible, must surely have noticed that nothing more is given in the way of history than is absolutely necessary for the purpose in view.

Again, the grammatical construction of the passage does not militate against the perfect harmony existing between the probability that Saul meditated David's death before the ovation, and what the historian says of the state of Saul's feelings towards David immediately after that event. Therefore this counter objection is not sustainable, and the view we have embraced as to Saul's recognition of David, and his dissimulation, and the cause of it, is left to stand upon its own merits. We submit that that view is well established, and the narrative, so far as it is supposed to be affected by the second objection, shewn to be quite consistent.

But although we have done enough to cancel this second objection, we have more to say; and lest any one, after reading what is to follow, should resort to the science or doctrine of probabilities, we beg to make a few remarks before proceeding further.

A narrative contained in the Bible has been objected to on account of its inconsistency; or, perhaps according to some, its impossibility. Now one good reason from which the consistency or possibility of such a narrative can be proved, is as good as a hundred; yet, the more reasons we give proving such consistency or possibility, notwithstanding each of those reasons leads to a different result as to the mode of interpreting the narrative to any of the others, the more do we establish the fidelity of the narrative. It is very different when we are endeavouring to

prove a narrative true absolutely ; then of course no two lines of reasoning must contain anything which is made use of in one of them in an opposite way to the use made of it in the other : as for instance, we cannot here prove anything absolutely, on the ground that it is probable that Saul recognized David immediately before and after the fight with Goliath, and then prove the same thing on the ground that it is probable that he did not so recognize him. But this is not the case we have in hand, we are now dealing with a narrative which forms part of the Bible ; that Bible is admitted, in the whole and *primâ facie*, as an authentic record ; this narrative is objected to on the ground that it is an impossible, or at least an inconsistent, one. Now, if we adduce good reasons to prove the possibility and *a fortiori* the consistency of it, we settle the question ; and the more reasons we adduce and the wider the results they lead to, provided only that each result shews the consistency or possibility of the narrative, and that no two results clash with each other, the more is that narrative rendered trustworthy. When anything is sought to be proved absolutely by a number of probable premises, the very number of those probable premises may give a result against the truth or fact sought to be established, and certainly if the probable premises are opposed to each other, an impossibility is the result, because, as all are probable and yet all opposed to each other, they prove the impossibility of the truth or fact sought to be established ; but if a narrative can be proved to be consistent in a number of ways, each differing from another, providing the modes of rendering or explaining the narrative do not interfere one with another, although they may be opposed to each other, then the more of such modes we establish as practicable, the more do we establish the authenticity and credibility of the narrative.

Resorting, therefore, to the remaining alternative, we say, suppose Saul did not recognize David at the times in question. David was a shepherd ; there can, we think, be no doubt that when he was sent for to the palace of the king of Israel, he would put aside his shepherd's attire and procure courtly garments, not necessarily rich or expensive, but at least very different to the coarse raiment of a shepherd, and that he would attend generally to his personal appearance, so as to give no offence to the king or the people of his court ; we say common sense would assure us that such would be the case. Saul then would see David so attired during the time he remained at court, previous to his dismissal or the war with the Philistines, as the case may be. Upon the breaking out of that war, or perhaps before, David returned to Bethlehem and resumed his former occupation, he would there

put off his court garments and assume again the shepherd's dress, in the shepherd's dress he would go to his brethren in the army, for we read that he had his staff and shepherd's bag and a sling, and the distance from Bethlehem was not great. Is it not certain that David's appearance must then have been very different to that presented by him whilst at court? how great an apparent change in the countenance does change of dress often create? Some time had elapsed between David's leaving court and his visit to his brothers, and independently of any change which David's person might actually undergo irrespective of any mode of attire, David's appearance might have been so altered that Saul did not recognize him. But we suspect that Eastern countenances and persons *are always* less easily distinguished than those of Europeans; we think there is a sameness in the former, and particularly amongst the Jews as we now see them, and no doubt it was as much the case, or more so then, for dispersion and the troubles that nation has undergone, and variety of climates, must have tended to break up in some degree the national countenance. We think, therefore, that Saul might for this reason not recognize David; add both these reasons together, and it becomes quite possible that Saul did not recognize him.

But David's countenance and person might really have undergone a great change during the interval between his leaving court and his visit to his brothers. His age at his first going to court we have fixed at about twenty-three, and if two years only elapsed between that time and the fight with Goliath, David's time of life was one when the countenance undergoes great changes, when the stern realities of life are forced upon a young man, and fears, desires, trials, and disappointments increase in number every day; then the freshness of youth fades, the soft fulness of the face, peculiar to childhood and youth, gradually gives place to rigidity of muscle and feature, and the countenance is permanently affected by the changes going on in the mind and heart of the advancing man. Perhaps at no other period of life does the countenance undergo such great changes.

Again, it is well known how cold and forbidding is the etiquette of an Eastern court. When Bathsheba went to speak to David respecting Solomon's succession, she bowed and did obeisance unto the king, and when Nathan the prophet came to speak to the king, Bathsheba appears to have retired, for, after some conversation between David and Nathan, David commands the attendants to call in Bathsheba, and when she came in again, Nathan appears to have retired, for, after some conversation between David and Bathsheba, Nathan is sent for. It is, therefore, possible that David during his first stay at court might not often

see Saul ; it may be he only saw him when he was required to play to him, and, of course, when the evil spirit was upon him, and David's office of armour-bearer would, in time of peace, be only honorary. We read of David's being expected to sit at meat with Saul, but that was after the fight with Goliath, and after the ovation on his second stay at court, and it was, moreover, on a feast-day, and we cannot gather from this that David regularly sat at Saul's table, even during his second stay at court, much less can we come to such a conclusion as respects his first sojourn there. But on one occasion, when David was to have been present, and a plan concerted between him and Jonathan was likely to prevent his attendance, Jonathan proposes to make an excuse for him, if his father should notice his absence, plainly implying by what he says, that it was quite possible that Saul would not miss David from table. It may also be, that Saul heard of what Samuel had done *soon after* David's *first* arrival at court, and that he immediately took occasion to dismiss him, and therefore would have very slight acquaintance with his person.

All these considerations, joined to what we think must be taken as certain, viz., that David's dress at court, and when with the army visiting his brothers, exhibited very great differences, and the uniformity of Eastern, and particularly Jewish countenances, render it very possible that Saul might not recognize David, either immediately before or after the fight with Goliath.

We have, then, shewn how the narrative in question, so far as it is supposed to be affected by the second objection, may be read in two different ways, and that each of these will give ease and probability to the narrative, and render the second objection untenable. If, notwithstanding what we have said, it be asked how we can at the same time and together admit the two opinions, that Saul did not recognize and that he did recognize David at the times in question, we answer, we do not require any one in any manner to admit both opinions, it would be absurd to do so, nor does our reasoning force us to do any such thing. From what we have adduced it does not follow that one mode of viewing the subject of the narrative destroys the authority of any part of the narrative. Notwithstanding anything we have shewn in the argument just concluded, Saul *might* have recognized David at the times in question, we do not contend that he *did*, we cannot prove that he did, we have shewn why it is possible he *might* recognize him and also why it is possible he *might not*, both views cannot be true, neither is proved true, and one may be adopted and the other abandoned at pleasure. If we read the narrative in the belief, or rather supposition, that Saul did recognize David, then the arguments bearing upon the second objection, and first

adduced, will be brought in and have their weight, whilst the arguments bearing upon that objection, and secondly adduced, will not in the least clash with the others, only they must be abandoned, and so *vice versa* the narrative may be read in the belief or supposition that Saul did not recognize David at the times in question, and then the arguments just mentioned, as secondly adduced, will be brought in and have their weight, whilst the arguments just mentioned, as firstly adduced, will not in the least clash with the others, only they must be abandoned.

The sum of the two parts of the argument comes to this:—Saul either might or might not, so far as the narrative shews, recognize David at the times in question; it is certain he either did or did not recognize him, as we cannot prove either that he did or did not; but as the narrative happily will read well on either supposition, so, whichever view any one may prefer, he has here the means at hand to enable him to read the narrative, so far as it is supposed to be affected by the second objection, without any misgivings or doubt. We ourselves are *almost* convinced that Saul *did* recognize David and dissembled.

The third objection remains. We are not of the number of those who would conceal any difficulties which the Word of God in any part of it may present to us. The God of truth cannot have required us to shut our eyes to the difference between truth and falsehood. The Bible, as we have it, is either wholly or partially true, or, which is the same thing, wholly or partially false; if the whole or any part of it is false, so much of it as is false does not come from God, and he will not require us to receive it, and the sooner we abandon that which is false the better for ourselves and the world at large; but if the Bible is true, woe be to him who either despises it or by negligence and sloth gives sanction to any accusation of falsehood against it. We observe, therefore, that the same verse which gives occasion for the third objection contains in it another apparent difficulty, which, so far as we know, has never been noticed: it informs us that David put Goliath's armour in his tent, and as we think all must allow that David, just come from the sheepfold and on a mere temporary visit to his brothers, could have had no tent, we have two difficulties in this one verse. The Bible is not the only book which has been assailed on account of supposed contradictions and inconsistencies; we have abundant instances of profane authors, historians and others, whose statements have been objected to, but as events in some cases have proved, only through impatience or ignorance of those things of which the authors themselves were cognizant. What a host of objections should we, in these days, have against the Bible, if all our knowledge of Eastern customs

and habits were lost? Then the sceptic would ask, how can a camel go through a needle's eye? you do not deny that a rich man may be saved, and yet, as it is utterly impossible for a camel to go through a needle's eye, here is a contradiction put into the mouth of Jesus himself. The pious Christian might be startled and feel the difficulty, unless he could satisfactorily rest upon the hyperbolic character of Eastern speech, but he would not erase the passage, he would patiently wait, assured that the truth of God cannot lie and that ignorance alone prevented him seeing the truth of what was said. And when one who had travelled in the East related, on his return home, amongst other things, that the gates of Eastern cities were formed in such and such a manner, and had a small side gate,<sup>a</sup> which was called by the natives the needle's eye, and that it was straight and narrow, so that a camel could only, with great difficulty, pass through it, the pious Christian's patience and faith would be rewarded and the sceptic confounded. Such an instance as the one we have given affords, we are convinced, a key to almost all the supposed difficulties in the Bible in narrative. We want more information as to the country in which anything is said to have taken place, its inhabitants, their manners, laws, and customs.

We further observe, with respect to the third objection and the difficulty we ourselves have started, that the 1st Book of Samuel abounds in *anticipatory* statements; we think this is too well known to require another word from us upon the subject.

To proceed with the inquiry. The Israelites were not given to those cruel and barbarous usages with respect to conquered enemies which we find existing amongst other nations contemporary with them. The cutting off of the hands of conquered enemies, whether captives or slain, we do not take upon ourselves to determine; the nailing of the heads or bodies of enemies to the walls of towns, and such like barbarous customs formerly existed amongst some of the Eastern nations, but the Israelites were exempt from this species of revenge. To assign here no higher motive, they had too great a regard for the sepulture, in more even than a decent manner, of their own dead, to allow them to resort to such practices against their enemies. David, we think, would not have cut off Goliath's head if he had been an enemy of the common sort; nor does it appear that the Israelites, when they had routed the Philistines, after Goliath was dead, did any such thing to the bodies of their slain enemies. But the defeat of Goliath had a double tendency. In the first place, David must have considered his victory as coming from God alone, and

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<sup>a</sup> This observation is given on the responsibility of the writer alone.—Ed. J. S. L.

as given to him *personally*, as well as for the sake of the Israelites; and secondly, the Israelites must have looked upon it as the means of a *national* deliverance, aided by Jehovah's signal and manifest interposition. Now the Israelites might require David to cut off Goliath's head as a trophy, and also as a memento of *their* deliverance, as well as of David's victory; or David knowing that he was to be the successor of Saul and king of Israel, might foresee the advantage which might accrue to *him* if he had such a token of God's favour towards him, always before the eyes of the people. Either of these views seems reasonable, and both together seem equally so, and therefore we may believe that the head of Goliath was embalmed and deposited in some place of safety, without at first any intention finally to deposit it at Jerusalem, but that it did come there after Jerusalem was taken by David, and that the historian has merely passed over all the intermediate time. The sight of the head of the huge giant, before whom the men of Israel had quailed in terror and despair, with the hole in the forehead and the very stone which David had slung remaining there, would either, at Jerusalem or elsewhere, serve for a great *national* monument, as well as for a memento to *David* of Jehovah's care over *him*. The same line of reasoning may, we think, be followed with respect to the armour of Goliath. David might, after he began a warlike life, carry this with him from place to place when convenient, and if so, would, of course, keep it in his tent, and when it was not convenient to be encumbered with tents, it might be deposited in some place of safety, for the sword of Goliath was at one time at Nob; this was at a time when David was fleeing from Saul. The fact of its being deposited with a priest, and David's expression, "there is none like it," strengthen the view we have taken, and help to shew that David kept the armour as a token of God's favour towards him and of the help he had vouchsafed him, and can we not readily understand how the sight of this armour might prove to David, in his wanderings and the straits and difficulties in which he was often involved, a means of directing his thoughts to former days, and so of enabling him to repose in faith upon his God, and look to him for deliverance, exclaiming, "I will remember the years of the right hand of the Most High. Why art thou so heavy, O my soul, and why art thou so disquieted within me. O put thy trust in God, for I will yet give him thanks, which is the help of my countenance and my God." It may be objected to the above view that no further mention is made of Goliath's head and armour in the Bible; to this we give the short reply, the Bible was not intended to be a work of many bulky folios, but a small volume adapted to the ignorant and simple, as well as to the

learned and wise. We are disposed to be glad that the difficulty we have started as to Goliath's armour exists in such close connexion with the third objection, for to our minds the two objections destroy each other, and make the text very simple; not that either of them cannot be satisfactorily disposed of, for we trust we have satisfactorily disposed of each in its turn, but because the fact contains a caution to those who would, on account of apparent inconsistencies and difficulties, hastily write down a passage interpolated or dislocated, or demand to have it expunged.

We believe we have now shewn that all the three objections together, with any we have started on hypothesis, are untenable, and that the narrative in question is consistent and may be read without surprise or doubt. It follows that there is no necessity for supposing either dislocations in the parts of it, or interpolations, or any such thing. The erasure of any part cannot be tolerated, the narrative must be received as part of the unerring Word of God in all its integrity.

*Let those who have tampered with this portion of the Bible repair what they have injured.* Let true and earnest Biblical students set themselves to the task in prayer and humble dependence upon God for assistance, and then, we are persuaded, almost all the difficulties supposed to exist in the Bible, would soon be shewn to be no difficulties at all. Some real discrepancies there may be in the Bible as we now have it, but we feel inclined to believe that they are only such as have reference to figures and the numbers of given things, and have been caused by the errors of transcribers, and many of these we should not despair of clearing up. We shall feel thankful if the Christian world can subscribe their assent to what we have laboured to prove. The question will then be finally settled, and this narrative, which has hitherto baffled explanation and been a stumbling block to many, even to the fall of some, in that they have despoiled the Word of God, will be held consistent and true. This success ought also to encourage all to further efforts to elucidate the blessed Book.

J. R.

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### THE SONGS OF DEGREES.

IN a former article<sup>a</sup> we drew attention to the remarkable correspondence subsisting between these Songs and the Book of Nehemiah; to the inadequacy of the Pilgrim Theory; and to the rabbinical tradition by which the Songs are referred to the *steps* of the temple. We shall now pursue the investigation a little farther regarding the title, and then examine the metrical structure by which the Songs of Degrees are characterized.

I. As to the title. We endeavoured to shew before, that possibly the fifteen Songs of Degrees were arranged according to their present order to serve, partly as a historical memento of the times of Nehemiah during the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the temple, and partly as a thankful acknowledgment, to be made periodically, of the goodness of God, manifested in the national restoration. The former of these was secured by the Songs forming part of the Sacred Scriptures, and the latter could be effected in connexion with the annual festivals. What more appropriate occasion for rendering thanks to God for a national deliverance than when there were representatives from all parts of the country in Jerusalem? and what more fit place in Jerusalem for the concourse of representatives than the steps of the temple? For, as we have before noticed, the rabbinical tradition seems to have preserved correctly the proper meaning of the word *ḥaggaḥ*, notwithstanding the "frivolous conjectures" in which that meaning was unfortunately buried. Here, then, we see how, in a most natural manner, the periodical festivals came to be associated with the Songs of the Steps. Does not this bring us in sight of the origin of the Pilgrim Theory? Thus we have a fragment of truth preserved to us in two of the older explanations; and may we not look for still another fragment in the remaining hypothesis which refers the Songs of Degrees to the return from Babylon? The rebuilding of Jerusalem was a consequence of the return from Babylon, and the events were closely associated, the one taking place immediately after the other.

But let us give a fuller statement of what we are disposed to consider the connexion of each of the three foregoing explanations with the Songs of Degrees, and we shall thereby subsequently see how each became the repository of a certain amount of truth. According to our own hypothesis the Songs of Degrees, as a collection, are to be referred to the times of Nehemiah during the

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<sup>a</sup> *Journal of Sacred Literature*, Oct., 1854.

rebuilding of Jerusalem and the temple. By the nature of the case, the inquirer is thrown back upon previous events, and he soon comes into contact with the Babylonish captivity. It is possible that some of the odes were composed towards the close of the captivity, and, from the nature of their contents, were applicable for the purpose of the collection, and as such adopted, just as several of them were originally composed by David many hundreds of years before, but find a place in the series on account of the tone and tenor of the contents. In any case, the moment history is consulted, the great event lying behind the time of the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the temple, is the Babylonish captivity.

Let us now turn again for a moment to the Pilgrim Theory. According to our hypothesis the Songs of Degrees were to be repeated on some conspicuous occasion, as an acknowledgment for national blessings bestowed during the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the temple under Nehemiah. The representatives, as they came from all parts of the country to Jerusalem, were, indeed, on their way to take part in the recital of the Songs of Degrees; and it is not only possible, but highly probable, that such a psalm as cxxii. was often repeated by the pilgrim as he proceeded and came near the city. Nevertheless, it is a very different thing to suppose that the whole collection was expressly put together for him as a pilgrim. Also to call the collection by such a name as the *Pilgrim Book*, as Hengstenberg does, is to attach undue importance to a merely subordinate circumstance. However, we can see very easily, from the foregoing, how the periodical visits to Jerusalem came to be associated with the Songs of the Steps.

Lastly, as to the rabbinical tradition. How far this may be right or how far wrong in assigning a particular part of the temple, and in allotting fifteen steps for the chanting or recital of those songs, we do not pause to imagine. Our chief business is with the fact that, by a *rabbinical* tradition, the *מִזְמוֹרֵי הַשָּׁבָץ* are referred to the *steps* of the temple. What we plead for as important in the tradition is in connexion with the fact that *Jews*, to whom we may suppose the Hebrew to have been more familiar than to foreigners, should have preserved a meaning to the word concerned, which is in accordance with the constant use of that word in the Old Testament. It may be noticed here, also, that in the Septuagint, the oldest of the versions, the title stands *ὁδὴ τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν*, *song of the steps*.

But troublous times were in store for Jerusalem; and the disastrous era of Antiochus was to be followed by the still more disastrous era of Titus. The nation being destroyed, commemorative institutions and customs disappeared, so that, in after ages,

men who set themselves to inquire into former things had to make the best use they could of such fragments as floated down the stream of history and tradition. We pick up the fragments, place them together, and endeavour to supply what is wanting by analogy with what is possessed. The Jew preserves to us the meaning of the word *steps*, and refers the songs of the steps to the steps of the temple. We saw in our former article that *steps* is the only satisfactory rendering. But others also contribute. One investigates and is impressed with the historical connexion which subsists between the songs and the periodical festivals; but, unfortunately, he endeavours to make the word mean *pilgrimage*, which it never does in the Hebrew Scriptures. Another investigates, and is struck with the connexion which the songs appear to have with the period of the Babylonish captivity, but he, unfortunately, endeavours to make the word mean *journeys*, in order to get at the *return* from Babylon. We have endeavoured to find a point in which these three lines of evidence meet when produced; and the reader must determine for himself how far we have succeeded in combining all the probabilities and avoiding the errors which they severally exhibit.

II. We proceed now to lay before the reader a few observations concerning the symmetrical structure of the Songs of the steps. It is now beyond all doubt that very great care was bestowed, in the composition of many of the poetical books, upon the symmetrical distribution of the materials. We think the Songs of the steps furnish a very interesting little quota of evidence, some of which we shall immediately produce. We may notice that we have endeavoured to discover the chief rules according to which each of these songs has been constructed, and in only *one* case out of the fifteen are we much dissatisfied with our present conclusions.

A prominent characteristic in the Songs of the steps—both as to composition individually and arrangement as a collection—is the symmetrical distribution around a centre. It may be detected—

- 1st. In the words of a line.
- 2nd. In the lines of a stanza.
- 3rd. In the stanzas of an ode.
- 4th. In the odes of the collection.

The reader at once notices the regular gradation in the four-fold division which we have just given. The *first* seems to prepare the way for the second, the second suggests the third, and the third the fourth. The second in our list exhibits those picturesque introverted parallelisms which must have been very care-

fully arranged by the composers. They occupy an intermediate place in our scale, having immediately under them a class smaller, and immediately above them a class larger than themselves, but all arranged according to a similar plan. In the introversion the lines or couplets advance to a central point and recede from it on the opposite side, step for step, according to the order of advance, the one side corresponding with the other, line for line, or couplet for couplet. But there is no cognizance taken of what may be the more minute structure which determines the position of the words in a line. However, when we come to examine a line we sometimes find it a miniature introversion: the *words* advance to a particular point, and recede from it in such a way that we see the words of the second half are determined as to place by the position already allotted to the words of the first half, just as the order of the *lines* in the larger scale is determined in the second half by the order of the *sentiments* already expressed in the first half. But, in the third grade of the scale, there is still another point kept in view. The symmetry of the ode as a whole is the composer's object exclusively. Having reached the centre, he completes the remaining half of his ode according to the *plan* followed in the former half. The reader will soon see, also, that often the psalmist has used two distinct measures in the same ode. As to the fourth gradation on our scale, it would appear to be a symmetry in regard to *quantity* which has been partly aimed at. Of this we shall speak hereafter. In view of the foregoing observations we may re-state our fourfold division anew: With reference to a central point the composers appear to have aimed at—

- 1st. Symmetry in the position of *words* and sense.
- 2nd. Symmetry in the position of *lines* and sense.
- 3rd. Symmetry in the *position* of lines.
- 4th. Symmetry in the *number* of lines.

We shall now proceed to illustrate these.

1st. As to the position of words symmetrically arranged. In the following examples the order of the original is preserved by reading down the first column and up the second. We may notice that where three or four words occur in English there is often only one in Hebrew, also the references are henceforth, not to the *verses* but to the *lines*, in the imitations which the reader will find a little farther on.

Ps. cxxi. 12—14. (1)		Ps. cxxi. 2, 3. (2)	
By day	by night.	Wherefrom	from God.
the sun	nor moon	shall come	(shall come)
shall not smite thee,		mine aid ?	mine aid

Ps. cxvi. 4, 5.	(3)	Ps. cxvi. 15, 16.	(4)
Laughter shouting.		Who sow shall reap.	
our mouth and our tongue		in tears in joy	

Ps. cxxxii. 7, 8.	(5)	Ps. cxi. 7, 8.	(6)
Sleep slumber.		May he not nor will, &c.	
to mine eyes to mine eyelids		nor slumber will neither slumber	

Three of these examples (1, 2, and 6) occur in Psalm cxi., and seem to have formed the basis on which Gesenius built his "step-rhythm" theory as an explanation of the title "Songs of Steps." Another very good example occurs in Psalm cxxxiii., which we shall give in connexion with the next division.

2nd. Sense symmetrically distributed as to lines. Psalm cxxxiii. affords an example both of this and the preceding.

Psalm cxxxiii.

As the precious oil	As Hermon's dew,
on the head	to his skirts.
that flows	that flows
to the beard, - - - -	beard of Aaron.

קֶסֶל זָרוֹחַ	זֶמֶן הַרְמוֹן
עַל־רֹאשׁוֹ	עַל־יְרֵכֵי
דָּוִד	דָּוִד
לְדָבָר - - - -	לְדָבָר

The following plan will exhibit the artistic effect which the above arrangement produces in the ode.

Psalm cxxxiii.

1. Lo ! how good and how pleasing
2. That brethren dwell together !
3. Like the precious oil
4. On the head that flows
5. To the beard,
6. The beard of Aaron
7. That flows to his skirts.
8. Like dew of Hermon,
9. That flows on hills of Zion ;
10. For there
11. God decreed
12. The Benediction,
13. Life for evermore.

Between lines 5—10 we have an introverted parallelism. The eleventh line is evidently analogous to the sixth and ninth, and seems to commence a new introversion ; shall we do wrong in

continuing in accordance with the plan already followed in lines 5—10? It is, at least, so far satisfactory that there are just materials enough to complete a second arrangement according to the analogy of the first. If this be correct, we have in this ode—1st, corresponding words arranged equidistant from a centre; 2nd, lines corresponding as to position and meaning; and, 3rd, lines corresponding as to position only—three of our four leading divisions.

But we would here notice, what is still more important, how the plan of the ode which we have given exhibits the divisions of subject. The twofold division which at once arrests attention exhibits—1st, the proposition or subject on which the psalmist is about to discourse; and, 2nd, the illustration of the subject, 3—13. Not only so, but it is at once seen that the part allotted to the illustration is twofold, each introversion in reality containing an illustration.

We shall now take Psalm cxxi. The following may help to exhibit the plan of it—

Psalm cxxi.

1. "Lift to the hills mine eyes?
2.       Wherefrom shall come mine aid?"
3.       Mine aid shall come from God,
4. Who made the earth and skies.
  
5. "May he ne'er let thee slip,
6.       Nor he that guards thee slumber."
7.       Behold! He never slumbers
8. Nor sleeps, who Isr'el guards.
  
9. The Lord thy guard!
10. The Lord thy shade!
11. At thy right hand!
  
12. By day the sun
13.       Shall not thee smite,
14. Nor moon by night.
  
15. God thee will guard
16.       From ev'ry ill,
17. Thee guard he will.
  
18. Thee guard will God
19. At home—abroad—
20. Henceforth for ever.

This beautiful ode is composed of two parts, as distinctly marked by the contents as by the structure; and the division

determined by the one is exactly coincident with the division determined by the other. In the first division, 1—8, we have two stanzas, each stanza consisting of two parts, each part containing two lines. Each stanza contains a query or remark, and a reply. We have already, in our former article, given reasons for supposing David the author, and for referring the ode to the period shortly after his sparing Saul's life, as recorded in 1 Sam. xxvi. David was often reduced to great straits during Saul's persecution, and his attendants must often have been not a little desponding. Indeed, immediately after the interview between Saul and David, and notwithstanding the remarkable benediction of the latter by the former, (1 Sam. xxvi. 25,) the very next verse announces that David said in his heart, "I shall now perish one day by the hand of Saul," (1 Sam. xxvii. 1,) and accordingly he makes preparations for flight into the land of the Philistines. Upon such an occasion, perceiving dismay in the face of some attendant, David reads his thoughts, and gives expression to them in the first couplet, and gives a definite answer in the second. The peculiar arrangement of the words has been already considered. In the second stanza, David's attendant ventures to speak for himself, and gives expression to the third couplet. It is still the language of doubt and fear. The speaker is not yet raised to the lofty position taken by David in the preceding couplet. The confidence in Jehovah as a sufficient protector in any possible circumstances, expressed by David, falls without effect on his attendant's ears by reason of apprehended danger. The expression, "May thy guardian never sleep," line 6, seems very appropriate for Abishai. (1 Sam. xxvi. 8, 9.) David had spared Saul when he found him sleeping; had spared him, too, in opposition to the wish of Abishai; and now as David himself feels in his heart that he can expect no mercy from Saul, and is preparing to go to the land of the Philistines, Abishai reminds him of his former policy. "You see what straits we are in now: we are in constant danger. It might have been otherwise. You found Saul and his guard sleeping, and might have got rid of a deadly enemy at once; but you did not. I hope you may never be found by Saul in similar circumstances. I hope your guard may never be overtaken by sleep, for none of us can expect any mercy at the hands of Saul."

In reply to this, David gives utterance to the fourth couplet, which concludes the second stanza and the first division. He draws more serious attention to what he says by the introductory word "Behold!" and assures his friend that he, David, has a protector, a guardian, whose wakeful eye is never closed by sleep at all; and this protector is Jehovah: not only as in his former

reply, the Creator and disposer of the heavens and the earth, but more particularly and definitely bearing upon their present circumstances. His guardian is the guardian of Israel. Thus the attendant (line 1), looks at first merely to the hills. David points him to the Creator; not only of the hills, but of the heavens and the earth (line 4); and then (line 8) to the same Creator, and also the guardian of Israel. The climax is now reached, and the first division appropriately closes.

We would pause here a moment, however, to point out the structure of the second stanza. In our version, it is little more than a repetition of the same sentiment, as if uttered by the same party. The force of the original may be exhibited thus:

“I hope he will not let thy feet slip;  
I hope thy keeper will never slumber.  
Behold! he will never slumber,  
He will never sleep who guards Israel.”

There is a twofold wish, or hope, or prayer, to which corresponds the twofold answer. Thus the verbs, and the subjoined particles dehortatory in the former two lines, directly negative in the latter two, will shew the plan of the stanza.

יְהוָה יִשְׁמְרֵךְ  
יְהוָה יִשְׁמְרֵךְ

The dialogue now ends with the first division. The second division begins with a different tone and measure. To the end it exhibits full confidence in the protection of Jehovah, and dwells on the numerous ways in which his care will be manifested towards his chosen. Thus the psalmist has succeeded in elevating the thoughts of his attendants to the point at which he arrived from the first, and now they congratulate him in the protection of Jehovah.

According to the distribution which we have made of the contents of this carefully composed psalm, the first division contains eight lines,—the second division, twelve. However, the length of the former above the latter is as three to two, so that there is the same amount of matter in each. Thus:

1. “Lift to the hills mine eyes? Wherefrom shall come mine aid?”
2. Mine aid shall come from God, who made the earth and skies.
3. “May he not let thee fall! nor he that guards thee slumber!”
4. Behold! he never slumbers nor sleeps, who Isr’el guards.
5. The Lord thy guard, the Lord thy shade, at thy right hand;
6. By day the sun shall not thee smite, nor moon by night.
7. God thee will guard from every ill; thee guard he will,
8. Thee guard will God, at home, abroad, henceforth for ever.



These eight lines correspond with the eight verses of our version. The first half contains the dialogue; the second the exulting congratulation. Lines 1 and 3 in the dialogue express the fears, and lines 2 and 4 express the confidences of the two parties respectively.

Ere leaving this beautiful ode, we would again advert to the practical importance of having the divisions and sub-divisions of the subject of the ode rendered so obvious as we think is effected by the scheme which we gave at the beginning.

We shall now proceed to Psalm cxxiv. The plan of the original may be exhibited as follows:—

Psalm cxxiv.

1. But for the Lord who was for us,
2.     May Israel truly say,
3. But for the Lord who was for us,
4.     When rose against us men ;
5. Then living they had swallowed us,
6.     When flamed their wrath against us ;
7. Then had the waters covered us,
8.     The stream gone o'er our soul.
9. Then surely had gone o'er our soul,
10.    The proudly swelling waters.
11. Blessed be the Lord who not
12. Us gave a prey unto their teeth.
13.     Our soul as bird escaped
14.     From snare of fowlers :
15.     The snare is broken,
16.     And so are we escaped.
17. Our help is in the name of God,
18. The maker of the heaven and earth.

The case of introverted parallelism, 11, 18, here at once catches the eye. Just as obvious is the twofold division of the Psalm. Moreover, in the first division, a second glance shews that the first two couplets are distinguished from the remaining three. Lines 1 and 3, are the same; lines 5, 7, and 9, commence with the same word. The first four lines give a hypothetical case; the remaining six enumerate what would have been the dismal consequences, supposing that hypothetical case had been a reality.

According to the title, David is the author of this Psalm; and in looking for an occasion to which it may refer, Venema acknowledges the Egyptian oppression as the most appropriate, but for two difficulties. First,—The reference to *stream* and *waters* seems rather to indicate that the psalm is of a prophetic,

not a historical character; and Secondly,—A period so remote from David's time as the oppression under Pharaoh, would destroy the emphasis of line 2, "Dicat nunc Israel." As to this latter, the element of time is not concerned in the word *now* at all, and when translated *now*, it is convertible with *may, let, I pray*, used in an entreating manner. As to the former of the objections, the reference to *stream* and *waters* would be all the more appropriate by making the ode refer to the event of the memorable passage of the Red Sea. It was by no means uncommon for the sacred poet, after reviewing God's dealings of old in his nation's annals, to compose an ode referring to some important event, and containing his own reflections. By a careful comparison, we shall find a minute correspondence, both of sentiment and expression, between this ode and chapters xiv. and xv. of Exodus, which contain the account of the passage of the Red Sea, and the song of Moses. "Had it not been for the Lord who was on our side," says the psalmist in the place of the Israelite, but with reason, for the Israelite had been told (Exod. xiv. 14) "the Lord shall fight for you." Before the critical moment arrived, and after it was over, the narrative tells, "The Lord saved Israel that day out of the hand of the Egyptians." (Exod. xiv. 30.) Then well "may Israel say" so, for "Israel saw that great work which the Lord did upon the Egyptians." (Exod. xiv. 31.) "When men arose against us," says the psalmist in the place of Israel, and speaking of the enemy as the enemy of Israel throughout the ode, "Thou hast overthrown them that rose up against thee," (Exod. xv. 7,) say Moses and his followers, representing their enemies as fighting against God himself, throughout the song of triumph. "Then they had swallowed us alive," says the psalmist, but the doom which they intended for Israel became their own; for says the triumphal song, "Thou stretchest out thy hand, the earth swallowed them." (Exod. xv. 12.) "When their wrath was kindled against us," says the psalmist, "and the heart of Pharaoh and of his servants was turned against the people." (Exod. xiv. 5.)

Now comes an important transition in the ode which we think points very distinctly to the passage of the Red Sea as the subject of which the psalmist was thinking when he composed this ode.

We have brought the Israelites to the banks of the Red Sea, and while encamped here, the hosts of Pharaoh come in sight, to the great consternation of the Israelites (Exod. xiv. 10); but immediately after mentioning that the interposition of Jehovah saved the Israelites from being overwhelmed by the pursuers, he goes on to say, "Then had the waters covered us."

After the deliverance from the Egyptians, comes the deli-

verance from the waters. This makes the ode fit very accurately with the order and combination of events on that memorable occasion; for beyond doubt, the Israelites knew of the divine arrangement by which they were enabled to pass over dry, while the Egyptians were drowned in pursuit. Thus, then, except for the intervention of Jehovah, the Israelites themselves might have been covered with the waters; but instead of that, when they were safe across, God "blew with his wind, and the sea covered the Egyptians." (Exod. xv. 10.) But the miraculous passage has made a deep impression on the psalmist, and he cannot dismiss the subject with a single reference. "Then had the stream gone o'er our soul; gone o'er our soul then had the proud waters." (lines 8—9.) So in the song of Moses, there is oft-repeated reference, as was to be expected, to the miraculous overwhelming of the Egyptians; but curiously enough, the verb *to pass over*, which is repeated twice in the Psalm as above, 8, 9, occurs repeated twice in the song of Moses. (Exod. xv. 16.) So far the psalmist has referred to the interposition of Jehovah to save Israel both from the Egyptians and from the waters of the Red Sea; and as that event in the actual history was followed by the triumphal song of Moses, so in the succeeding division of the ode we have the ascription of praise to Jehovah arranged as an introverted parallelism. "Blessed be Jehovah," says the psalmist, "who gave us not a prey to their teeth." "The enemy said," according to Moses, "I will pursue, I will overtake, I will divide the spoil." (Exod. xv. 9.) "Our soul escaped as a bird from the snare of fowlers: the snare is broken, and we are escaped," says the psalmist. "They are entangled in the land; the wilderness hath shut them in," (Exod. xiv. 3,) was the hope and belief of Pharaoh. "Our help is in the name of Jehovah, who made heaven and earth," concludes the psalmist, as he began, by ascribing all to Jehovah. "The Lord is my strength and song, and he is become my salvation," (Exod. xv. 2,) and is the theme of Moses.

Thus we see how minutely every particular in Psalm cxxiv. corresponds with the narrative of the passage of the Red Sea. The order of events in the one is precisely the order of events in the other. There is (1) an interposition of Jehovah, in order (2) to save his people who are in great fear, (3) from an overwhelming enemy, and (4) from overwhelming waters. There is then, (5) lastly, the ascription of praise to God. Can we, in these circumstances, be far wrong in supposing that the event which afforded the ground plan of the psalmist's ode, was the miraculous passage of the Red Sea, and the attendant circumstances?

We proceed now to notice a peculiarity regarding lines

7—10. According to the sense, the extremes 7 and 10, are analogous; also the means 8 and 9 are analogous—that is, the four lines form a very simple case of introverted parallelism. In fact, line 9 is repeated verbatim from the preceding, and has all the appearance of being part of an introversion. According to this consideration, the arrangement would be as follows:

5. Then living they had swallowed us,
6.       When flamed their wrath against us;
7. Then had the waters covered us,
8.       The stream gone o'er our soul.
9.       Gone o'er our soul
10. Then had the swelling waters.

This arrangement, which avoids a double anomaly, is produced by lowering the particle *then*  $\text{𐤊}$  from line 9 to line 10. The sense indicates an introversion which is destroyed by the usual position of *then*; also the usual position of *then* gives formally an alternate parallelism which is not permitted by the sense for the lines 7 and 10, 8 and 9 correspond, whereas lines 7 and 9, 8 and 10 do not. The change is very slight, and might easily have occurred. Indeed, a transcriber might readily imagine that the lines from 1 to 10, were designed as a series of alternations, and have elevated the particle *then* from line 10 to line 9. But besides satisfying the laws of parallelism, the change would bring us to another interesting conclusion.

We have already taken occasion several times to notice how the parallelistic structure has been rendered subservient to marking the divisions and sub-divisions of an ode. As to the one under consideration, we have but to look for a moment at the distribution of the ode into 18 lines, as we have already given it, in order to become cognizant of the larger twofold division contained 1st, in lines 1—10; and 2nd, in lines 11—18. Then looking only to the former, we immediately recognize in it a twofold division, viz., 1st, in lines 1—4; and 2nd, in lines 5—10. Each of these divisions, greater and less occurring obviously, in the structure indicate corresponding divisions of subject; not only so, but if our transposition of the particle  $\text{𐤊}$  be permitted, the result will be a twofold variety in the structure of lines 5—10, coinciding exactly with the twofold character of the contents; for we have in lines 5—6, reference to overwhelming enemies, and in lines 7—10, reference to overwhelming waters.

Thus, in connexion with the second grade of the scale with which we started, we have given some illustrations; and although we have given the whole odes, yet it was more especially with the larger divisions of these odes that we were concerned, viz.: in so far as each division was complete in itself, and had no structural

connexion with the rest of the ode. We shall now proceed in the third place, to examine some odes in which the composer appears to have bestowed great attention in making them symmetrical as a whole, and with relation to a centre. We shall take as our first example Psalm cxxvi., the plan of which we would exhibit as follows:—

Psalm cxxvi.

I.

1. When Jehovah returned,
2. The returning of Zion,
3.     Like dreamers were we.
4. Then will joy fill our mouth,
5. On our tongue will be song;
6.     Then they'll say 'mid the heathen,

II.

7. MAGNIFIED HATH THE LORD,
8.     IN HIS DOINGS WITH THEM.
9. MAGNIFIED HATH THE LORD,
10.     IN HIS DOINGS WITH US,

III.

11.     And gladsome are we.
12. Jehovah return!
13. Our returning
14.     Like streams in the south.
15. The sowers in sorrow,
16. In gladness shall reap,

IV.

17.     WHO WEEPING SHALL GO
18. WHEN BEARING SEED BASKET;<sup>a</sup>
19.     HE SHOUTING SHALL COME
20. WHEN BEARING HIS SHEAVES.

This ode is ruled by the No. *Two* to a remarkable extent. It consists of four stanzas, arranged in two pairs, corresponding alternately and inversely, stanza III. being the inversion of stanza I., and stanza IV. of II. Stanzas I. and III. contain each, two couplets; stanzas II. and IV. contain each two alternations. So far the external arrangement of the materials; but on examining the contents of the ode, it will be seen at a glance that we have given no arbitrary division. The division has been, indeed, determined by the sense, and when written accordingly, the result is a perfectly symmetrical whole.

Thus there can be no doubt that lines 1 and 2 go together; so 4 and 5. There can be no doubt that lines 7 and 9 alternate;

<sup>a</sup> Marginal reading.

so 8 and 10. It is evident that lines 12 and 13 go together; equally so, 15 and 16. It is evident 17 and 19 alternate; equally so, 18 and 20. There remain only four lines, viz., 3, 6, 11, 14, of which two serve to separate couplets, and two to separate stanzas.

We find the same prominence given to the number two when we come to the *words* of the ode. The expression, "return the returning," is in itself double, and occurs twice. In lines 4, 5, the statement is twofold. The verb to *magnify* occurs twice, 7, 9. The verbs of *going* and *coming*, are doubled, 17, 19. The verb to *do*, occurs twice, 8, 10; the verb to *bear*, occurs twice, 18, 20. The name of *Jehovah* occurs twice in the inverse corresponding stanzas I. and III., and twice in the similar corresponding stanzas II. and IV. The number two is thus developed about a score of times in this remarkably artificial ode, and there must surely have been some design in it. Moreover, the *tone* of the ode is manifestly twofold. At the beginning of the ode, the speakers profess themselves to have been as if in a dream, by reason of delight at their restoration; and yet a little further on, the prayer is expressly *for* restoration—apparently not yet enjoyed. This seems at once to refer us to a period when the Jewish nation was partly restored, and partly still in captivity. Accordingly, the ode has been referred to the period of Ezra and Nehemiah. Still further the excited feelings and strong emotions indicated by the speakers, expressing themselves as if they were dreaming, in regard to the blessing already vouchsafed, and the rapid transition from the past to the future, and the anticipations which they express concerning the future, may possibly indicate an origin to the ode, dating somewhere between the commencement of the *Anabasis* from Babylon, and before the arrival at Jerusalem; for it is observable that the ode contains no reference to the vexation which the rebuilders of Jerusalem experienced from the scorn and contempt of surrounding hostile people; such reference being very prominent in other odes—*e. g.*, Psalms cxx., cxxiii., cxxix., cxxxi.

The latter part of the ode, lines 12—20, containing allusion to seed time and harvest, and the filling of the dry channels of streams with periodical rains, seems to have been composed in imitation of the earnest prayer which the Jews offered up for the early and the latter rains. The psalmist prays as earnestly for the restoration from captivity, as the Jews used to pray for the returning showers, upon which depended the agricultural prospects of the country. The seed-time closed about the beginning of December, or the month Chisleu, and this reminds us that Nehemiah during that same month heard the sad intelligence regarding the distressed condition of the Jews in Jerusalem. (Neh. i. 3.) "And it came to pass, when I heard these words,

that I sat down and wept, and mourned certain days, and fasted and prayed before the God of heaven." (Neh. i. 4.) This was certainly "sowing in tears." Also, Nehemiah tells us, that he set out for Jerusalem in the month Nisan, (Neh. ii. 1,) corresponding to part of March and April, as the learned inform us. It was about this time that prayers were offered up for the latter rain, and the eagerness with which it was looked for appears to have been proverbial from very early times. Thus, Job xxix. 23—"And they waited for me as for the rain; and they opened their mouth wide as for the latter rain." Thus, then, Nehemiah had "sown in tears." His departure from Babylon was as the granting of the latter rains, which fill the channels of the streams; and now there remained the harvest, to which the composer looks forward with hope and confidence.

Ere we quit this ode, we would advert for a moment to the *inversion* which characterizes it, as distinguished from the *introversion* which characterized the examples produced under our second division. In the case of introversion, the analogous lines correspond both in sense and position; whereas the inversion just referred to, exhibits lines corresponding in position, though not in sense. Thus in Ps. cxxvi., lines 1, 6, and 11, 16, correspond line for line, and couplet for couplet, but not in sense.

We proceed now to Ps. cxxvii., of which the following may serve to shew the plan.

Psalm cxxvii.

1. Unless the Lord the house erect,
2.       In vain the builder trouble takes;
3. Unless the Lord the town protect,
4.       In vain the wakeful watchman wakes.
5. 'Tis vain at early morn to rise,
6. Or late at night to close your eyes,
7. Or eat the bread of many sighs;
8. HE SLEEP WILL GIVE HIS CHOSEN ONES.
9. THE HERITAGE OF GOD ARE SONS;
10. And as reward, the noble band,
11. Like arrows for a mighty hand,
12. So sons of youth, He will command.
13.       How happy is the man who knows
14. To fill with them his quiver well;
15.       They will not blush to meet their foes,
16. And in the gate they will them quell!

In this psalm the subject is the necessity for the blessing of God in addition to the efforts of man, as is stated in the first quatrain. In the second quatrain the subject is more fully followed out, and a conclusion reached in the last line—viz., 8. This makes up half the ode, and the other half may be regarded

as proceeding inversely according to the analogy of the former. As the *last* line of the second stanza reaches the point at which the special blessing of God is mentioned in contradistinction to the preceding vain efforts of man when without God's blessing; so the *first* line of the third stanza starts with the announcement of a special blessing from God to man, which blessing is to the latter the source of the advantage subsequently mentioned. Thus, the twofold division is in respect to the favour of God neither sought nor obtained by those referred to in the former half; but both sought and obtained by those described in the latter half. The first four lines evidently go together, so also the last four. Also, a period is evidently reached at the close of line 8—that is, just at the completion of the second quatrain. There remains just another quatrain, which must, therefore, take its place as one of the natural divisions of the ode. There is manifest alternation in the first stanza and none in the second; the remaining two can be arranged inversely according to the analogy of the first two without violence in any way, and with the advantage of exhibiting a distribution of a fourfold kind according to which the contents of the ode are arranged.

We proceed now to give our last example—viz., Ps. cxxxii. The plan according to which its contents may be arranged is exhibited in the following scheme:—

Psalm cxxxii.

1. REMEMBER, LORD TO DAVID

2. ALL HIS AFFLICTIONS.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 3. AS HE SWORE TO JEHOVAH,                                | 21. JEHOVAH SWARE TO DAVID IN TRUTH,                     |
| 4. VOWED TO THE MIGHTY OF JACOB;                          | 22. HE WILL NOT TURN FROM IT:                            |
| 5. If I shall enter my house,                             | 23. Of the fruit of thy body,                            |
| 6. If I shall go up to my bed;                            | 24. Will I set on thy throne.                            |
| 7. If I shall give sleep to mine eyes,                    | 25. If thy sons will keep my covenant,                   |
| 8. To mine eyelids slumber,                               | 26. And the testimony which I teach them;                |
| 9. Till I find a place for Jehovah,                       | 27. Surely their children for ever,                      |
| 10. A dwelling for the Mighty of Jacob!                   | 28. Shall sit upon thy throne,                           |
| 11. Behold! we heard of it in Ephratah;                   | 29. For Jehovah hath chosen Zion,                        |
| 12. We found it in the fields of the wood.                | 30. He hath desired it for his dwelling,                 |
| 13. We will come into his tabernacle;                     | 31. This, my rest for ever;                              |
| 14. We will worship at his footstool.                     | 32. Here will I dwell for I have desired it.             |
| 15. Arise! Jehovah into thy rest;                         | 33. Blessing I will bless her provision;                 |
| 16. Thou and the ark of thy strength.                     | 34. Her poor I will fill with bread.                     |
| 17. <i>Let thy priests be clothed with righteousness;</i> | 35. <i>And her priests I will clothe with salvation;</i> |
| 18. <i>And thy saints shout aloud.</i>                    | 36. <i>And her saints shouting shall shout aloud.</i>    |
| 19. FOR THE SAKE OF DAVID THY SERVANT,                    | 37. THERE WILL I MAKE DAVID'S HORN TO BUD:               |
| 20. TURN NOT AWAY THE FACE OF THINE ANOINTED.             | 38. I HAVE ORDAINED A LAMP FOR MINE ANOINTED.            |
| 39. HIS ENEMIES I WILL CLOTHE WITH SHAME;                 |  |
| 40. BUT ON HIM SHALL THE CROWN FLOURISH.                  |  |



This ode is by far the longest in the collection. According to the plan given above the eye at once catches the corresponding passages in each column. Thus, the first couplet of the first column announces David's vow to Jehovah; and the corresponding couplet in the second column announces Jehovah's promise to David. The last couplet of the first column concludes that column by reference to David, and the corresponding couplet in the second column also closes with reference to David. The couplet preceding the last in the first column is repeated almost word for word in the corresponding couplet in the second column. Each column closes with the same word, Anointed (Messiah). The arrangement now exhibited comprehends the whole of the ode, excepting two couplets, one at the commencement and one at the close, the disposal of which, accordingly, only increases the evidence for the symmetry so obviously designed in the structure of the ode. We do not require to do more than remind the reader how the arrangement which we have given is subservient to the manifestation of the twofold division which characterizes the contents of the ode.

But there is still another arrangement competent in regard to the materials of the ode. Were it written in one long column of 40 lines we should have a quatrain at the beginning, a quatrain in the centre, and a quatrain at the close, containing the twofold statements and twofold winding up of the twofold subject treated in the ode, as well as all the occasions in which the name of David is mentioned: there being four—viz., once in the first quatrain, twice in the central, and once in the closing quatrain. Moreover, between lines 5—8, we have manifestly another quatrain, and inversely corresponding to it the lines 33—36 seems, by the reduplication of the verbs and the connexion of the matter, to point out another quatrain. We thus get five quatrains or twenty lines which make up half the ode. Still farther, in lines 27, 28, we have two expressions, one of which connects the couplet with lines 23, 24, and the other of which connects the couplet with lines 31, 32. Thus, we have three couplets corresponding in position, the central one being separated from the extremes by another couplet on each side. Thus, we get five successive couplets falling naturally into position, and so disposing of half the remainder of the ode. But we have now sufficient to enable us to complete what still remains from analogy. This satisfies the law of inversion without doing any violence whatever. Lines 9, 10, naturally form a couplet, and are designed to correspond in position with lines 3, 4, as is evident from the Epanodos which they manifest. Lines 11, 12, naturally form a couplet, and there is nothing in it which requires it to correspond in position with lines 9, 10.

Lines 15, 16, naturally form a couplet, and no violence is done by separating it as a couplet from lines 13, 14. Thus, the whole ode is divisible into two parts, corresponding inversely, couplet for couplet and quatrain for quatrain, as regards position, with each other.

It may have occurred to ask, How can two such arrangements be competent in the case of one ode? The reply is very simple and satisfactory. Wherever there is strict adherence to the symmetrical distribution of the details there will be competent several combinations. A regiment of soldiers extended in lines can form itself into a square or be arranged in various symmetrical groups according to the wish of the commander. We have already seen, in the case of Ps. cxxi., that, owing to the peculiar manner in which the materials have been distributed, a variety of combinations is competent.

4th. We proceed now, in the fourth and last place, to make an observation or two on the symmetrical distribution of odes round the central one, Ps. cxxvii. It has been already pointed out that, taking Ps. cxxvii. as a central ode, there are *seven* on each side of it. Each of these *sevens* contains, as Hengstenberg has pointed out, the name of *Jehovah* twenty-four times, besides being divided by four and three, so as to produce four groups, each containing the name of *Jehovah* twelve times. There seems to have been attention paid to symmetry, also as regards the actual quantity in each heptade. This is all the more remarkable, as the odes vary in length from seven lines up to forty. It is still farther remarkable that the relative proportions of the heptades and the central ode are *seven* to one. Thus, as to number, the odes run 7, 1, 7. And as to actual quantity, we have the proportion exhibited by the same numbers 7, 1, 7 (throwing aside fractions), notwithstanding the great variety as to the length of the individual odes. The latter calculation can be very accurately determined by the very simple method of counting the number of lines occupied by the heptades and central ode respectively in any Hebrew Bible. The numbers thus counted in the Hebrew Bible beside us are  $51\frac{1}{4}$ ,  $7\frac{1}{4}$ ,  $54\frac{3}{4}$ . The difference between the first and last numbers being to either of these numbers as the fraction one-sixteenth to one, a very inconsiderable amount.

We shall now draw our observations to a close. We have given the arrangements which, so far as we have been able to see, properly characterize six of the songs of the steps, and we could easily have doubled the number. The question may be asked, What is the real value of the conclusions arrived at by those who examine and develop the symmetrical structure of the Hebrew

Scriptures? We would answer—1st, Let any classical scholar, who has read Anacreon and Horace, suppose that, by some catastrophe, the metrical structure of the writings of these authors had been lost, that the writings, nevertheless, had been preserved and were in our possession, printed, as prose is printed, with no regard whatever to prosody; and that some one set himself to discover what were the laws according to which the composition was originally framed, and to exhibit the result in a manner which at once addresses the eye. What answer would be considered sufficient to the inquiry about the real utility of such examination? We think the answer to the one question would do equally well for the other. We would ask the English reader, How would he like the splendid odes of Campbell printed as prose, with words or feet split at the end of the line to the utter derangement of the prosody? Yet, for the most part, such is the way in which the Hebrew odes are printed. Indeed, we may say, without exaggeration, that the derangement is more fatal in the case of the Hebrew ode than of the English. For, in English, the *rhyme* addresses the *ear*, and to that extent it is independent of the *eye*. Now, the Hebrew odes appear to have been constructed so as to address the *eye*, there being no such thing as rhyme in Hebrew. In the case of an extensive introverted parallelism the effect is almost entirely lost to the ear, whereas, a single glance renders evident the artistic skill which has been expended on it, and produces the effect intended. So far the æsthetics of the case, which, however, are not to be despised.

We would advert, in the next place, to the fact which we have taken care to develop in connexion with all the odes as we proceeded, that structure is rendered subservient to the important purpose of indicating the natural divisions of the odes. We have only to refer the reader to any of the examples which we have given—viz., Ps. cxxi., cxxiv., cxxvi., cxxvii., cxxxii., and cxxxiii. If the coincidence between structural arrangement and internal divisions and subdivisions of matter should be found of general prevalence throughout the poetical Scriptures, it would be an obvious advantage to have them printed accordingly. Every one knows the satisfaction and facility with which a map can be consulted in which the countries or the counties are all marked off by different colours. The illustration is far from exaggerating the service which, so far as we see at present, would be done by presenting the original text arranged according to the laws of parallelism.

*Edinburgh.*

M.

## EGYPTIAN DYNASTIES.

WE could have wished that the inauguration of the great repository of Art, which we have viewed with so much pleasure at Sydenham, might have secured a safe development of those illustrative works, from which so much has been anticipated as a source of instruction to the people. But we cannot refrain from expressing some regret in having observed that sufficient care has hardly been taken to prevent that sort of mischief which is likely to arise from a disturbance of men's minds upon points which, though by no means beyond question, are, by a common consent, taken as settled conventionally, for the purposes of popular instruction. The raising of a doubt upon the received biblical chronology by introducing a questionable hypothesis upon the historical incidents referred to in the illustrative designs of this building, involves a mischief, the more serious in proportion to the interest with which the new representations are likely to affect the minds of the people; and we think neither the able writers of those historical notices, nor the Directors of the Institution, would intentionally have adopted such a line of observation if the probability of those ill effects, to which we have referred, had presented itself.

We allude specially in these remarks to an account written of the Egyptian department, where the received chronology of the Exodus is superseded by an hypothesis, relative to the early shepherd settlements in Lower Egypt, entirely at variance with the common instruction of the Christian world. We are far from presuming to discuss the accuracy of the new dates; for our objection arises upon the sole ground, that it is a questioning of the received chronology, and that which by common consent is used in the schools of the people: we think that, until some new convention on the subject of the scriptural eras shall have been made in the great body of those institutions to which the education of the people is entrusted—from the teachers of the Sunday schools of a manufacturing town, to the heads of our great universities,—it would be advisable to adhere to the established views on the subject; so far at least as, where called in question, to shew on what grounds any new hypothesis may be made to differ from the old tenet. The special object of our comment will be found in the thirty-fifth and forty-seventh pages of the *Historical Sketch of Egyptian Buildings and Sculpture*, a most able and instructive treatise by Mr. Sharpe,

whose literary character is well established and highly respected. But in the former passage of that work the learned writer states, as a fact of undisputed authenticity, that the Phœnician shepherds, who were the first occupants of the border of Egypt, were expelled, and made room for the Israelite people in the Delta, about the year B.C. 1550; and in the latter, that the probable departure of the Israelites out of their Egyptian abodes took place under a king, whose date is assigned to the year B.C. 1300. This hypothesis may be true or not; but if it is ever so true, it is not a received tenet in the educational establishments of any Christian kingdom, and as the Institution at Sydenham was expressly sanctioned by the highest authorities of the land as a place of instruction for the people, such questionable indoctrination ought not to be adopted in the descriptive works of that institute. We trust the author of the work we refer to will not misinterpret our remarks as at all made in disparagement of his views, to which, if we differ from them, we attach all the respect due to the opinion of an eminent and successful labourer in a soil in which we have delighted to toil also—perhaps less successfully. We are sure he will see that his descriptive work does not require the statements we have pointed out to give it all its usefulness as an explanatory guide to the illustrations brought forward in that department of the new Palace; and if he adopts our views as to the inexpediency of introducing them, perhaps another edition may enable us to congratulate him on their disappearance from its pages.

The circumstance, however, has awakened our editorial vigilance, in shewing the great need there is of a more clear determination of the epochs connected with the Egyptian history, and adds to the regret expressed by many, that the late mission of the King of Prussia into that land of shadows was not directed by its learned undertaker to a better determination of the great questions connected with its chronology. For ourselves, if we do not condemn Dr. Lepsius for remissness in a particular in which it was hardly possible he could turn any reasonable diligence to account, yet we partake fully in the regret that a true exposition of the records of the Egyptian dynasties has never yet been successfully effected; and, looking at the popular taste which is growing up for researches into these matters, and the desirableness that a rational account should be afforded of the traditions of antiquity in connexion with what records we have received from that old people, we have turned our attention with some diligence to the subject, and propose to put a construction of them before our readers, which we hope may remove some of the difficulties.

In setting forward with the purpose of directing inquiry in a new channel, we may be permitted, like every other new servant, to begin with a little fault-finding with our precursors; and in that licence of our novitiate, venture to observe, that in the investigations which have hitherto taken place with a view to a disclosure of the true chronology of the Egyptian dynasties, and the period and source of their origin, there has been so manifest a want of system and agreement upon the receivable data as to the precursive era and circumstances of that ancient power, as must have rendered any resolution of the difficulties attendant upon an investigation of its early kings apparently hopeless. To set about the task of unravelling the mystery of these periods it seems a first requisite, to establish a status or point in the history of the world, of which it can certainly be predicated that the Egyptian monarchy, in some one phase of its multitudinous sovereignties, can be recognized as taking its commencement, and from thence to work upward or downward, as the vein of traditional lore or monumental record may permit.

On the same threshold of our inquiry we shall also, under the same privilege, venture to condemn the prevailing hypothesis of an upward course of civilization from the lower waters of the Nile to its fountains, instead of its descent from Ethiopia to Memphis. For, as surely as the river itself flows towards the sea, and not away from it, the arts and letters of Ethiopia appear to ourselves to have preceded, and been the precursors of the Egyptian. Notwithstanding it has been said by a learned writer of this Journal, that "the question of priority of civilization had been settled before Dr. Lepsius wrote his book by the universal consent of those well acquainted with the '*archæology*' of the two countries;" and Dr. Lepsius avouches the fact, "that the most ancient epoch of art in Ethiopia was purely Egyptian;"<sup>a</sup> yet we must be excused in doubting that allegation, as far as civility will permit, and resting our credence rather upon the plain and simple declaration of Diodorus Siculus—"that the Ethiopian records," which he elsewhere states were accepted for true by the Egyptian priesthood, "related, that the Egyptians were a race of colonists from the Ethiopians under Osiris, and that in general the customs that prevailed in Egypt were derived from Ethiopia. The sacred symbols and ordinances of their priesthood; their purifications, tonsure, and plough-like sceptre borne in their religious ceremonies, were all thus deduced to them; and the forms of their letters also were similarly derived, though the letters which the Egyptian priests

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<sup>a</sup> *Journal of Sacred Literature*, No. XII., p. 323.

held sacred and secret from the people were those which constituted the enchorial character of the Ethiopians.”<sup>b</sup>

This last notice of the historian is conclusive, we think, of the precursive order of the Ethiopian literature, as much as the Latin found in the Norman churches is an evidence of the descent of the hierarchy of those churches from that of Italy, or as the Hebrew text of the Old Testament marks a descent of the volume from the people whose language it bears. We may point out, too, that the plough-like sceptre referred to by Diodorus is still borne by the King of Sennaar, in connexion with a ceremonial which interprets its origin, but which was not preserved in its Egyptian seats. This is a custom which obliges the Nubian King once in his reign to plough and sow a piece of land with his own hand, which, by its omission in practice among the Egyptians, while the ensign itself was used in Egypt, clearly indicates a derivative possession of the emblem by that people. The same custom, however, is found to subsist as a yearly homage paid to the earth by the Chinese Emperor; from which country, and not from Egypt, it would probably have been derived, if not originally from the old Ethiopian dynasty.

Without a great acquaintance with the archæology of the two countries of Egypt and Ethiopia, by which the question of priority appears to have been settled, we will venture to submit a single instance to the judgment of our readers, by which they may form an estimate of the probabilities of the subject for themselves; but which, we are obliged to say, militates against the conclusions of our “ARCHÆOLOGISTS.” The city of Axum is avowedly the most ancient seat of the Cushite, or pure Ethiopian monarchs: the Abyssinian records account it as the oldest city and great metropolis of the Ethiopian empire. In this city Mr. Bruce found the accustomed avenue to its ancient temple, with its parapets and range of guardian keepers, the Anubis or Star Dog, of which 130 pedestals are still preserved, and upon two the statues of the primitive worship. In the ruins of this town the obelisk, such as it exists in Egypt in kind, is commonly found: in one square, the traveller informs us, there are as many as 100 obelisks remaining. Yet not in the whole ruins did he find one obelisk that was inscribed with any memorial; while in Egypt there is not a single obelisk that is not made the vehicle of monumental inscription. It is not too much to say, therefore, that it is impossible that the Ethiopian obelisk should be the descendant of the Egyptian. It is impossible, if the obelisk were brought from Egypt to Ethiopia, that at least occasional instances should not have occurred of its use as a tablet of

<sup>b</sup> Diod., iii., 3.

record, to which it was wholly and invariably appropriated by the Egyptians.

We put the argument briefly, and as a mere straw upon the surface of the more ponderous elements of the Egyptian and Ethiopian "*archæological*" waters: but we submit with much confidence, that it shews the true direction of the stream, and in what course, in particular, the arts have moved from one of these countries to the other, which is all that our present object requires.

Again, we would suggest, as affording a basis for establishing the Egyptian times on a sure footing, that the evidences of antiquity shew an evident separation, at a point, between the mystical "Generations" of Sanchoniathon and the families of the traditional kings of Egypt, which constitute the tables of Manetho. A sort of transition element is shewn in the dynastic development, which is constituted by the Titanic king-gods, and their élevés of the Egyptian Osiridæ, of which on one side the families are found to follow in direct descent from the older generations of the Phœnician traditions; and on the other, are seen in connexion with the first elements of the Egyptian monarchy. Of these the historian Diodorus, of Sicily, has delivered the traditions, derived from several channels, and confirmed in their particulars by sidelong references from the Egyptian priesthood to names and circumstances contained in those traditions, as precedental to, but connected with the Osirian foundations of their monarchy; so that it is impossible the Egyptian traditions can be based in any facts at all if those of the Titanic kings are mere inventions. But Diodorus shews marks of discretion, which should entitle his judgment to some respect in our eyes, in reference to the materials he gathered to let mankind into the secrets of antiquity. He had to deal with a sciolism in his own day not a whit less obdurate to the rumours of antiquity than our own; and he tells us, with deliberate scorn, that he rejects such a spirit as would put the reputation of things sacred among the mere inventions of a dreamy philosophy:—

"There is great difficulty," says our honest historian, "in unthreading all the genealogies of our heroes and great men; and modern historians, therefore, reject these antique records, and pretend to despise them. Thus Ephorus the Cumæan, and his pupil Socrates, have set about writing a history of modern events, and affect a contempt for those that are ancient; and they have fixed, therefore, an epoch in the history of the Heraclides for the beginning of all history. But we," says Diodorus, "who happen to have an opinion quite the reverse of this, when we undertook the business of making a record of things past, went through the whole labour of 'AN ARCHÆOLOGIST.' For the greatest actions are those which were performed



by the heroes and demigods, and other eminently good men, whom their contemporaries honoured, because of their good deeds, with honours and sacrifices equal almost to the gods themselves; and it is the business of the historian to hand down the praises of these men to all generations.”<sup>c</sup>

There is good sense in this observation, as much as there is of the other quality, and of a certain flippancy of mind, in the wholesale rejection of a system of records, which were such as the want of written chronicles made the best which the minds of men could invent for the purpose, at the time they were referred to.

A brief exposition of these records of an “ARCHÆOLOGIST,” who lived nearly two thousand years nearer to the period under consideration than our own, appears indispensable, therefore, at the outset of any enquiry that can be hoped to be made successfully as to the probable period at which the commencement of the Egyptian dynasties may be fixed. Without such a foundation it must happen, that all conclusions of our own, independently arrived at, must be open to the assaults of every one who may be willing to trust the ancient chroniclers before the speculations of the modern theorist—a sort of controversy in which undoubtedly such adversaries as recur to the testimonies of antiquity must, in the long run, have the best.

Well then, the Ethiopians said that the Osiridæ went into Egypt with a colony from their country. What say the Egyptians? Diodorus informs us, that the accounts which the priests gave to him was: “that the City of the Hundred Gates was built by Osiris, and was called after the name of his mother: and of that period which preceded the rise of this Osiris, some held that Helion, whose name was that of a star in the heavens, was the first person who ever held ‘sovereign power;’ though others believed that that system of domination was first brought into the world by Ephestus,” who was made a king, as Trinculo was by Caliban, for the rude services he had rendered the world in discovering the use of fire. “This he did,” says the Egyptian tradition, “by the accidental firing of a tree in the mountains by lightning, which the new benefactor had the sagacity to keep alight by replenishing the aliment it fed on.”

But this Egyptian story is the same as we find still preserved among the Abyssinians, as belonging to their country. The Chronicle of Axum recounts the same accidental discovery of fire in the mountains of its own regions, and to that attributes the origin of the arts of life, and the power of those Cushite settlers who made their abodes in those regions. The reference to these mountain abodes of that first benefactor by the Egyptians, who

<sup>c</sup> Diod., iv., 1.

had no wooded mountains belonging to themselves, is a striking feature in these concurrent testimonies.

However, the system being established of a kingly domination, the Egyptians said that Cronus held the sovereignty, who married his sister Rhea, and was the father of Osiris and Isis, or, as others called them, of Dios and Heras. In this also the Egyptian tradition travels out of the precincts of its own territory, since it is nowhere pretended that Cronus ever ruled in Egypt, and there is, therefore, plain reference to an antecedent sovereignty;—not on the Egyptian soil,—but to which the descent of their kings had in some way a reference. And as the race of the Osiridæ, or demigods of Egypt (the transition power of which we have spoken), avowedly preceded the reign of Menes, who was the first king after that order of things, if we can fix the date of those sovereigns, we shall at least limit the remote antiquity attributed to Menes, to a point which is subsequent to that dominion.

Of the name of Cronus, whose historical character is clearly that of a son of a great conqueror, whose kingdoms, upon the death of their founder, extended over the whole of Central and Western Africa, the mythical character is that of the last personage in the descent of the genealogical *Æons* of Sanchoniathon; and he forms in that place a connecting link between the mysticism of the Phœnician Chronicle and the traditional sovereignties of the Preosirian age. On one side he is the mystical *Æon*; on the other, the Titanic monarch. It is to his latter character that we must first direct our attention; and afterwards, discuss the nature of his appearance in the Phœnician table.

We shall find, then, that besides the references which the Egyptian priests made to this king, and an Ethiopian descent, Diodorus brings the traditions of two other people in elucidation of his history, and from what he considers good authority. These were the Libyans and the Atlantæans; whose stories support one another, with that diversity in themselves which an accurate examination will set down to the credit of their genuineness and authenticity.

“The Libyans say,” says Diodorus, “that Ammon held his seat of Empire in Libya, where he married the Titaness Rhea, who was the daughter of Uranus, (the great founder of the Ethiopian kingdom,) and sister to Cronus and the other sons of Uranus, who were the Titanic sovereigns of Africa.”<sup>d</sup> This Uranus, whose ethnical character is plainly that of an Arabian conqueror and benefactor in Africa, is found also in the concluding series of the mystical generations of Sanchoniathon.

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<sup>d</sup> Diod., iii., 68.

In other traditions connected with the Indian and Arabian families, we find the name of Uranus connected with an associate empire in Africa, and with the events of the Preosirian dominion there: while Josephus, in recounting the circumstances of the settlements of the Keturene families of Abraham (of the same period as we shall shew), states that several branches of that family extended themselves into the southern countries of Arabia, and attached themselves to the Cushite families of the sons of Raamah; and that one of them, Ophren, the son of Madian, crossed the Straits of Babelmandel, and made war upon the whole of Libya, which he subdued as a conqueror.\*

Assuming, for a brief space only, that the events attributed to Ammon and Cronus would have happened about the year 1760 B. C., and that the birth of Ophren, the grandson of Abraham, may have happened about the year B. C. 1825, it will appear almost inductively that the events of the patriarchal war, and the consequent rise of a new dynasty in Africa and the establishment of what are called the Titanic powers, under Uranus and his sons, must involve one and the same series of events; while the establishment of the sons of the Midianite wife of Abraham in the south of Arabia, as the sacred history shews, will indicate the line of access of this power to its seat through the Ethiopian kingdom.

This Libyan account, besides the marriage of Ammon with the Titaness Rhea, relates the amour of the Libyan king with his mistress, who was the mother of Dionysus; for although the Nysa where the child was brought up was much disputed, his parentage was never doubted to have been from the Libyc Ammon; and the existence of that king is accompanied by a reference to this ancient "Fair Rosamond," whose son he hid in Arabia.

"Πολλὸν ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων, κρύπτων λευκώλενόν 'Ηρην."

Diodorus takes great pains to shew that the Libyan accounts of this Ammon and his son Dionysus were genuine and authentic; for he states that they formed parts of the traditions both of Linus and Orpheus, and "that Thumætes, a grandson of Laomedon, about the age of Orpheus, wandered quite through Libya to its western extremity on the border of the ocean, and saw a cave, in which the ancient people said that Dionysus was brought up; and having personally learnt the history of his actions among the Nysæans of Libya, he set it to a Phrygian measure, in a very ancient dialect and writing."<sup>f</sup>

This king is said to have first found his nymph in the Ceraunian Mountains, and to have had by her a son, wonderful for the strength and beauty of his person. The name Ceraunia

\* *Antiq.*, l. i., ch. 15.

<sup>f</sup> *Diod.*, iii., 67.

means Thunder, and answers to the Abyssinian Taranta Mountains, from *Taranis*, the Celtic word also for Thunder.

Fearing the jealousy of his wife, Ammon conveyed the child to the city of Nysa, far from his queen's neighbourhood, which this Libyan account describes as situated in a certain island upon the River Triton, with one only narrow entrance, which was called the Gate of Nysa. The island had all the beauties of a fairy abode; "abundant fruits and ever-flowing waters, and bowers of scented trees, through which the sun never shone but with a gentle twilight. The cave itself, of wondrous magnitude as well as beauty, was formed of many-coloured stones, glittering with radiance, so that no colour known to man but was found there. Trees of all fruits and flowers, to delight the eye or the taste, but chiefly the cassia, and other trees famous for their perfume, guarded the entrance to the cavern, and gave shelter to birds of beauteous plumage and unceasing song. In all the circuit neither flower nor leaf was seen to fall, but a perpetual fragrance and delight prevailed around."

To this cave Ammon conveyed the child, and gave it in charge to Nysa, a daughter of Aristæus, to nurse, and afterwards appointed Aristæus himself to be his tutor, a man famous for his learning and wisdom. Afterwards, says this account,<sup>1</sup> the wife of Ammon endeavoured to possess herself of the child, and failing to do so, fled from her husband to her brother Titans, and became the wife of her brother, Cronus. In this story, the River Triton is regarded by commentators as the African river of that name, which flowed into the lesser Syrtis, but certainly Diodorus' account does not at all intimate such to be its locality—speaking of this fabulous lake, the *ἡ Τριτωνίδα λίμνη*, he says, it was far in the west, near the ocean that surrounds the earth, and that the island which was in it was called "Hespera," from its being in the west. In another place, he seems to intimate that it lay among the Ethiopian Ichthyophagi, in a region famous for its precious stones;<sup>2</sup> and in another, he intimates that it was no longer to be found, having disappeared, from the effects of an earthquake, which destroyed the parts which lay between it and the ocean.<sup>3</sup> But, in the general result of these accounts, it might certainly be concluded, that the description applied to a locality in Arabia, as the common understanding is, but assigned by the traditions of Arab settlers in Africa to localities in that continent. Whether it may be thought to apply to the Indian caves at Bombay is a question, which every one may answer for himself; the reference to the Indian cassia seems to point in that direction.

<sup>1</sup> Diod., iii., 68, 69.<sup>2</sup> iii., § 71.<sup>3</sup> § 53.<sup>4</sup> § 55.

If, however, the association of this story with the Abassine Ethiopians, may be regarded as too great a point to be conceded upon a single combination of circumstances, we shall find another fasciculus of the same kind in the history of the Atlantæans.

"The Atlantæans were a people," says Diodorus, "who dwelt about the parts bordering on the Ocean, and were celebrated for their piety and philanthropy."

These people gave an account of Uranus and his sons which is similar to that of the Libyans.

"They said that Uranus first reigned among them, and taught the people, who before lived in scattered habitations, to collect themselves into the circuits of cities, and to cease from wild and lawless life. He made them acquainted with the use of fruits in their proper seasons, and many other useful matters, and brought the greater part of the world under his dominion, but more especially those parts which lay to the west and north. Being a very diligent observer of the stars, he foretold many things of what was about to happen in the world; for he regulated the year to the people by the motion of the sun, and the month by that of the moon."

As we trace this character to a descent from Abraham by the Arabian families of his Keturene wife, it will be found not unsuitable to the statement of Diodorus, that Sir Walter Raleigh, in his history of the world, states distinctly, that Abraham taught the Chaldæans, then the Phœnicians, and last of all the Egyptians, the knowledge of astrology; so that the knowledge of the African conqueror would have been an hereditary knowledge by that line.

"After the translation of Uranus from among men, immortal honors were instituted to him, on account of his benevolent actions and his knowledge of the stars. Uranus had forty-five sons by several wives, eighteen of which were by Tithæa, all bearing the name of Titans."

There were two daughters also, the elder of whom, Basilæa, was chosen by common consent, upon the death of their common father, to be the ruler of the whole; and the origin of the Italian Magna Mater, and from thence the Asiatic Cybele, with her turreted crown, is very plainly perceptible in the mythos attached to this queen.

These stories of the "*Greek Archæology*," though regarded as purely mythological fables, certainly originated from a system of canonization, which prevailed towards the first benefactors or kings of those countries, and we should therefore expect to find the historical traditions and the mythological traditions formed from the same families, and derived from the same events. The Ceylonese traditions still refer to the very same custom, and relate

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<sup>1</sup> Diod., l. iii., § 56.

that the kings of their ruined city, and its vast temple of Anu-rodgburro, reigned in regular succession for ninety generations, from the time of the flood : and after their deaths were carried up to heaven, to be occupied as tutelary deities of the people. Now that both Uranus and Ammon were visitors to that island cannot be doubted, if there be the least truth in any part of their story, and from an association with the institutes of that people, and probably its more original stock in the Arabian and Indian peninsulas, it appears certain, that the system of deification of the early kings was derived, which prevailed in the Titanic and Osirian families ;—of which, the traditions found their way into the Greek mythologies.

It was only a recurrence to the same old homage, probably with a view to claim a mysterious affinity with this race of demigods, that led both Horace and Virgil to anticipate an apotheosis of their great Augustus to a future constellation, which should for ever rule over the destinies of Rome, and protect its people. Diodorus notices, indeed, that the Ethiopian kings were from all antiquity held to be invested with authority by a Divine Providence, and were worshipped as gods, immediately upon their investiture. The Queen Basilæa married her brother, Hyperion, and bore two children, Helion and Selene, the “Sun” and “Moon,” and these names are again set down as purely mythological. But we shall observe that the whole association of names is not mythological, for Basilæa is not so ; and Hyperion is only so by connexion with the historical tradition : and if Uranus taught the people the periodical courses of the sun and moon, it was the natural fruit of such a system as would canonize a family for its benefits, and transfer them to the heavenly bodies as the future protectors of their people. The same vain glorification prevails still among the celestial families of the Chinese, whose associations with the old Ethiopic kingdoms we have already hinted at. It was the fashion of a period in which it can hardly be doubted the whole romance of Celtic fayism was engendered, and of a system where every king’s daughter was a “*Fair Star*” or “*Light of the World*.”

We think it is very evident, that the stories of these times and regions lay at the base, not only of the Celtic mythology, but of its fairy tales also ; for we find a counterpart of the Scotch fayism on the shores of the Senegal ; where the “*Little people*” have their abodes, with all the peculiarities of their kind, and dwell in the *Paps of the African hills*, about that region, with as distinct a feature as they do in the *Paps of the Scotch Jura*. How came these names and fairy people associated together in these two distant countries ? The Fetish worship of these

same regions, is no more than the witchcraft of the Celtic tribes, as its name denotes; and the "*Semo*," or mystic "*Priest*" who haunts the woods of the Senegal, and makes his periodic visits to its villages, clothed in fantastic guise with the boughs of trees, like "*Jack-o'-the-Green*" of the Celtic May-day, to levy contributions, and collect pupils for instruction in the Fetish mysteries, is certainly the progenitor of the Roman "*Semones*" who bore his name;—the country gods of the old Italians, who were superseded in that country by the *Magna Mater*, and in their more eastern seats at Samothrace, by the Corybantes or Cretan priesthood of the Eastern dispensation. The whole region of the Atlas mountains bears the memorial of this age of giants and fairies. The melodious sounds and lascivious revels of its imaginary beings haunted its localities long before the age of Pliny, who records only the traditions concerning them; and its people still shew the "place of the seven sleepers" the "tombs of the giants," and the "*Hamam Meskouten*," or enchanted baths, where the music of the *Jenoue* or fairy people is heard in their underground abodes. The Homeric fable of the false "*Noman*," by which Ulysses outwitted Polyphemus, was a story borrowed from that African family whose country the poet described, and found its way, with other more western colonists of the same race, to the Highland hills of Scotland; where, in the Celtic tradition, an *Ouarisk*, or water-sprite of Loch Lomond answers to the character of Polyphemus, and an honest miller to the part of Ulysses. The fairy story of Titania and her Oberon, and their terrible quarrel about the Indian child, which Shakespeare has immortalized, is surely the very counterpart of that which Diodorus relates of the Titan wife, whose jealousy of the Indian Dionysus made her forsake her husband Ammon, and marry her brother Cronus. It is true the story is a little inverted in the genders of the litigant parties, but such was common in the transmission of these fables from a southern to a northern climate. The *Diana* of the north is a transfer of the *Chandra* of the southern hemisphere, which is a male deity; and the *Cupid* of the Greeks is only a literal inversion of "*Dipuc*,"—the god of the flowery bow, in the Hindoo mythos.

The nymph of the Libyan king was *Amalthæa*, and her son, *Dionysus*—the future *Bacchus* of the Indian and Arabian idolatry: the cave in which he was concealed we have already described, and it reveals a fairy abode in the utmost perfectness. *Rhea* was enraged at the rumours she heard of the surpassing beauty and virtue of her husband's child, and endeavoured to possess herself of it; but being foiled, she fled to her brothers, and incited them to enter upon a war with *Ammon*, in which

they prevailed, and Ammon fled to Crete,—the door by which Aristæus, the Pelasgic tutor of his son, found access to Africa. There the banished king consoled himself for the loss of his "*Titania*," by wedding the daughter of a Cretan Dios, from whose name the island and its priesthood afterwards took their names.

In this tradition of the Titanic history, we must observe that the name of Dios is undoubtedly generic, and is a sort of guarantee for the authenticity of these Atlantæan and Libyan stories: for the still frequency of its occurrence in the names of places amongst the people, where these scenes are laid, proves that the name was mixed up with the first settlement of those countries. The Dhioliba, on which the Titanic families must have been in a great measure settled, has its whole region abounding with names which, like its own, bear in them memorials of the Titanic Dii. The towns and provinces of Dhio, Dhialon, Diebe, Dhiende, Diecouro, and a hundred others, afford a plain proof of the antiquity of the name or title, and its prevalence in these districts; as the cities of Diospolis also do in Egypt of their Osirian descendants in that country. The seventy cities of Italy named after Augustus, are not surer evidence of an Augustan empire in that country, than those of the Dhioliba are of an age of Dii, or divine kings in the heart of Africa, and in that region which lay between the two extremes of its eastern and western Ethiopias.

In the two national parties presented to our view, in the wars of Ammon and the Titan kings, we are probably shewn the first struggles of that divine power which was predetermined to convey the new ordinance of a royal governance over mankind, through the race of the one chosen friend of the Most High, in Abraham. It nowhere appears who Ammon was, or over what people he ruled specially: but he is described as a conqueror who extended his conquests into India, and had shared in ruling the world, and he was clearly confederate in some way with the Arabian conquerors, whose conquests were accompanied with all the benefits of a new and fostering government. In Uranus and his sons the whole world to "*the west and north*" were elevated to the incipient rank of nations and peoples, from their previous condition of mere hordes or family clans. Ammon had a character of his own, and in a future place we shall offer some suggestions as to his true descent and position.

The Keturene family, probably in connection with some other races, as a royal priesthood, or race of sacred kings, found their way out of Arabia, and bore the emblematic fountains and



pillars, with the institute of the sacred mount, as the constant accompaniment of their religion, into all the families of the west, both in the African and European continents. By this distribution of the Abrahamic families over the earth, as its kings and rulers, the blessing of the original stock would have been fully imparted : by that "the princes of the people" would most effectually have "been joined to the people of the God of Abraham," and God would, by them, effectually "have reigned over the heathen." This passage in the 47th Psalm, is of a highly important nature in considering this subject, for it is perfectly unmeaning, if some such association did not take place between the race of Abraham and the heathen nations, (which is what is meant in that Psalm by "the people"), as is here surmised to have happened, in the race of the Dii or divine kings of the Titanic and Pelasgic families.

To return to the Atlantæan history : we are told, "that Cronus established a dominion in *Italy, Sicily, and the places westward from these in Europe*, and in all his strongholds he made an acropolis, which he surrounded with fortifications ; and of which, says the Greek '*Archæologist*,' there were in his time the memorials still remaining in those numerous high places," which were called by his name. This indication ought to give the highest assurance, that those Titanic fortresses, which crown the hill-tops of our own, and all the western countries of Europe, many of which still bear the name of Cronenberg among the German states, have their true history in the conquests of these African families ; nor can it, I think, be doubted that the Cromlech itself is any less a memorial of this king, in which only we find the celtic word "lech," a rock, united with the name of Cronus.

The story of Diodorus, after this, turns to its Egyptian phase, and shews a change in the affairs of the two African powers, by which Ammon, with the assistance of succours brought from India by his son Dionysus, succeeded in subduing Cronus in his turn, and making both him and his renegade wife prisoners. At that very period, the Titan Queen became the mother of a son, whom the Egyptians called Dios, and whom Dionysus took under his special protection : and rendering a sort of homage to the captive parents, recognized the child as the young emperor of the world, and determined to make him in the time to come a universal king. Dionysus, at the same period, founded the town and oracle of Ammon, which he first consulted himself, and found from it that he was decreed to gain immortality by becoming a benefactor of mankind, and after due consideration he then first made an expedition into Egypt and established the

Dios, who was the son of Cronus and Rhea, then a child, as king of the country.

To this youthful scion he appointed Olympus as the tutor, and from that circumstance the young Dios bore the name of Olympian. It is very observable that Homer refers the seat of this monarch of the Greek gods to these very seats in the heart of Africa, where Thetis accounts for the absence of Jupiter by his yearly visit to Ethiopia—

“Ζεὺς γὰρ ἐπ’ Ὀκεανὸν μετ’ ἀμύμονας Αἰθιοπῆας  
Χθιζὸς ἔβη μετὰ δαῖτα, θεοὶ δ’ ἅμα πάντες ἔποντο.”<sup>m</sup>

“This Dionysus taught the Egyptians the culture and use of the vine, and the banquetings with wine and nuts, and other fruits; and he went through the whole earth, imparting benefits of all kinds, so that there was neither Greek nor barbarian which did not derive benefit from him. After this, having made a quick passage by sea from India, he found all the Titan forces embodied, and engaged in a war with Ammon, in Crete; but that Dios had carried assistance to him from the parts of Egypt about Ammon, and with other auxiliaries, was carrying on the war there. The armament of Dionysus, however, brought the matter to a conclusion: and the whole of the Titans being destroyed, Ammon and Dionysus put off a mortal estate for one of immortality, and Dios was left supreme ruler of a world.”—Diodorus, iii., 73.

The important points in this narrative appear to be the Indian association of the founder of the Osirian family; and the fact of the contemporaneous establishment, with their rise into power, of the town and oracle of the Libyc Ammon; for the temples of Nubia and of the Island of Philoe are unquestionably the work of the same artists as formed the Caves of Ellora in India, according to the judgment of several travellers, not unintelligent; while the testimony of Herodotus supports the origin of the Ammonite people from the Ethiopic regions of Africa, by the statement he makes, “that the language spoken in that city was a compound of Ethiopic and Egyptian, and that the people were a mixed colony of the two nations.”<sup>n</sup>

It is evident, if the first conqueror of the Titanic family came from Arabia by the straits of Babelmandel, and made his conquests towards the west and north-west, from that point; while Ammon held a separate sovereignty in Libya, towards the parts about Cyrene, and he also ranged through the Ethiopian mountain districts to India, as the traditions indicate; that this latter monarch must have reigned over those Nubian districts which lay between Ethiopia proper and the Syrtes of the Mediterranean

<sup>m</sup> *Iliad*, i. 423.

<sup>n</sup> Herod. *Enterp.*, 42.

coast : states and empires, which are still warlike, and possessed of all the ancient arts of civilized life ; and probably retain them as they were in the days we are treating of. From these regions the natural access to the Egyptian Nile would be at its two extremes above the Thebaid, and below it by the oases of the northern territory. Of the latter route, we think the testimony of Herodotus and Diodorus combined, is sufficient proof : and if we rest a little more upon conjecture as to the former, it is not unsupported by the traditions which relate to those regions. For the Egyptian priesthood, who attributed the burial place of Ephaistus "to Memphis, held a different opinion," says Diodorus, "as to that of the Osirian gods, whom they thought were buried upon the borders of Ethiopia and Egypt, in the island of Philoe, which lay near a region called the Sacred Plain" and there were signs, says the historian, of this veneration in that island, in the common devotion paid to it as well by the Egyptian priests, as by the 360 villages which surrounded it, and brought their milk-offerings to the priests for invocation to the names of the gods there. From which cause it happened that the island was inaccessible to any persons but the priesthood ; and all who inhabited the Thebaid, (which was accounted the most ancient part of Egypt) made *their most sacred oaths*, by the name of "*the Osiris who was laid in Philoe.*"<sup>o</sup>

It is from the Egyptians that Diodorus states this ; of whom he says, they related—

"That some having thought that Thebes was built by the companions of Osiris, and named it after his mother ; that was denied by the priests, who thought the City of the Hundred Gates was built by another king many years later : yet they said Osiris did build a temple to his parents, Dios and Heras—worthy of those gods, by its grandeur and richness ; for it had two golden adytæ, the greater dedicated to Dios, who was called Uranius (probably Olympus), and the lesser to the regent, who was their father, and whom some call Ammon." <sup>p</sup>

The remains of a temple with a double adytæ, or penetralia is mentioned by Mr. St. John, in his travels into this region, whose description tallies so nearly with this account of Diodorus, of the one dedicated by the younger Osiris to his father and mother, as appears (connected with this old veneration attached to this spot by the people, as the resting place of the Osirian kings) to render it extremely probable that it is the same temple.

The Dios, whose name we have traced in the African provinces

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<sup>o</sup> Diod., i., 22.      <sup>p</sup> Ibid., i., 15.

of the Dhioliba is thus then again seen, as the certain founder of the Egyptian temples.

We think, therefore, the traditions preserved by the two Greek historians, when laid together present historical features of sufficient distinctness to put down all that light sort of criticism, which rather swears by its own gods, than convinces the reason against the facts that are related of others. It is impossible to regard these traditions, which are supported by so many corroborative proofs of their authenticity, as mere inventions; and the admission of them in any way, or however qualified, is sufficient for the object we have in producing them; since, if any part of them be true, we shall find in them the authentic accounts of a race of kings, whose period of existence immediately preceded that of the Osirian kings of Egypt: while on the other hand, we have a certain historical register of the subsequent dynasties of this country from the tables of Manetho; whose lists of kings are by all received as the successors to that race of the Osiridæ. The long successions of these reigns, which cover many thousand years, have been treated as if they were necessarily one continuous line of descents—than which, a more gratuitous assumption cannot well be conceived; and if the previous records of the older dynasties have been rejected, it has proceeded principally from the credit which has been attached to this hypothesis by modern writers on this subject. That Manetho, or his older commentators, ever regarded them as a continuous line, is negatived by many annotations on the face of the tables themselves, and the nature of the compilation, to our apprehension, puts of itself a *prima facie* negative to such a supposition.

Before we come to the discussion of these tables, however, we have more pioneering to do. The foundations of Egyptian "*Archæology*" are laid upon the piles of the Syrian mystery; and we must go to the root of the whole building before we can make sure of the strength of our superstructure. But if we may attach only as much credit to the tables of Sanchoniathon and his Syrian "*Genealogies*," as we claim for the African Traditions, which extends no further than that they denote circumstances connected with the book of history, in some manner answerable to the things that are written, and are not mere dreams; we think the direct connexion of the terminating limits in the two series, and their common *appui*, or point of termination in the early pre-Egyptian story we have been contemplating, must be sufficient to fix that common boundary as a period beyond which, we may say with certainty, the Egyptian dynasties cannot have extended; and under that determination we shall be able to pursue their investigation with greater confidence.

It is difficult, indeed, to approach the subject of the Phœnician records, and the history of Sanchoniathon with any very confident hope of satisfying our readers that there is any reliable authenticity in the circumstances that are related. The received adaptation of the thirteen generations of this historian, to the families before the flood, seems to cut off all connexion between them and the more recent events we are dealing with; and if that adaptation is the true adaptation, such must be the case; but we think that the theory of Bishop Cumberland does not convey the true character of these records; on the contrary, that they afford an insight into the post-diluvial affairs of the world, and deduce them by a very regular succession down to the period when the African traditions take their commencement; and yet one step further, into the first reigns of the Egyptian kings themselves.

We will not, therefore, trouble the reader with an argument to disprove what appears to us the impossible hypothesis of a pre-diluvian application of these tables, but proceed briefly to assign to them what rather appears to be their true position: and first, that they are not in any positive sense historical, but mythical, or rather metaphysical. To us it is very apparent, that they are intended to trace the gradations of human intelligence before the period of the new priesthoods in the earth arose, with which the writer closes his descents; and of which he fixes the period, by a collateral table, whose conditions correspond with the first openings of a divine revelation in the Abrahamic family.

These stages of human improvement or innovation Sanchoniathon divides into thirteen generations, corresponding to the true generations between the sons of Noah and the lower branches of the house of Abraham; the number of these generations he, no doubt, took from acquaintance with the Jewish archives—but whether that happened in the age of Jerubbaal or of Solomon, (as the question is,) or by what direct means, does not seem to be of great importance. The object of the historian was apparently a mere purpose of reducing the fabulous mysticisms of his people to a system of periods, which should represent them in an order corresponding to the true course of human generations, from their commencement. His thirteen generations, therefore, are those which lay between the flood, and that period when the mythical computations were put an end to by the rising up of a true chronology, and the art of recording events by the use of writing—the first tables of which kind, after the Hebrew genealogies, are certainly those of the Egyptian dynasties.

We almost fear to tax the patience of our readers with a recapitulation of these generations; yet a brief epitome of these

metaphysical *Æons*, for in that light we regard them, will probably better substantiate our argument, than any desultory remarks we could offer, without that reference. Here they are in brief, as Sanchoniathon has given them :—

1st. A first pair of mortals, whom the Greek translator, Philo, designates *Protagonos* and *Æon*: the latter of whom found out the fruit gathered from trees.

2nd. Genus and *Genea*: distinguished as those who first dwelt in Phœnicia, and as the establishers of the Baal worship.

3rd. Phos, Pur, and Phlox—light, fire, and flame—to whom is ascribed the discovery of the means of generating fire, and the use of it.

4th. Sons of those men, of vast bulk, who seized on the mountains, and gave them their own names, probably in connexion with the Baal altars.

5th. *Memrumus* and *Hypsuranius*: in whom originated a race born from a promiscuous intercourse, of which the offspring were named by the mothers; indicating very plainly the rise of those Troglodital tribes, where that system prevailed, and who formed a very extensive race among the African families. These, says the history, invented the method of forming habitations from reeds and bushes, and fully answer, therefore, to the Troglodital type in that particular also, whom Diodorus describes as forming their abodes by drawing the boughs and shrubs together, and thatching them with leaves; a system still found among the Abyssinian *Shangalla*.

*Hypsuranius* had a brother, who first invented a covering for his body from the skins of wild beasts he took in hunting, and was the first who ventured upon the trunk of a tree into the sea: he also erected pillars to fire and the wind, and made libations of the blood of hunted beasts upon them, and to these his descendants made anniversary offerings. In these types the origin of the barbarous idolatries of the wandering Troglodital tribes appears to be depicted.

6th. *Agreus* and *Haliæus*, the inventors of the arts of hunting and fishing. In these the wide and half-civilized race of the *Agrii*, and the arts of that section of the old races of mankind, whose pursuits were purely venatorial, are commemorated. A corresponding race of fishermen are indicated as having originated in the same age. The *Ichthyophagi* appear in history as partly Troglodital, and partly of a better family, who inhabited the coasts of Arabia and India, and to those, it is probable, this origin may be ascribed.

7th. The seventh descent is named *Chrysor* or *Hephæstus*, or *Vulcan*. He was the first person who made a sailing boat,

and invented the hook and fishing line. He was called the Engineer, and was worshipped as a god after his death. To this name the Egyptian priests said (according to Diodorus) that the first arts of sovereignty were ascribed by some people, and not to Helion.

8th. Technites and Autochthon, to whom the art of making tiles with brick-earth and chopped straw, as was the Babylonian and Assyrian fashion, is attributed.

9th. The descendants of the last generations were Agrus (a field), and Agrouerus or Agrotēs (a husbandman), who brought in the use of courts about men's houses, and fences and caves or cellars; probably referring to the *mattamores* or subterranean granaries, found still in Abyssinia, and among the people of the Atlas.

10th. From these arose Amynus and Magus, who shewed mankind how to live in villages, and manage flocks.

11th. From these men were begot Misor (the free), and Sydyc (the just), whose attributes were that they were the first discoverers of the use of salt; but whether the name of "Just," given to one of this pair of *Æons*, does not indicate the salt of a judicial spirit, from which, as being arrived at its proper season, the due generation would proceed of those hierarchal colleges, which occupy the place of the next descent, we must leave to the determination of our readers. But in the

12th generation we find that from Misor (the free) came the Taautus (or the Egyptian Thoth), whose attribute was the first discovery of writing by letters; and from Sydyc (the Just) came the Dioscuri (the Curetes of Dios); and the Cabiri or Corybantes, being the Cretan and from that source the Samothracian priesthood.

13th. The thirteenth generation is merely described as "others, the descendants of the last pair, who found out the use of medicinal herbs, and the cure of bitings by charms."

Such are the thirteen generations or descents of the Phœnician historian, and they are plainly an inventory only of the different ages into which the writer, for some cause, has thought fit to divide the existing family of mankind from its Arkite stock. The end of them appears to be to bring in the origin of the gentile priesthoods of Egypt and Phœnicia, and to fix their proper place in the generations of the world.

The notion of Bishop Cumberland, that these generations refer to the race of Cain, and that the three last are of later date, but brought into connexion with the ten pre-Noahic descents by the licence of the historian, will hardly bear the test of modern criticism. His idea also, that the name of the first parental

stock refers to the name Eve, from that of *Æon*, can hardly be received, since the word *Æon*, is the Greek translation of the original name, and could hardly be such as the Phœnician original. The reference by the Bishop to the first gathering of the fruit from trees is hardly with more felicity applied to the events of the "Tree of Knowledge," since God gave the gift of the fruit-trees to Adam at the time of his first call into life; but when he left Eden he was restricted to the herb of the field, and bread that was to be earnt out of the soil by the sweat of his brow. The use of fruits has always been regarded as the growth of discovery, and the "*Chaonius Victus*" was not certainly the first endowment of the Noahic race, as it was not universally, though perhaps commonly referred to.

The progress of these generations evidently leads on the arts of life from the very rudest and unformed state of things, to those very conditions which were found in the existing societies of mankind, in the day when the history was composed. The rise of the arts of village life and of the management of flocks in the tenth generation, which corresponds with that of Abraham and his brother Nahor, concurs so appositely with the traditional character of that family among the Syrian nations, amongst whom the daughter of Nahor is held as the true pastoral goddess, as gives a sort of assurance, at the outset, that the generations are rightly fitted to their proper ages.

The introduction of a supplemental genealogy at this same generation, enables us, however, to fix the true records of these descents with tolerable certainty. Of this new pedigree, Sancho-niathon gives the following account:—"In these men's age, the age of Amynus and Magus, or the tenth generation, there was one Eliun, which imports in the Greek, *Hypsisstus*, or the Most High, and his wife Beruth, who dwelt about Byblus."

This Eliun is the person to whom some of the Egyptians ascribed the origin of kingly government, in opposition to those who thought that it was Ephæstus. From *Hypsisstus* and his wife Beruth, was born Epigeus or Autochthon, whom they afterwards called Uranus, from whose name men gave an appellation to the heaven above them, and he had a sister called Ge, to whom the same honor was ascribed, with respect to the earth, on account of her great beauty. *Hypsisstus* died, and Uranus became king, and married his sister, Ge, by whom he had four sons, Cronus, Atlas, and two others, and by other wives he had many other children.

The African kings and their precursor, Uranus, are here plainly brought upon the stage in parallel generations with Sydyce, and the Cretan priesthood of the Dioscuri, no doubt





historical Melchizedek, with the age of Isaac is another apparent proof of the correctness of this adaptation. But we still want something to shew what was the intention of the compiler of these fabulous generations as to the time of their application; and I think that the plain references, which appear in the history of the Byblyan family, to the circumstances of the lives of Abraham and his two inheritable successors, gives a distinct and positive assurance that the four last generations were intended by him to denote the order of events which belonged to that patriarchal age in their mystical or metaphysical character.

We shall find, it is true, a promiscuous adaptation of the stories of all three patriarchs to the person of the younger Æon, Cronus, as we have said; but if that Æon was *generic* and *denotative* of the *divine seed* (the seed of the Hypsistus or Most High) in its association with other stocks, as the marriage of Cronus indicates, its name should be found in different countries as the founder of different dynasties, though pertaining to one true history only of that period; and from which the mystigogue would have borrowed it, as the fittest impersonation of his Æon.

The incidents which mark out this family are very distinct, and, as we hold, very entertaining; and they shew the type of the Abrahamic family very distinctly. Thus the history states, that Cronus made a burnt-offering of his son, and that he was circumcised in his old age, and obliged his followers to be so too: events which we recognize at once as belonging to the history of Abraham. But then it states, that he received the name of Israel, and invented the *bætylia*, or stones that moved as if they had life, which refer as plainly to the history of Jacob. These stones Bochart considers to mean "anointed stones," such as Jacob set up for his pillows, and anointed on his second visit to Bethel: but the reference made to their power of motion appears to us to convey a further meaning, and to carry the object of memorial to those Titanic stones which are found in connexion with the cromlechs of the Celtic worship, and bear the name of logging or rocking stones; which, under this view, would have been the fruit of the same African dynasty as we have already treated of.

But the "Cronus" of Sanchoniathon bears also the type of the intermediate generation; for he is there made to be the "Jeud," or only son (which the word denotes), of Uranus, by Anobret, which is interpreted—"a conception by grace," in which he bears the characteristics of Isaac, as the child of grace or favour, and sole seed by promise. The mythical "Cronus," therefore, bore the generic types of all the three descents, to whom the promises were personally imparted; while the assigna-

ing of the date of the access of that family to their Syrian abodes to an earlier generation of his kind, and the position of Sydyce in a generation above him, fully bears out the adaptation we have made of the three families, as the correlatives of the three corresponding generations in the table of Sanchoniathon.

There is a rather interesting myth of this impersonation, in which the circumstances of the three Haranite marriages are very plainly depicted. The story says, that Uranus, being in banishment, sent his daughter Astarte, and two others of his sisters, Rhea and Dione, to cut off Cronus by deceit; but that Cronus escaped the mischief by making these ensnarers his wives. For in this story Uranus must represent the correlative line of Isaac and Jacob in their parental seats, and apply to Haran and Laban, whose sisters in the two generations were taken to wife in the family of Abraham, and in both beset the true seed of the house with "deceit," as the fable states. For it was by "deceit" that Rebecca obtained a transfer of the blessing from the elder to the younger son: it was by deceit that Jacob was led into the double marriage he made in the same family: and, on quitting the services of Haran, he declares to his wives, that their father had *deceived* him, and changed his wages ten times, and had endeavoured, but in vain, to keep him in bondage and poverty. It is obvious that he was delivered from these perils by his having made the daughters of his deceiver his wives, as the fable states.

Again, the story states that Uranus sent "Fate" and "Beauty" (Eimarmene and Hora) to war with Cronus; but that Cronus, having gained these over to his interest, kept them with him—in which, again, the two wives of Jacob, the "fated wife," Leah, and the beloved, because "well-favoured" one, Rachel, are plainly figured; while the gaining of them over to his side is perfectly descriptive of the appeal Jacob made to these wives, when he sent for them from the field, and represented to them the injustice of their father Laban towards him, and that he had robbed them in his ill usage of their husband; and they thereupon consented to fly with him from Haran.

The two sons of Cronus, "Pothos" and "Eros," "Desire" and "Love," we deem not at all less significant of the twin birth which took place in Esau and Jacob, in whom the lawless and home-loving dispositions of the same kindred affections are exactly portrayed. The seven daughters of Cronus, who are called the Titanides, and whose name completely connects the mystical generations of this Phœnician history with that of the African or Titanic kings; and his seven sons by Astarte and Rhea, all have their application in the general descents which

proceeded from the new association of the "divine seed" with the Syrian and African families, and no doubt find their explanation in those sevenfold priesthoods of the Gentile people, which certainly arose, as Sanchoniathon shews, in a direct descent from the events of this era. In the female line we trace this order of descent among the Atlantides, or seven priestly daughters of Atlas; who, by being the daughters of the Titan king, were also Titanides, as the daughters of Cronus were named; and whether the seven daughters of the Midianite priest, whom Moses delivered from the shepherds, are brought into this mythos, may be a point to speculate upon, though it can never be determined. The early descent, however, lies in this direction, and it is, we think, quite certain that from that source, at least, the Atlantæan priesthood took its origin. The scattering of the Abrahamic seed was unquestionably effected in those first ages by association of the Keturene families, Midian, and the six other children, with the outlying families of the Gentile world; and this appears to be virtually recorded in the account of Sanchoniathon, when he states that Cronus went into "the south country," which is the same expression as is used by Holy Writ to denote the visits of both Abraham and Isaac into Egypt and the country of the Caphtorim; and that there he gave the whole of Egypt to the god Taautus as his proper kingdom. "These matters," says Sanchoniathon, "the *seven sons of Sydyce* duly commemorated, as the god Taautus commanded them."

Our readers will observe, that our object in bringing forward these recitals is solely for the purpose of shewing, that the time at which the generations of Sanchoniathon terminate concurs with that in which the Egyptian dynasties commence; in which dynasties the Taautus above referred to appears second on the list of Manetho as the son and successor of Menes. It concurs also, by the evident reference of the history to Jacob and his fathers, with the age of these patriarchs; and it concurs with the age of that historical Cronus who precedes the Osiridæ in the African legends, and who is therefore clearly shewn to be of the same era, as the Jacobæan of Scripture chronology.

It must be obvious that the name of Cronus could have no Syrian allocation, though used by the mystagogue to mark one dispensatorial generation which belonged to his day. Cronus, the great king and conqueror of Africa, was a better "*nom de fantasie*" than Jacob, the son of a wandering prophet; so that one cannot help thinking that Sanchoniathon took the name of the regnant dynasty as the most suitable exemplar of that sovereignty which he desired to represent as the concluding quality of his generations. It is certain that that historian had a full

knowledge of the Egyptian, and its collateral histories; and his assigning the *Æonial* quality to the African king, in connexion with the incidents of the Abrahamic history, shews that he recognized in Cronus a descent from that new scion of judgment, which was the peculiar fruit of the period he writes of.

The connexion between the mythical and historical families of this name is a subject which would admit a great deal of discussion, but which we must compress within very narrow limits. The mode in which the "holy seed" was spread abroad in the earth was most certainly by a sort of priestly graft of the new scions upon the older patriarchal stocks, in which they acted as a sacred leaven of a higher endowment or nature. It cannot be doubted that the Midianite race were originally a Cushite family, and that the Keturene son of that name was associated with them by marriage and a priestly or royal function. The family of Esau was similarly grafted upon the Horite family of Mount Seir; and it is certain also that the Sheba and Dedan of the Keturene family went into Southern Arabia, and settled themselves upon Cushite stocks of the same names, which were already settled in that neighbourhood.

We have seen, in an earlier page, that these families formed the people of the African conqueror Ephraim, the son of Madian, who answers to the Uranus of the African family, and was that family into which Ammon, the Libyan king, was introduced by marriage of the king's daughter, the Titaness Rhea. It is a little singular, therefore, that the Cushite families of Sheba and Dedan were sons of Raamah, whose name denotes "thunder;" and we may infer, that the thunder mountains, where the nymph who stole the Libyc Ammon from his wife was met by him, may have been the mountain seats of the families of Raamah. The story seems to indicate that she was related to the Titanic family, as her son took the sacred attribute of "Dios," and bore such an extraordinary affection towards the son of his persecutor as could only arise from a sense of common kindred, but with a superiority of blood in the object of his patronage and adoption.

We must return now to the Egyptian records, from which we departed for an enquiry into the Phœnician history. Our final object will be the Egyptian dynasties of Manetho, which we shall endeavour to shew are in accordance with these preliminary deductions.

The first table of Manetho is of the gods and demi-gods who reigned in Egypt, with which he begins his history, and which his translators have ascribed also to an age before the Flood. But this table appears to be evidently commenced in the concluding series of the Phœnician *Æons* from Sanchoniathon, whose history we

have seen carries the authority of Cronus into the south, as the founder of the Egyptian dynasties. In this table, Osiris is put next in succession to Cronus, whose son he was, by the name of Dios, according to the African traditions. The Elium of Sanchoniathon is changed to Helios, and Uranus to Agathodæmon. Before Helios, the Egyptian table sets Hephæstus or Vulcan, who stands in the third generation before Elium in the Phœnician table; but to whom, to make amends, a reign of 724 years is ascribed by the Egyptian historian or his commentators.

The following is this table, with its corresponding generations :

FROM MANETHO.		FROM SANCHONIATHON.	
<i>Gods.</i>	<i>Years.</i>		
1. Hephæstus, or Vulcan reigned 724			
2. Helios or the Sun, son of } Hephæstus . . . . . }	86	Elium or Hypsistus.	
3. Agathodæmon . . . . .	56	Uranus.	
4. Cronus, or Saturn . . . . .	40	Cronus.	
5. Osiris and Isis . . . . .	35		
6. } 7. } Typhon . . . . .	29		
<i>Demi-gods.</i>		<i>From 18th Dynasty of Diospolitan Kings from Manetho.</i>	
			<i>Yrs.</i>
8. Orus . . . . .	25	8. Orus . . . . .	36
9. Ares, or Mars . . . . .	23	9. Achenchirses . . . . .	12
10. Anubis . . . . .	17	10. Athoris . . . . .	39
11. Hercules . . . . .	15	11. Chencheres . . . . .	16
12. Apollo . . . . .	25	12. Achirres . . . . .	8
13. Ammon . . . . .	30	13. Chirres . . . . .	15
14. Tithoes . . . . .	27	14. Armes . . . . .	5
15. Sosus . . . . .	32	15. Ammeses, or Ægyptus . . .	68
16. Jupiter . . . . .	20	16. Memophis . . . . .	40

There is a clear adoption of the Phœnician generations from Sanchoniathon in this Egyptian table; and if our suggestions upon that table be correct, that it is postdiluvial, and traces the generations from the Flood instead of before it, the same must be the case with this of Manetho's gods; and the Flood, which is spoken of must be that of the Red Sea, in which the race of demi-gods was terminated; down to which exact period these generations will be found to extend.

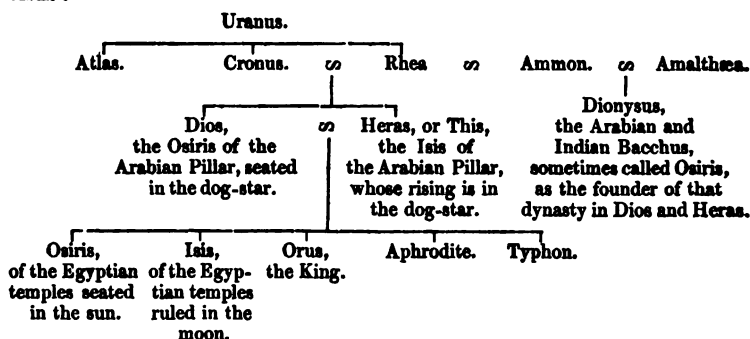
The figures are not Manetho's but his translators; but it is highly observable that the tale of years from Orus is 214, or the exact period between the descent into Egypt and the Exodus. In this view, this table of the demi-gods shews the collateral reigns of the eighteenth dynasty of Manetho, from Horus the

king, who was both king and god of the lesser grade, and so takes rank in both tables; his age being contemporary with that of Menes, and next in succession to the young Osiris. But we must not anticipate matters which belong to those explanations which arise out of the tables themselves, and must be postponed to a later paper.

"The Egyptian priests stated," according to Diodorus, "that from Cronus came Dios and Heras, who by their exalted virtues, obtained dominion over the whole world;" which is another version only of the Atlantæan account, "that the Dios of that history became sovereign of the universe: from these children of Cronus, the priests said, proceeded the five Egyptian gods, who presided over the days of their calendar—Osiris, Isis, Typhon, Apollo, and Aphrodite or Demetor. The companions of the first Osiris built the City of the Hundred Gates in the Thebaid, which was called after the name of his mother; but later generations have called the city Diospolis, and some Thebes. Upon this subject, however, doubts were entertained by many persons, who held that Thebes was built by another king, some years after Osiris. Osiris built the temple of his parents, Dios and Heras, remarkable for its sumptuousness and size, in which were two adytæ of gold; the greater dedicated to Dios Uranius (who we have seen was the first Osiris), and the lesser to that god who had previously reigned, and was a father to them, and whom some called Ammon."

The account entirely agrees with those derived from the other sources, relative to the reign of Cronus and Ammon, and the incidents attached to their history; and as Diodorus refers those accounts to the traditions of the Thracian bards, Orpheus and Linus, and his statements from the Egyptians correspond in the main with those given by Manetho, it is impossible to deny that these various accounts have all the attributes of "genuine" traditions from distinct and very remote sources.

The genealogy of this Osirian family will then be found thus:—



The inscription upon the Nysæan pillar explains the distinction of these two generations of Osiridæ very clearly, for the known association of the Egyptian Osiris and Isis, with the sun and moon, as the stars of their dominion, distinguishes them from the Ethiopian or older pair, whose insignia still appear in the avenue of the temple at Axum, and whose pillars assign their celestial abode to the dog-star.

That pillar declares—"I am Osiris, the eldest son of Cronus, who have conquered in all regions, as far as to the uninhabitable part of India; and to the sources of the Ister." And of Isis—"I am Isis, the queen of all this country; the eldest daughter of Cronus, the youngest of the gods. I am wife and sister of Osiris, and the mother of "*Orus, the king.*" I am she who rise in the dog-star, and by me the city of Bubastus was built. Rejoice Egypt, who hath nourished me."—Diodorus, i., 27.

The city of Bubastus must have been a sea-port town, as Herodotus intimates, for at that early period the waters had not withdrawn from the Delta; and the expression, that "Egypt had nourished her," applied to their queen, who claimed to have built that city, cannot be doubted to refer to the custom among all the ancient kings of the earth, of endowing their queens with provinces in their conquered countries, as their proper appanage. It is plain, if that is so, that Egypt was a province to the true sovereignty of the Osirian monarch, and not the kingdom, in which that part of the Osirides held their principal power. The chief seat was, no doubt, in that Sabœa, which formed the Ethiopian kingdom, and had its possessions on both sides the straits of Babelmandel; and the fact was, as the priests told Diodorus, "that Egypt was a colony from Ethiopia, led by Osiris."

The conqueror of India and the Ister was not very likely to have left the seats of an established sovereignty to rule over a new and unreclaimed country, as the building of the new towns and temples shew the Thebaid to have been. The first approaches to that territory must have been then in progress, and it would have been by the north and south extremities of the country that they must have been made; for all the central parts of Egypt were inclosed by barriers of mountains and desert. The Hindoo Cushite temples of Nubia and the Thebaid shew the line of access by this race to those regions, and confirm the account, that that region was opened by a monarch from the south, who was connected with the Indian people.

Upon the whole, there appears to be a great body of evidence to shew the source and the period from which the Osirian dynasty originated; for those evidences plainly indicate the period to have been in the third and fourth descents from the age of



Abraham; and the source from a quarter to which the mythical compilers of the Syrian genealogies had their views directed, in that collateral line of descents which accompanies their own proper genealogy, and which bears indelible marks of reference to the Abrahamic family. While the story of the wars in Africa, preceding the reign of Cronus and the Osiridæ, by which the African kings of the Titan families were established in that country, concur in point of time with so much exactitude, with the conquest made of Africa by Ephraim, the grandson of the Keturene wife of Abraham, in his association with the Sabæan families of South Arabia, as leaves little doubt that the connexion with the patriarchal family, which is evident in these pre-Osirian annals, is a true connexion, and that its access was made in that direction.

By this course of deduction, long, but not we think altogether inconclusive, a period is established in the age of the world with tolerable certainty, beyond which the tables of the Egyptian dynasties cannot be extended. This is the negative part of our proposition. In another paper we must assay our purpose of tracing the positive data on which to establish a particular period for the origin of the Egyptian dynasties.

By way of conclusion, we will trace what appears to have been the probable state of things at the early period our enquiry refers to. We shall not forget that Mr. Bruce informs us, that the Abyssinian traditions assign the building of their city Axum, which they hold to be their most ancient city, to a foreign race who came from the north, and that this happened in the latter period of the age of the patriarch Abraham. Before that, the artistic families of the Cushite race, (themselves a migration from India and Arabia, whose departure and settlement is preserved among the annals of the Hindoos,) dwelt in the mountain caves of Abyssinia (still found in multitudinous existence), where by the accidental discovery of the use of fire in the working of metals, they grew into wealth and power. From these seats, they were induced to depart to build the city of Axum, at the instance of new colonists from the north. The period tallies with that of the building of the Greek city of Argos, the first Pelasgic city, which was built by seven Cyclops who came from Syria, but not it is said those of Vulcan. The distinction means probably, that they were of the Titanic, and not of the Cyclopiæan order; and their rank and work and period concur in supporting the supposition we have ventured to make, of an emanation of a new and superior power from the Syrian families at this period. Perhaps indeed these seven Cyclops, as well as the seven sons of Sydyce referred to in the close of the history of

Sanchoniathon, may be taken to fill up the mystical tableau of the seven sons of Cronus, the brother of the seven Titanides, for whom we have not yet found any historical counterpart.

The northern colonists, by whom the Troglodidal people were drawn forth from their caves, were no doubt therefore the kindred race of Cushite or Ethiopian families, who dwelt about the borders of the Red Sea and the wildernesses of Sinai, in their new association with the son of Abraham; whose name they took, and formed the Midianite and Phœnician family. With these came, also, the Nymph, whom the Ammonite conqueror found in the mountains of Raamah. The great point in the Abyssinian tradition appears to be, that the Cushite cave-dwellers were not the original people of the African territory; for it is stated, they disposed of their metalline wares to country shepherds, who conveyed them to markets in the most distant parts of Africa. These were the race of Phut, and some correlative tribes, principally those of Lud, who are found located in the *Foota* and *Ludamar* districts of the River Dhioliba, where they still pursue the trade of roaming merchants. But the system still exists among other families of the Kong mountains to make the pastoral and mercantile pursuits serve one another; finding their way down to the sea-coasts at particular seasons of the year, these shepherd people make purchases of the sea-traders, and then wandering back into the interior with their flocks, as they move from pasture to pasture, they dispose of their merchandize.

It is probable such a system has prevailed from all antiquity, and by it the Cymric and other pastoral families found their way from the gates of Africa, at Babelmandel, into the heart of the African continent, and beyond it. By this course the wandering goat-herds of the first migrations of mankind found their way into Europe, of whom remains may be seen almost in their primitive state in the mountains of the Tuscan Appenine. They form the race there of the much disputed Aborigines, or *αἰὶν ὀρεων γένος*, who in their goat-skin clothings still surprise the traveller by their close resemblance to the mountain god, whose first worship was in the mountains of mid Africa, where modern travellers assure us it still is cherished, and of whose hosts were formed some of the train-bands of the conquering Osiris. They are the old Arcadians, also, of the Peloponnesus, of whom Sir Walter Raleigh says, in the quaint language of his day, that "these Greek shepherds were proud of their antiquity, and '*fetched their origin from beyond the moon*:'" a boast which, no doubt, referred to long obliterated traditions of those first seats which they occupied beyond the mountains of the Moon, which lay at the head of the Dhioliba, and whose Ethiopic or African

name is indicative of the source of all the European families of the Cymric race ; for the El Gibel *Gumhr*, or mountains of *Kumri*, means, according to the interpretation given to them by Messrs. Denham and Clapperton, "Mountains of the Moon."

Pushed on by succeeding tribes, or urged from their native seats by older settlers, as the children of their Alpine descendants still drive forth their children to seek their fortunes in distant lands, these pastoral families threaded the whole extent of Africa from east to west, and then pushed on their way into the valleys of Europe, where they still exist, bearing unmistakable marks of their old affinity with the families of the African valleys. These peaceful tribes were, in process of time, broken in upon in their African seats by the inroads of the warlike and innovating families, whose traditions are preserved by Diodorus Siculus. We call these *Cushites*, and in some branches, no doubt, they were of that family, but they presented themselves in many distinct clanships and similitudes—travellers, and hunters, and robbers : these people gave an impulse to the defensive qualities of the pastoral families, and, by degrees, led them to join in their marauding marches, and go forth in quest of adventure and new abodes. In all the traditions of the Titanic and Ammonite wars, we shall observe this disturbing element of a warlike ingraft, operating upon the rustic societies of the Cymric and Celtic races in their old abodes. It was by force of this system that Osiris carried with him the hordes of Africa in his Indian campaign : the Pans, the Wolves, the Dogheads, and all the other metaphysical impersonations of the barbarous tribes that accompanied him. Cronus and the sons of Atlas had been before him in the same path, and led the same races into the fertile pastures of the Alps and Pyrenees, from whence they found their way, probably, to the utmost flows of the Rhine and Danube. The British Cymri or Walliæ, the yellow-shirted Scot, the stalwart, short-trousered Hibernian, found their way to their Biscayan and insular abodes by these ingresses. The Pict and Brythen of the Gaulish race, settled themselves, then, in their French territories, brought in warlike bands from the Ethiopic Galla, where their native root is found, still bearing marks distinctive of their race. The chariots of the old Libyan people, exhibited in the Nubian temples among the battle scenes of the Ethiopic Memnon, reveal the origin of those which afterwards were found among the Belgic Gauls, and of which, probably, the last specimen was viewed in that one which was preserved with jealous care in the arsenal of Cologne, till destroyed by the French Republican troops, on the capture of that city ; and, perhaps, in the anomalous name of the African Garamas, the more anomalous one of the European Germans

may have taken its origin with the inroads of these Southern settlers.

The emblazoned shield and the *Sæx*, or short dagger, of the old *Ascitæ*, the *Gætuli* of classic history, and the progenitors of the *Goths* of Western Europe, are still found among their descendants the *Tuaricks* or *Soorgoos* of the Southern Sahara; whose personal characteristics are described by travellers as strangely European, and from whom, we think, the *Saxon* took his name and features. They are of the race of the *Arabian Havilah*, the inventors of the bottle or sack for more purposes than one, the chief soldiers of the *Indian Bacchus*, as they were of the *Assyrian kings* in their pristine seats, where they are seen crossing rivers on their bottles, from which they took their generic appellation, and in which they still pride themselves in their African seats. For the *Ἀσκος* or bottle of the old *Ascitæ* is found again in the *Sorgoo* or *Bottle* of the modern *Soorgoos* or *Tuaricks*, which is the interpretation given to that word, in the African nomenclature of *M. Caillé*.

These are concomitants to the history, which the traditions of *Diodorus* afford us from the *Orphean records*; and they are concomitants of a nature which both satisfy the conditions requisite to the truth of those records, and are confirmatory of the history that is presented to us. They are precisely what rocky fragments are in the bed of a torrent, which proclaim the former transience of those lower waters, that are found in tranquil beds at their feet, over the precipitous steepes on which the broken rocks are deposited. The subject is one, however, which neither our space nor object in this disquisition permits our pursuing further. The outline is only drawn; and if antiquity, like the future, is only to be viewed through a glass and somewhat darkly, yet we may by the shadowy chart of the things past, which we have here drawn, discover in what part of the map the ancient sources of *Egyptian power* were established, and by what means that power was conveyed to its proper seats. And if we have done so much, it is all the present section of our discussion permits or requires.

Hitcham, 9th Oct., 1854.

H. M. G.



## ON THE MIRACLE OF THE PASSAGE OF THE RED SEA.

It is due to the readers of *The Journal of Sacred Literature* that I should notice some observations made by a correspondent (H. M. G.), on the view of the Passage of the Red Sea which I developed in the first part of my paper on the *Historical Origin of the Passover*. Although my explanations are called forth by H. M. G.'s remarks, they are really designed to remove lurking and unworthy doubts from the minds of the true and studious critics who are sufficiently earnest, and learned in the sacred language, to look with equal good-will and ability into the reasons for any conclusions I myself am not afraid of submitting to them.

It is a rather unsafe method of criticism to ground a verbal objection to my argument concerning the division of the waters, upon a reference to the *English* version.<sup>a</sup> The common run of Bible readers, who cannot be expected to study the Hebrew original, are certainly obliged to take for granted the purport of any translation they can understand. But, then, they must be content to receive their exegetical opinions from this or that more learned divine's *Commentary*. In general, they do not venture upon independent criticism, and would run great risk of being misled if they did.

My reasons for setting aside the English version of רוח מזרחי by *east wind*, were given in some detail, with other discussions, in a letter I published in the *Athenæum*, of January 24th, 1852, and to which I referred the reader of the "Passover" papers, in order to avoid repetition or digression. I am sorry that my critic, in fairness to himself as much as to me, did not consult that reference before he published his remarks on the apparent discrepancy of my view and the English version of Exodus xiv. 21. It would have spared him the trouble of criticizing it as an *oversight* on my part,—a disregard of that version that really proceeded from my *deliberate examination and rejection* of it.

I will take the present opportunity of putting my reasons for this rejection before the readers of *The Journal of Sacred Literature* in a much more complete form, quoting only a few passages from the letter in the *Athenæum* I refer to, and giving, in full, all the passages in the Hebrew Bible and the Septuagint in which the expression, translated *east wind*, occurs. I can also add other critical illustrations and remarks, which interest the

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<sup>a</sup> The analysis of Exod. xv. 8, appended to the end of this article, illustrates this position.

Biblical student more exclusively than any other class of readers, and would have been out of place and inadmissible in the other *Journal*. The thorough examination of this subject involves a curious question of verbal criticism well worth looking into, for its own sake, by many students of Sacred Writ, who, perhaps, could hardly spare time to look for themselves after the requisite thirty-six references, even if they had the desire and the patience to do so.

"The direction of the wind which parted the Red Sea at the exodus, has always occasioned a difficulty in our comprehension of the account. Whether this wind were naturally, or supernaturally produced, matters not; we equally believe the sacred writer's statement, that by such an outwardly sensible means, the Almighty wrought the separation of the waters. It is, therefore, very unnatural—it is, in fact, incomprehensible, because it seems absurd—that in indicating *the means* which produced the effect, the historian should have assigned a *means* which would *not* have that effect; for as the general direction of the Arabian Gulf is nearly north by south, it is not by an *east* wind that the average level of the sea, at its northern extremity, could be sufficiently lowered to enable the people to pass across a shallow place usually regarded as impassable on foot, even at low tide. Such a physical phenomenon could only be wrought in that locality by the instrumentality of a powerful wind blowing steadily for several hours from a northern quarter.

The difficulty may be partially met by the suggestion that an expression corresponding to the Hebrew *רוח קדמ* *rua'h kadim*, is frequently used at the present time, in the East, to denote a violent, destructive, or parching wind, without any particular regard to the quarter from whence it blows. 'Our guide,' says Dr. E. Robinson, 'as well as our other Arabs, called the wind which we had yesterday, *Shurkiyeh* (east wind), although it blew from the south.'<sup>b</sup>

If we could obtain a reasonable amount of evidence that the ancient Hebrew usage of *רוח קדמ* admitted of a corresponding extension in meaning, the difficulty would be wholly smoothed away, as far as regards the Hebrew text of the account of the exodus."

I will now proceed to shew that the various ways in which the Septuagint translate this expression, are just the evidence we want to this effect. The Hebrew *רוח קדמ* *kadim*, as a term qualifying a wind, occurs eighteen times in the Bible; yet the Septuagint have not, in a single instance, ever rendered it by *east* wind. As this remarkable omission runs through all the books which were translated at different times and by different hands, it cannot be ascribed to one particular translator's ignorance, mistake, or fancy. It must be intentional. When we have collected all the passages in which those words occur, classified, and compared

<sup>b</sup> *Bibl. Res.*, vol. i., p. 305.

them, we shall see the intention. We shall see, in fact, how the Alexandrian Jews of the third century, B.C., who surely knew the sacred language of their people and books, shew us, by their judicious selection of corresponding expressions, that they certainly understood Moses and the other prophets to mean by a *Kadīm*, just what a modern Arab means by a *Shurkiyeh* wind—not a wind blowing from the eastern quarter, but a wind possessing certain meteorological qualities, and producing certain outward effects—a hard, dry, destructive, parching wind. In Palestine, the easterly winds chiefly possessed those qualities; and as the popular mind is more struck with the *sensible effect* of the wind than the geographical abstraction of its *quarter*, the latter idea, though the original one, was soon superseded by the former. Thus, while in Palestine and Arabia, a *Kadīm* or *Shurkiyeh* wind really was a hard, dry, parching wind that blew from the *eastern* quarter, the same terms in other lands continued to be used to denote the same sort of hard, dry, parching wind coming from *any* quarter.

By the first ten examples I give, it will appear that when the Hebrew term *Kadīm* is used, either literally or figuratively, in respect of its effects on vegetation, the Septuagint follow up the above purely idiomatic usage, by choosing an expression that describes the *sort of wind* meant, by its effects on vegetation, *ὁ καύσων*, the parching.

Job xxvii. 21.—*יִסְרֹף עָלָיו הַקָּדִים וְיִסָּרֵף*

The *Kadīm* beareth him off, and he departeth: it stormeth him out of his place.

Sept.—ἀναλήψεται δὲ αὐτόν καύσων καὶ ἀπελεύσεται, καὶ λικμήσει αὐτόν ἐκ τοῦ τόπου αὐτοῦ.

Jeremiah xviii. 17.—*חַיִּי כְּפִי עֲרֵם עֲרֵם*

As the *Kadīm* wind, I will scatter them before the enemy.

Sept.—ὡς ἄνεμον καύσωνα διασπερῶ αὐτοὺς κατὰ πρόσωπον ἐχθρῶν αὐτῶν.

Ezekiel xvii. 10.—*וְכִי שֹׁמֵם יִהְיֶה הָאֵץ מִפְּנֵי הַקָּדִים*

When the *Kadīm* wind smiteth it, shall it not utterly wither?

Sept.—οὐχὶ ἅμα τῷ ἀψεσθαι αὐτῆς ἄνεμον τὸν καύσωνα ξηρανθήσεται;

Ezekiel xix. 12.—*וְכִי שֹׁמֵם יִהְיֶה הָאֵץ מִפְּנֵי הַקָּדִים*

She was plucked off in fury, flung to the earth, and the *Kadīm* wind withered her fruit.

Sept.—καὶ κατεκλάσθη ἐν θυμῷ, ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἐρρίφη, καὶ ἄνεμοι ὁ καύσων ἐξήρανε τὰ ἐκλεκτά αὐτῆς.

Hosea xii. 1.—**עַרְבַּי יִרְחַק אַחֲרַי וְעַרְבַּי יִרְחַק**

Ephraim feedeth on wind, and followeth after the *Kadīm*.

Sept.—ὁ δὲ Ἐφραὶμ πονηρὸν πνεῦμα ἐδίωξε, καύσωνα.

(The difference in this translation arises from the absence of vowel points in the ancient Hebrew MSS. The LXX. read **עַרְבַּי**, as if it were pointed **עַרְבַּי**, *evil*, instead of **עַרְבַּי**, *feeding*; and translate as if the order of the two last words were reversed.)

Hos. xiii. 15.—**וְהָיָה לְהָיִים יִרְחַק אַחֲרַי וְעַרְבַּי יִרְחַק**

Though he be fruitful among his brethren, the *Kadīm* shall come, the wind of the Lord, from the desert.

Sept.—διότι οὗτος ἀναμέσων ἀδελφῶν διαστελεῖ, ἐπάξει καύσωνα ἄνεμον Κύριος ἐκ τῆς ἐρήμου ἐπ' αὐτόν.

(The LXX. read **עַרְבַּי** *will bring*, which caused them to change the grammatical relation of the succeeding words.)

Jonah iv. 8.—**וַיִּבֶן יוֹנָתָן מִזְבֵּחַ וַיִּשְׁבַּח אֱלֹהִים וַיִּשְׁמַע אֱלֹהִים אֶת יוֹנָתָן**

The Lord ordained a vehement *Kadīm* wind; and the sun smote on the head of Jonah.

Sept.—προσέταξεν ὁ Θεὸς πνεύματι καύσωνι, συγκαίοντι, καὶ ἐπάταξεν ὁ ἥλιος ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ Ἰωνᾶ.

Gen. xli. 6.—**וַיִּבֶן יוֹנָתָן מִזְבֵּחַ וַיִּשְׁבַּח אֱלֹהִים וַיִּשְׁמַע אֱלֹהִים אֶת יוֹנָתָן**

And, behold! seven ears, thin and blasted by the *Kadīm*.

Sept.—καὶ ἰδοὺ, ἐπὶ τὰ στάχυες λεπτοὶ καὶ ἀνεμόφθοροι.

And, again, in verses 23 and 27. In these three latter instances, though the expression corresponding to *Kadīm* is omitted, the entire idea is expressed by the compound *ἀνεμόφθορος*, *wind-blasted*.

In another class of passages which I will now quote, the Septuagint seem to have taken their key from the direct etymological derivation of **עַרְבַּי**, *fronting*, and so opposing a wayfarer's course, increasing his trouble in getting on, &c. For I must here remark that **עַרְבַּי** only stands for the *east* in a secondary and derivative sense, from **עַרְבַּי**, *before*, *in front*; because the Canaanite originators of the Hebrew language faced the east in bowing to the rising sun; hence, the *east* was called the *fronting* quarter; the south, **יְמִינִי**, the *right hand*; the west, the *back*, &c.; and the Hebrews, in adopting the language, retained those terms of orientation. Consequently, a *kadīm* wind would express, radi-



cally, a wind that fronts a man in any position, as well as a wind coming from the conventional front quarter. Now the Septuagint have :—

Hab. i. 9.      καὶ ὑπὸ τῇ πνεύματι      συντέλεια εἰς ἀσεβεῖς ἦξει,  
πνεύματι καὶ πνεύματι      ἀνθεστηκόται προσώπουσι αὐτῶν  
καὶ ὑπὸ τῇ πνεύματι      ἐξεναντίας,  
καὶ συνάξει ὡς ἄμμου αἰχμαλωσίαν.

(This passage is too variously interpreted by the best authorities to be discussed here. I need only notice that the common English translation of "*east wind*," for *Kadīm* with the final particle of direction, is bad; and the sense expressed by the ἐξεναντίας of the LXX., *adverse, right forward in opposition to*, is very harmonious with the general context; the sense would be quite marred by substituting "*eastward*," as some propose, because the Chaldean ravagers of Judea, on the contrary, came from that quarter.)

Job xv. 2.—ὁ σοφὸς ἀνὴρ      ἡ γὰρ τῆς πνεύματι

Does the wise man answer in a spirit of knowledge,  
 Or fill his belly with the *Kadīm*?

Sept.—πότερον σοφὸς ἀποκρίσιν δώσει      συνεσέως πνεύμα,  
καὶ ἐνέπλησε πόνον γαστρὸς.

(The LXX. construe this phrase better than the common English version, taking πνεύματι for an inverted genitive = *knowing spirit*. Their *καὶ* for *ἢ*, in the contrary clause, is a mere Hebraism. The substitution of the literal *πόνος, toil, trouble*, for the figurative Hebrew *Kadīm*, is an explanation worthy of our attention.)

Isa. xxvii. 8.—ὁ λόγος τῆς πνεύματι      ἡ γὰρ τῆς πνεύματι

Sept.—μελετῶν τῷ πνεύματι τῷ σκληρῷ      ἀνελείν αὐτοὺς πνεύματι  
 θυμοῦ.

(The various meanings of πνεύματι, *to utter a sound, complain, meditate*, make this an obscure passage; and the LXX. read from a fuller text than the present Hebrew. Nevertheless, we can still follow their idea of *Kadīm*, rendered by *spirit of wrath*, or *angry wind*; substituting, as before, the literal for the figurative Hebrew meaning.)

Having thus far made out how evidently, and on what principle of interpretation, the Septuagint so deliberately cast aside the *local qualification* of the wind in their renderings of *Kadīm*, we have next to inquire why, when they do appear to introduce such a qualification, they invariably substitute, as the equivalent

of the Hebrew *Kadīm*, *front* or *east*; the Greek name of the *south* wind, *νοτος*. It cannot be that they did not admit that *קד* stands for the east; because, when that term does not qualify the *wind*, but really denotes the *quarter*, they translate it by *κατὰ ἀνατολᾶς*.\*

There are five, perhaps six, instances of this translation.

Exod. x. 13.

קדמו גלגל עננים תה נפשו ויה  
הגדיל לה נפשו ויה נפשו גלגל עננים תה נפשו ויה  
הגדיל תה נפשו ויה נפשו תה נפשו ויה

And Moses extended his rod over the land of Egypt :  
And the Lord led a *Kadīm* wind upon the land all that day and all the night ;

It was morning, and the *Kadīm* wind bore the locusts.

Sept.—καὶ ἐπήγε Μωϋσῆς τὴν ῥάβδον εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν,  
καὶ Κύριος ἐπήγαγεν ἄνεμον νότον ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, ὅλην τὴν  
ἡμέραν ἐκείνην καὶ ὅλην τὴν νύκτα·  
τὸ πρωὶ ἐγενήθη, καὶ ὁ ἀνεμος ὁ νότος ἀνέλαβε τὴν ἀκρίδα.

Now, in the complementary clause, (ver. 19,) we find that “the Lord brought round a very strong sea-wind” (וַיָּבֹא קִדְמוֹת הַיָּם הַזֶּה), and carried off the locusts by this agency, “and cast them into the Red Sea.” In Palestine, “*the sea*” is another name for the west; but in Egypt, a sea-wind would be an easterly wind. Moses, therefore, used the Palestine idiom in naming the winds, without regard to local geography. It is on this account all the more remarkable, that the Septuagint should here have substituted their idiomatic *νότος* for the idiomatic *קד* of Moses, in designating the wind that brought the locusts; because, if the wind that took them away and threw them into the Red Sea came from westward, that which brought them must have come from eastward; and here the translation by east would have been justified by its fitness. This passage is, therefore, a striking proof how very far the Septuagint were from believing that a *Kadīm* necessarily meant an *eastern* wind. What they meant, themselves, by the substitute *νότος*, as an equivalent to *καύσων*, will be better understood by the other quotations in which they employ it.

And now, we draw nearer to the point; the next instance is the contested passage itself:—

Ex. xiv. 21.

קדמו על יד ים סוף ויה נפשו ויה  
הגדיל לה נפשו ויה נפשו גלגל עננים תה נפשו ויה  
הגדיל תה נפשו ויה נפשו תה נפשו ויה

\* See Ezek. xi. 1, &c.

And Moses extended his hand over (or towards) the sea ;  
 And the Lord made the sea go by a strong *Kadīm* wind all the night,  
 And he (or it) made the sea become a dry place, and the waters were divided.

Sept.—ἐξέτεινε δὲ Μωϋσῆς τὴν χεῖρα ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν·  
 καὶ ὑπήγαγε Κύριος τὴν θάλασσαν ἐν ἀνέμῳ νότῳ βιαίῳ ὅλην  
 τὴν νύκτα,  
 καὶ ἐποίησε τὴν θάλασσαν ξηράν· καὶ ἐσχίσθη τὸ ὕδωρ.

In this, as in the paragraph quoted before, the *Kadīm* wind certainly is assigned as God's instrument in bringing the locusts, and in conducing to the separation of the waters. The Hebrew (*be-ruah*, רוח) *by a wind*, admits of no other interpretation ;<sup>d</sup> and no Greek scholar will admit the sense H. M. G. puts upon its exact equivalent in the Septuagint version (ἐν ἀνεμῳ). The prefix ἐν, when it denotes situation or instrumentality, is the exact grammatical equivalent of ἐν with the dative, and in no case can either be interpreted adverbially and comparatively, "*as by*," &c. Had such a sense been intended by Moses, he would have used the prefix ἐν (ke), and the Septuagint must have translated it by ὡς.

A comparison of the two texts I have given, will also shew that the prophet's extending his hand, or wand, at the Divine command, does not constitute him the doer of the miracle, but only attests him as its proclaimer.<sup>e</sup> It is an outward sign to Egypt and Israel that the sign from the Lord, of whom he is the messenger, is to be wrought from the quarter pointed at. Moses extending his hand towards the sea, no more implies an immediate division of the waters consequent on that action, or that this division was effected by a miraculous suspension of the laws and agencies of nature, than the same action, prior to the swarming of the locusts, implies the immediate invasion of the pest, or that they were of necessity miraculously created for the occasion, and not brought forth after the natural way of locusts. Moses affirms that in the one case, the *Kadīm* wind blew the *whole day and night*, and in the other, all the *fore part of the night*, before the locusts appeared, or the right time for the bed of the sea's being made dry, was come. If the wind had no instrumental part in the miracle, surely Moses would not say that it had ; and since he says that it had, shall we presume to set aside his honest account, for the sake of making out a different sort of miracle than the one related by the prophet, because our littleness fancies its own imaginary substitute a greater miracle ? Did God, then, specially cause this wind to blow twenty-four hours in

<sup>d</sup> See also, Psalm xlviii. 8.

<sup>e</sup> Comp. Exod. viii. 15—17.

one instance, and eight or nine in the other, for nothing at all? Were I to hazard such criticism as that, I should expect to be asked, "WHO IS THIS, THAT DARKENETH COUNSEL BY WORDS WITHOUT KNOWLEDGE?" (Job xxxviii. 2.)

I now leave the theologian and critic to apply these remarks to the account of the other plagues of Egypt. It is evident, from the details of the phenomena, that some of them must have been supernatural miracles, and some, natural ones. I mean, that in some, the usual course of nature was overruled to produce the portent; while in others, it was not sensibly interfered with, but merely employed as an instrument of the Divine power. Yet all were equally special acts and manifestations of God; the prophet announced them beforehand as such, in attestation that they were indeed God's particular judgments on the tyrant of Egypt and his partizans. In all, the greatness and power of the Almighty were equally shewn forth, and his majesty and sacred authority vindicated.

I now resume the examination of the remaining passages which illustrate the meaning of the Hebrew צפון wind. My next quotation is a very remarkable instance, being a decided allusion to the winds of the exodus event; and it certainly demonstrates what the last quotation, from the account of the event itself, already led us to suspect—that the Septuagint no more meant literally a *south* wind by *νότος*, than they understood Moses to mean literally an *east* one by צפון.

Ps. lxxvii. 26.—יְהוָה יָצַא צְפוֹן בְּרָחֵם וְצָפוֹן בְּרָחֵם

He sent forth the *Kadim* in the heavens,  
And guided by his might the *Teman* (right hand, south.)

Sept.—ἀπῆρεν νότον ἐξ οὐρανοῦ,  
καὶ ἐπήγαγεν ἐν τῇ δυναστείᾳ αὐτοῦ λίβα.

(The LXX. read בְּרָחֵם, "from the heavens," which is probably the genuine reading.)

In the above passage, the Septuagint, in conformity with their rendering of צפון by *καύσων*, when referring to the action of the wind *on vegetation*, understood a violent, but dry or parching wind; and this, when referring to its action *at sea*, they now call *νότος*. It is the first exodus wind, that made the bed of the sea dry. In the complementary distich, we have the second wind that brought back the waters. Geographically, it should come from the south; the psalmist calls it יָצַא, the right hand or south, but the Septuagint, having appropriated *νότος* to the drying up wind, have to find another term to express the south. They chose *λίβας*, the wind that brings wet. Surely this com-

pletes the evidence that the *quarter* from which a wind was named, had entirely given way to the more striking idea of a *physical quality*.

The quality characterizing the wind conventionally called *vótos*, is illustrated by a passage in Luke xii. 55 : " When ye see a *vótos* blowing, ye say, *καύσων ἔσται.*" We learn by it how *vótos* became the Greek equivalent of the Hebrew *מֶדֶד* in the Septuagint, when the other equivalent, *καύσων*, describing the effect of drying up or parching, would not have applied, as when alluding to the sea.

Three more illustrations occur in the Bible of the notion the Septuagint meant to convey by νότος, as an equivalent of the SW wind, viz.:

Ezek. xxvii. 26.—**וְהָיָה הַיָּם לְעָרְוָה בְּלִבֵּי יָמִים**

The *kadīm* wind hath broken thee in the heart of the seas.

Sept.—τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ νότου συνέτριψέ σε ἐν καρδίᾳ θαλάσσης.

Job xxxviii. 24.—אֵיזָהוּ יִשְׁמַח בְּיָמָיו אֵלֶּיךָ

From what way doth the light glide forth? the East disperse it on  
the earth?

Sept.—πòθεν δὲ ἐκπορεύεται πάχνη, ἥ διασκεδάννυται νότος εἰς τὴν ὑπ' οὐρανόν.

I notice this passage for the rendering of  $\text{מִזְרָח}$  by *νότος*; but notwithstanding this, and the common English version by *east wind*, I think  $\text{מִזְרָח}$  in the Hebrew text does not refer to the wind, but to the quarter from which the *light* of the preceding distich comes. The text from which the LXX. read, appears different, and defective.

Ps. xlviii. 8.—**בָּרַח קָדִים תִּשְׁבֵּר אֲנִיּוֹת תִּרְשָׁשׁ**

By the *kadīm* wind thou breakest the ships of Tarshish.

Sept.—ἐν πνεύματι . . . ? βιαίῳ συντρίψεις πλοῖα θαρσείς.

(Here *νοτφ* seems lost in the Greek text; or perhaps the LXX. may have considered *βυαλος violent*, by itself, a sufficient equivalent for the Hebrew *נוף*, to express the quality of that wind at sea.)

I have now fully stated my reasons for discarding that *caput mortuum*—our formal, literal, and fallacious English version of צפון by *east wind*; and for preferring the idiomatic sense attached to that expression by the Septuagint in their spirited and intelligent version of it—of a violent and contrary, parching and drying up wind, irrespective altogether of the quarter.

I found by the physical geography of the locality of the

exodus, that the exodus wind, possessing those qualities of blowing violently and contrary to the tidal current, and producing the effect of temporarily drying up the bed of the sea, must have come from a northern quarter; and I notice that a Psalm, referring to that wind, actually does give the direction of the opposite wind that brought the returning flood—from the south. I require no more.

I cannot conclude without a remark on H. M. G.'s strictures on the *mischievous* tendency of my views of this event. The second part of my paper had not appeared when he published his observations. I do not think that the tendency of my views could be fairly judged until my conclusion had appeared, to shew what way they did tend.

I now leave the issue, without apprehension, in the hands of all those who are able to discern the difference between rational criticism and rationalism, too easily confounded by prejudice. The rational critic does not fear to scrutinize the outer wall of the building; he knows his efforts will shew how well the little stones and big stones compacted together to raise it, fit each other; how the new little truths he brings out illustrate the known great truths; and how firm the whole fabric rests on its foundation of rock. He is sure it can sustain no injury, even by his occasionally throwing away a loose pebble or two, which some well meaning, but injudicious labourer may have patched in. How far is this from the insidious assiduity of the rationalist, who tries to pick and pull the parts to pieces, in the vain hope that the next picker and scoffer may the more easily kick it down!

### *Supplementary Analysis of Exodus xv. 8.*

In order to dispose at once of every verbal objection supposed to tell against my view of the Exodus miracle, I subjoin a rigid analysis of the allusion in the hymn of Moses. I could not have selected in the whole Bible a fitter example of the futility of arguing on points of fact from a translation.

וַיִּקָּח הָאֵלֹהִים אֶת־רוּחַ־הַבַּיִת	1
וַיִּקָּח הָאֵלֹהִים אֶת־רוּחַ־הַבַּיִת	2
וַיִּקָּח הָאֵלֹהִים אֶת־רוּחַ־הַבַּיִת	3

The English Bible translation of the above runs thus:—

1.—And with the blast of thy nostrils the waters were gathered together. 2.—The floods stood upright as an heap. 3.—And the depths were congealed in the heart of the sea.

The translation of the first line is unobjectionable. *רוּחַ*, *wind*, is here rendered “blast,” for the sake of the poetical image, although the literal wind is the thing meant by the figure.

The translation of the second line contains just as many misrepresentations as words.

1. קָם. Every Hebrew scholar knows it is a peculiarity of the language, that it often expresses by one word, an idea that sub-cludes another, and so requires two words to express it in translation. Each of these verb-roots for *stand*, viz., קָם, עָמַד and נָצַב, sub-cludes an invariable secondary idea of its own.

קָם is *to stand (up)* as opposed to sitting or lying. Hence it also means *to arise*; and with a preposition following, *to rise against, attack*.

עָמַד is *to stand (still)* as opposed to local motion. Hence it also means, *to stop*; and with a preposition following, *to stand against, resist*.

נָצַב is *to stand (apart)* as opposed to something standing elsewhere. Hence it also is used for *set, place, appoint, &c.*

A reference to the *Englishman's Hebrew Concordance*, for the instances of the use of these terms, will verify these distinctions. I can only give here the most striking and conclusive examples.

Gen. xxi. 29 : What mean these seven ewe lambs which thou hast set (apart) לְנִצָּבָה by themselves לְבָנֵיהָ ?

The unfitness of קָם or עָמַד in this place, need not be pointed out to the scholar; and the final expression, "by themselves," strengthens the special meaning of the preceding נָצַב.

The two following examples prove the relative value of קָם and נָצַב, by their juxta-position.

Ex. xxxiii. 8 : All the people arise קָמוּ, and stand נָצַב each at the door of his tent (that is, each man by himself, or apart from the rest.)

Gen. xxxvii. 7 : (common version) "And lo! my sheaf arose, and also stood upright; and behold! your sheaves stood round about, and made obeisance to my sheaf."

All this is so bad, that I must give the original text entire, with its literal translation.

וַיִּקָּם הָאֵלֶּיךָ הָאֵלֶּיךָ	Lo ! my sheaf stood (up),
וַיִּנָּצֵב	and also stood (apart),
וַיִּצְבּוּ הָאֵלֶּיךָ הָאֵלֶּיךָ	and lo ! your sheaves surrounded
וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ לְאֵלֶיךָ	and bowed themselves to my sheaf.

This presents a distinct and animated succession of images, in place of the absurd tautology *arose, and also stood upright*, of the common translation.

The above, and Exod. xv. 8, are the only passages in which *upright* has thus been improperly added by the English Bible translators as a complement to נָצַב, and the one condemns the other. In rendering קָמוּ בָּרָק by "*the floods stood upright*," the

authorized translators fastened upon that expression their own pre-conceived idea of the form of the miracle, by an arbitrary addition to the text, entirely unauthorized by the sense and idiom of the verb *נָח*.

2. *נָח*. *Floods* suggests a violent and false idea of this word. It is the *flowing waters*, (from *נָח*, to flow), as opposed to the *waters* of the next line, the *tumultuous waters*, (from *נָחַח*, to make a tumult or confused noise) the agitated waters of the lower deep, that do not flow. Note that this term, in the singular, denotes the abyss or receptacle of waters—the *deep place*. (See Gen. i. 2; vii. 11; xlix. 15; Deut. xxiii. 13; Isa. li. 10.) In the plural, it denotes the *deep waters* themselves. (See Deut. viii. 7; Ps. xxxiii. 7; lxxviii. 15; cxxxv. 6.) See Prov. viii. 27, 28, for both forms with this distinction of sense. (One or two exceptions occur of the plural form, meaning the deep places of the earth, the *Hades*, or supposed abode of departed spirits.)

3. *נָחַח*. The translation given of this expression, “as a heap,” conveys a very false impression. The root *נָח* being a verb, to be in a state of motion (locally or morally) the noun *נָח* itself formed from it can only denote the idea of the verb-root attached to an object—some *thing* removed, displaced, transposed. The idea of heaping up is gratuitously superadded.

*נָח* occurs only six times; we can, therefore, analyze each instance, to prove its signification.

In Isaiah xvii. 11, devastation and desolation being foretold, we have “the harvest shall be a *נָח*.” The impropriety of the common translation, by *heap*, in this place, struck the marginal correctors, who substitute *removed*. This participle is the best equivalent that can be found, since there is no corresponding English noun. It quite expresses what the prophet meant, that the land would be spoiled of its produce. “The harvest shall be a heap,” on the contrary, rather implies that the corn will be safely stored up in the barn—just the thing the prophet did not mean to say.

Ps. xxxiii. 7: He gathereth the waters of the sea together “as an heap.” Here again, this mistranslation of *נָחַח* gives a false image; for the face of the ocean is not a heaped up, but a generally horizontal surface. This passage, in all the condensed brevity of Hebrew poetical expression, recites that by the creative power of the Lord, the waters that were *נָחַח*, as a constantly removed or wandering-about body, were collected into the receptacle of the hollow deep, to form the ocean.

The same sense attaches to *נָח* in Josh. iii. 13 and 16. “The waters stopped” (*נָחָה*, as opposed to their usual onward motion) stopped by the divine fiat that arrested their course, “and rose i-



one (mass) removed" (from the place of their destination), being detained among the upper regions of the river.

Such being the strict etymological sense of נָ, I understand by Exod. xv. 8, and its parallel passage in Ps. lxxviii. 13, that the נָ "flowing waters," נָנָ "stood apart," נָנָ "as a mass or body removed," from the place where they would have been from the head of the gulf, to where they were forced up by the wind; and this might be down by the straits of Babelmandel, where the tidal wave breaks, and the tidal flowing waters are partially intercepted in their course by geographical causes, independently of any amount of action the wind may superadd to the diurnal phenomenon.

The common version of the third line is less open to etymological objections than the preceding one. "Congealed," *turned to ice*, is not the right sense of נָנָ *to fix* or *set*, (a scarce word, applied to the curdling of milk in making cheese.) The whole verse, as translated in the English Bible, so ill describes the vulgar idea of the exodus miracle, that I am surprised its apologists should be satisfied with such a misapplication; for they assume that two masses of water standing upright were solidified from the upper surface of the sea downwards to the bed. The translation only suggests large icebergs at the bottom of the sea, which is contrary to nature, as they generally float on the *surface*, which is not "the heart of the sea."

In conclusion, my dissertation on the exodus miracle, reduced to a small compass, presumes, Firstly,—that the Lord נָנָנָנָ by the blast of his nostrils (poetically for a strong *kadīm* wind) caused the waters to be collected together נָנָנָ, somewhere else than at the head of the gulf.

Secondly,—That in consequence, the נָנָ, *flowing waters*, (speaking of the sea, the upper tidal current in and out) נָנָ stood apart or off, נָנָ as if removed altogether from the part of the sea where the Israelites crossed it.

Thirdly,—While during the dead lull of the ebb, the נָנָנָ, deep waters, on both sides of the path formed on the shallow they crossed, נָנָ were fixed or motionless in their deep beds, נָנָ, the heart of the sea.

In fact, I have done no more than fill up with its geographical, meteorological, chronological, and astronomical details, the general outline given by Moses in his beautiful hymn—

By the blast of thy nostrils the waters were gathered together,  
The flowing waters stood apart, as if removed;  
The deep waters were fixed in the heart of the sea.

FANNY CORBAUX.



### MELITO OF SARDIS, AND HIS REMAINS.

It seems desirable that a more satisfactory account of Melito should be presented than is contained in the previous article.<sup>a</sup> We have, therefore, resolved to supplement that by one containing various particulars in a more connected form, partly based upon the notice of Cave in the *Historia Literaria*, and including the remaining fragments of Melito, so far as we have been able to trace them. And surely if such fragments as remain of Ennius, and other ancient authors who were strangers to the true God, are worth collecting and publishing, how much more those of a man who was one of the earliest defenders of the Gospel after apostolic times—a man whose renown spread far and wide, for his manifold personal excellencies, and for the value and variety of his writings!

Melito of Asia, as he is termed, was no less illustrious for his piety than for his learning. In order that his conversation might be more manifestly in heaven, he appears not to have entered the married state. This we gather from Polycrates of Ephesus, who probably knew, but survived him. In a letter to Victor of Rome, preserved by Eusebius,<sup>b</sup> Polycrates says, "Why should I speak of—Melito the eunuch, who managed all things by the Holy Spirit, who lies at Sardis awaiting the visitation which is from heaven, when he shall rise again from the dead?" Jerome also, in his catalogue of illustrious men,<sup>c</sup> informs us that Tertullian (in his seven books against the church, for Marcion), commends him, and adds, that he was accounted by many of the Christians as a prophet. He was appointed Bishop of Sardis, where he was buried, "awaiting," as Polycrates says, "the visitation which is from heaven, when he shall rise again from the dead." He was characterized by an "elegant and persuasive genius,"<sup>d</sup> and was an active and earnest defender of the Christian cause.<sup>e</sup> It appears that, in the reign of Marcus Antoninus the followers of Christ were cruelly persecuted by the ordinance, or at least with the connivance of the emperor. Influenced by the desire of base gain, shameless betrayers delivered up the Christians to confiscation of their goods and to death. At this juncture—

"Melito of Asia, bishop of the Sardians, presented an *apologetical*

<sup>a</sup> *Journal of Sacred Literature*, vol. vii., p. 298.

<sup>b</sup> *Hist. Eccl.*, v., 24.

<sup>c</sup> Cap. 24. Tertullian's books are now lost.

<sup>d</sup> Tertullian in Jerome, *loc. cit.*

<sup>e</sup> The reader will excuse a few necessary repetitions of some things contained in the former article.

book to the emperors,<sup>f</sup> as also many others, among whom was the afore-said Justin," &c. . . . "Melito, bishop of the Sardians, after many other things delivered by the same Justin, says—'We are not the worshippers of stones, which have no consciousness at all, but of God alone, who is before all and above all; and of his Christ, who is God the Word before all ages, we are worshippers,' " &c.

The previous passage is from the *Paschal Chronicle*, under the year A. D. 165. It appears from this, not only that Melito presented his apology along with Justin, but that it was substantially the same as his in its mode of argumentation.

The same authority again, under the year 169, has the following:—

"Melito of Asia, bishop of the city of Sardis, and Apollinarius, bishop of Hierapolis, and many others of our doctrine, presented a book of Apology to Marcus Aurelius Antoninus; Justin being dead, and many besides. And the emperor himself, also, learning from others that all over Asia they were afflicted with all sorts of indignities, issued a general rescript of this kind," &c.

These important extracts certainly favour the idea that Melito wrote two Apologies, one *during the life* of Justin Martyr, and one *after his death*. Hence the writer of the article MELITO, in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography*, &c., observes: "The *Chronicon Paschale* seems to ascribe to Melito two Apologies, one presented to Aurelius and Verus, A. D. 165, the other to Aurelius alone, A. D. 169." A similar inference has been drawn from the terms which Eusebius employs. This author, in the *Chronicon*,<sup>g</sup> tells us that, "Melito, Bishop of the Sardians of Lydia, delivered a book of Apology for Christians to Antoninus." In the *Ecclesiastical History*,<sup>h</sup> Eusebius not only mentions the fact of Melito's having sent an Apology to Antoninus, but also gives valuable extracts from it, as well as an enumeration of his other works. "Among their number also, Melito, bishop of the church in Sardis, and Apollinarius of Hierapolis, were signally distinguished, each of whom individually addressed to the above said King of the Romans in those times discourses in defence of the faith." Next comes the list of his works which we shall give below. Then come the important fragments of the lost *Apology*, as follows:—

"Now, in the book to the king, he relates some of those things which happened against us under him:—

"'For what never before has been is *now*: the race of the godly is persecuted, driven by new edicts throughout Asia. For shameless syco-

<sup>f</sup> i. e., Marcus Aurelius and Antoninus Verus.

<sup>g</sup> *Olymp.* 237. p. 169, Scaliger's edition. 1658.

<sup>h</sup> Bk. iv., ch. 27.

phants, and affectors of others' goods, taking occasion from the prescripts, openly plunder by night and by day, spoiling those who have done no wrong.'

"And further on he says:—

" ' If this is done by thy injunction, let it be done in an orderly manner, for a righteous king would never counsel unrighteously, and we cheerfully bear the honour of such a death. And this supplication only do we offer to thee, that thou, knowing beforehand the perpetrators of such contention, wouldst justly judge whether they are worthy of death and vengeance, or safety and quiet. But if this new ordinance and new pre-script should not be from thee—one which is unbecoming even against barbarous enemies—much more do we beseech of thee not to see us so openly plundered.'

"To which he immediately after adds:—

" ' For our philosophy flourished formerly among barbarians, and having prevailed over the nations under thy dominion, under the great reign of Augustus, thy progenitor, became an especially happy advantage in thy kingdom; for from that time the Roman power increased to a great and splendid state, whereto thou art become the fortunate successor, and so shall thy son be with thee, if thou preservest that philosophy which has grown up with the kingdom, and which began in the reign of Augustus, which also thy fathers honoured rather than other forms of worship. And this is a very strong evidence of the good alluded to, that while our doctrine flourished—and the kingdom began at the same time—no dishonour befell the empire from the reign of Augustus. But, on the contrary, everything was splendid and glorious, according to the prayers of all. Nero and Domitian alone of all, being led astray by envious men, wished to put down our doctrine by calumny. And from them the lie of false accusation concerning such persons has been transmitted by un-reasoning custom. But their ignorance thy pious fathers corrected, often chastising by many edicts whoever dared to meddle with them. Among them Adrian, thy grandfather, manifestly wrote, among many others, to Fundanus, the proconsul, and to the governor of Asia. And thy father,<sup>i</sup> with whom thou didst administer all affairs, wrote to the cities that they should not interfere with us—among the rest, to the Larisseans, the Thessalonians, the Athenians, and all the Grecians. And we are even more persuaded that thou, who hast the same disposition towards them as these, and one which is yet more humane and philosophical, wilt do everything which we entreat of thee.'

"These things are contained in the work above named."

The previous extracts contain nothing which is inconsistent with the style and spirit of the Syriac document contained in the previous article, but much which is in a singular manner coincident. 1. There is no such word as Christ or Christianity, and allusions to Christians are indirect. 2. There is no quota-

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<sup>i</sup> He means Antoninus Pius, with whom he was associated in the government.

tion from Scripture, and no direct mention of it. 3. There is the same manly and straightforward style of address. 4. In the inscription to the Syriac document, Melito, a Christian teacher, is called a philosopher, and here Christianity is more than once called philosophy. 5. Both are the productions of a man possessing varied and accurate knowledge, and great freedom of expression.

As it respects the Apology, therefore, our own opinion is, that Melito twice addressed the Roman throne, and that the two entries of the *Paschal Chronicle* probably gave the dates of the respective presentations. Verus was associated with Marcus in the empire in 165, and is therefore connected with him in the *Paschal Chronicle* as the receiver of Apologies; but, in 169, the same authority refers to Marcus alone as the one to whom similar documents were sent. In reference to the second there is no difficulty. Verus was dead (he died the same year, or 169), and Melito addresses Marcus alone. But in reference to the first there are two difficulties. 1. If the Syriac Apology was sent in 165, why was not Verus joined to Antoninus in the inscription? The easy answer to this is, that Antoninus alone remained at the seat of empire. His colleague was at that time absent at the war in the east. 2. If the Syriac was the first of two Apologies, why does it not contain the words quoted in the *Paschal Chronicle*? Either, *first*, we have not the entire document preserved; or, *secondly*, it is not quoted with literal accuracy; or, *thirdly*, the author quoted from the second instead of the first by mistake. We are disposed to think the second is the more probable reason, as we find the sentence substantially in the Syriac; and we know that quotations were not always exactly correct, being sometimes made from memory. An example of this will occur in the remaining fragments.\*

As it will be needless to pursue this matter further, we will

\* The observations of Bunsen, to which allusion was made in the previous article, may as well be here given:—"The Libyan manuscripts contain an Apology of Melito, who must be the bishop of Sardis, who, about the year 169, presented to Marcus Aurelius, the philosopher, a defence of Christianity. It appears entire, and therefore ought to contain the fragments quoted by Eusebius, but does not do so. It bears, moreover, the stamp of a late and confused composition. For these reasons I have abstained from giving it a place among the genuine texts."—*Hippolytus and his Age*, Vol. I., 1854, pref. p. xi.

It is not enough thus summarily to dismiss a candidate for such a position as this claims—a place in the age of spiritual heroes. We hope that even our translation will shew that there is nothing in it like a later age, and that the position it asks for is the only one natural to it. Not one of the corruptions of later times is found in it; and if it be a forgery, it is the forgery of a man of pre-eminent skill, of an evangelical spirit, and with no possible purpose before him to be subverted by his forgery.—*Judicet lector.*

again turn to Eusebius, where we have the following; he says he was acquainted with the following treatises

"Of Melito, two on the Passover, one on Rules of Conduct, and the Prophets, one concerning the Church, a discourse on the Lord's day; another on the Nature of Man, and one on his formation; one on the Obedience of faith, and on the Senses. Besides these there was that on the Soul and Body. Among them also is that on the Laver (Baptism); the one concerning Truth, and concerning Faith (or the Creation<sup>1</sup>) and the generation of Christ. Then we have his discourse on Prophecy, [and on the Soul and Body:] the one on Hospitality, the Clavis, and those concerning the Devil, and the Revelation of John, and the one on the incarnate (or embodied) God. Lastly, there is the little book to Antoninus.

"In those on the Passover, he signifies the time in which he composed them, in these words, at the beginning, 'When Servilius Paulus was pro-consul of Asia (about the time when Sagaris was martyred) there was great contention in Laodicea about the passover, which fell according to its season in those days: and these things were written.'

"Of this treatise Clemens Alexandrinus makes mention in his own treatise on the Passover, which he says he drew up in consequence of the work of Melito."<sup>m</sup>

The fragments which remain of these writings, as far as they have been previously discovered, are given by Routh in the *Reliquiæ Sacræ*. Those from the Apology and the treatise on the Passover, we have already quoted from Eusebius and the *Paschal Chronicle*, and the remainder, with additions from the Syriac MSS., will be given below. The latter are contained in a work written by Timothy of Alexandria, early in the sixth century, against the Council of Chalcedon. This MS. was transcribed A. D. 562, or twenty-five years after the death of the author, and is therefore of great value and antiquity. In this volume<sup>n</sup> is the following:—

"Of Melito, bishop of Sardis, from the *discourse upon Soul and Body*.

"'For this cause the Father sent his Son from heaven, without a body, that when he had become incarnate by means of the Virgin's womb, and was born a man, he might give life to<sup>o</sup> (save) man, and gather together his members whom death scattered when he divided man!'

"And after other things—

"'The earth trembled and its foundation was greatly shaken, the sun fled, and the planets retired, and day was changed, for they could not endure that thou<sup>p</sup> didst hang their Lord upon the tree, and the creation

<sup>1</sup> One reading gives *πιστεύς*, and another *Κρίστος*.

<sup>m</sup> *Hist. Eccl.*, iv., 27.

<sup>n</sup> Fol. 70, a. 3.

<sup>o</sup> The Syriac word, *to give life to*, also means *to save*.

<sup>p</sup> *i. e.*, Israel, or the Jewish nation, personified.

was astonished, being amazed, and saying—‘What then is this new mystery? The judge is judged, and is silent: the invisible is exposed to view, and is not ashamed: the incomprehensible is apprehended, and is not filled with indignation: the immeasurable is confined and does not resist: the impassible suffers, and does not avenge himself: the immortal dies, and does not answer a word: the celestial is entombed, and endures it! What is this new mystery?’

“‘Creation is astonished. But when our Lord arose from the dead, and trod death under foot, and bound the strong one, and set man at liberty, then the whole creation perceived that for the sake of man, the judge was judged, and the invisible exposed, and the immeasurable was bound, and the impassible suffered, and the immortal died, and the celestial was entombed. For our Lord having become a man, was judged that he might shew mercy, was bound that he might deliver, was imprisoned that he might give liberty, suffered that he might sympathize, died that he might give life, (and) was buried that he might raise up.’

*“Of the same, from a discourse upon the Crucifixion.*

“‘Because of these things he came unto us. Because of these things, when he was incorporeal, he fashioned for himself a body like our own in structure. He appeared indeed a sheep; but he remained a shepherd. He was declared a man by the adoption, but he did not deny.<sup>2</sup> He was borne by Mary, and clothed with his Father. He walked upon earth, and filled heaven. He appeared as a child, and did not belie the eternity of his nature. He was invested with a body, and did not constrain the simplicity of his Godhead. He was accounted poor, and was not despoiled of his wealth. He felt the need of food, inasmuch as he was man, but he ceased not to nourish the world, inasmuch as he was God. He was arrayed in the likeness of a servant, and did not exchange<sup>r</sup> the likeness of the Father, by nature unchangeable. He stood before Pilate, and was sitting with the Father. He was fastened to the tree, and was the Almighty.’”

Besides these remarkable passages, in the same volume there are others. Thus, fol. 75, b. 2 :—

*“Of Melito, the bishop, upon the Faith.*

“We have made a collection from the law and the prophets concerning those things which are preached about our Lord Jesus Christ, in order that we may shew to your condemnation that the Word of God is perfect wisdom, who was born before the light, who was the Creator with the Father, who was the maker of man, who is All in All, who among the patriarchs is Patriarch, who is a law among the priests, in counsel a Leader, in the prophets the Prophet, among angels the Archangel, in speech the Word, among spirits the Spirit; in the Father, the Son; in God, God; a king for ever and ever. For this is he who was to Noah a pilot, and to Abraham a guide, who was bound with Isaac, and was with Jacob among strangers; who was sold with Joseph, who was with Moses

<sup>2</sup> i. e., Renounce his Divinity.

<sup>r</sup> Change away, give up.

captain of the host; who with Joshua, the son of Nun, divided the inheritance; who proclaimed his own sufferings by David and the prophets, who by a virgin became incarnate; who was born in Bethlehem, who was swathed in a stable with swaddling-clothes; who was seen by the shepherds, who was glorified by the angels, who was worshipped by the Magians, who was shewed by John, who gathered the Apostles, who preached the kingdom, who healed the lame, who gave light to the blind, who raised the dead, who appeared in the temple, who was not believed in by the people, who was betrayed by Judas, who was committed to prison by the priests, who was judged by Pilate, who was wounded in the flesh, who was hanged upon the tree, who was buried in the earth, who rose again from the dead, who appeared to the Apostles, who ascended to heaven, who sitteth at the right hand of the Father, who is the rest of those that depart, the finder of those who are lost, the light of those that are in darkness, and the redeemer of those who are carried captive; the guide of those who have wandered, and the refuge of the distressed; the bridegroom of the church, the charioteer of the cherubim, the captain of the host of angels; God who is of God, the Son who is of the Father, Jesus Christ, the King for ever. Amen."

It may not be amiss next to give Eusebius's account of, and extract from, the Selections from the Old Testament, which contains Melito's enumeration of the canonical books of that portion of Holy Scripture. After which we shall place the singular passage from the work on *The Incarnation of Christ*, as preserved by Anastasius, the Sinaite, who flourished in the sixth century.

First, Eusebius says:—

"The same author,\* in the preface to his work, which contains selections from the acknowledged writings of the Old Testament, makes a list of them, which we have thought it necessary here to quote word for word:—

" 'Melito to Onesimus, his brother, greeting.

" 'Forasmuch as thou hast often asked, in thy zeal for the Word, to have selections from the law and the prophets concerning the Saviour, and our entire faith, and also hast wished to know of the old books, how many their number, and what their order, I have endeavoured to accomplish this, knowing thy zeal for the faith, and thy desire to know of the Word, and especially because of the longing by which thou art moved towards God herein, and strivest for eternal salvation. Having visited the East, and having come there where they were published and made, and having carefully sought out the books of the Old Testament, I subjoin and send them to thee. Their names are: of Moses five—Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy; Joshua Nave, Judges, Ruth, four books of Kingdoms, two of Chronicles, the Psalms of David, the Proverbs of Solomon (which is also Wisdom), Ecclesiastes, the Song

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\* Melito.



of Songs, Job ; of the prophets—Isaiah, Jeremiah ; those of the twelve in one volume ; Daniel, Ezekiel, Ezra. Out of these I have made and arranged selections, in six books.’”

While we deeply regret the loss of this work, we much rejoice that Eusebius has preserved the above letter, upon which, did our plan admit, we should like to make a few observations.

The next extract is from the *Guide (Dux Viæ)* of Anastasius, the Sinaite. The passage is taken from the third book of Melito, *On the Incarnation of Christ*, written against the heretic Marcion. It is this :—

“ So, therefore, there is not any necessity for those who have mind, to demonstrate from what Christ did after baptism, the truth and reality of his soul and body and human nature like ours ; for what it (the Scripture?) saith to have been done by Christ after baptism, especially the miracles, manifests and confirms to the world his Divinity, hidden in the flesh. For being at the same time God and perfect man, he himself exhibited to us the two natures,—his Divinity in the signs he did for three years after baptism ; and his humanity in the thirty years which were before baptism, wherein the imperfection of the body obscured the signs of his Divinity, although he was the true and eternal God.”

The next passage is from the Syriac volume already quoted, and is thus headed—“ *Of Melito, bishop of Antioch the city.*”

Here we must observe, that while the name of the city is misspelt in the original, Antioch is clearly intended ; and there appears to be a confounding of *Melito* with *Meletius*, who was bishop of that city in the fourth century. We shall again have to allude to this. We must also observe, that the Syriac does not say from what work of Melito the extract is taken ; but, by means of a single expression from it quoted by Anastasius the Sinaite, we are enabled to identify it. It is from Melito’s *Discourse on the Passion*, probably the same as above called by the Syriac transcriber, *On the Crucifixion*.

“ This is he who by the Virgin became incarnate, and was hanged upon the tree, and was buried in the earth, and was not corrupted ; who arose from the dead, and raises men from the earth out of the lowest grave to the highest heaven. This is the lamb that was slain, this is the lamb without a voice, this he that was born of Mary the beautiful lamb, this is he that was seized by the shearer, and was led away to slaughter, and was slain in the evening, and was buried by night ; of whom not a bone was broken upon the tree, who was not corrupted in the earth, who arose from the dead, and raises the race of Adam from the lowest grave. This is he that was slain in the midst of Jerusalem by those who are of Israel, because he healed their lame, and cleansed their lepers, and gave light to their blind, and raised their dead,—for this he died ! Thou didst

command, and he was crucified. Thou didst exult,<sup>†</sup> and he was buried. Thou didst lie down against rectitude of mind,<sup>‡</sup> and he watched in a grave and in a shroud. O Israel, transgressor of the law! wherefore this iniquity? It is a new crime; for into new sufferings thou didst cast thy Lord, thine own Lord, him that fashioned thee, him that made thee, him that raised thee to honour, him that called thee Israel. But thou hast not found grace, O Israel, for thou hast not seen God, and hast not known the Lord. Thou didst not know, O Israel, that he is the First-born of God, who was begotten before the sun, who diffused the light, who illuminated the day, who scattered the darkness, who made fast the ancient foundation, who suspended the earth, who gathered the deep, who meted out the firmament, who adorned the world. Bitter were thy nails and sharp, bitter was thy tongue which thou didst whet,<sup>§</sup> bitter was Judas on whom thou didst bestow a bribe; bitter were thy false witnesses whom thou didst set up, bitter was thy myrrh which thou didst prepare, bitter was thy vinegar which thou didst serve, bitter were thy hands, which were full of blood! Thou didst kill thy Lord, and he was lifted up upon the tree, and a tablet was affixed which made known him that was slain. And who is he? That which the hard-hearted will not say, and that which the good and brave man will say. Nevertheless hear ye and tremble! He because of whom the earth shook, he hung up who hung up the earth, he who made fast heaven was fastened up, he who upholds the earth was held up upon the tree; the Lord was humbled in his naked body, God was slain, the King of Israel was slain by the right hand of Israel.<sup>||</sup> Alas, for the new iniquity of the new murder! Exposed in his naked body, he was not even counted worthy of a covering. But, in order that he might not be seen, the luminaries turned back, and day grew dark, because they slew God, who was naked upon the tree. It was not the body of our Lord which the luminaries darkened when they set, but the eyes of men. For the earth trembled because the people trembled not; because they feared not creation was afraid. Thou didst smite thy Lord, (and) thou also art smitten upon the ground, and thou art condemned to death. But he arose from the dead and ascended to the height of heaven, when he had suffered for those who suffer, and was bound because of the race of Adam which was apprehended; and he was judged for him that was condemned, and was buried for him that was buried.

“And after other things—

“‘This is he that made the sun and the earth, and formed man in the beginning with the Father, who was preached by the law and the prophets, who became incarnate by the Virgin, who was hanged upon the tree, who was buried in the earth, who arose from the dead, and ascended to the height of heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father.’”

The words above alluded to, as given by Anastasius, and

<sup>†</sup> Comp. Micah vii. 1; probably *triumph*.

<sup>‡</sup> *i. e.*, crouch like a wild beast to seize its prey; or it may be simply, “with a guilty conscience.”

<sup>§</sup> Ps. lxiv. 3.

<sup>||</sup> Lit., *the Israelitish right hand*.

which are to be found in the first of the two preceding passages, are in the *Guide*, § 12: "God suffered by the right hand of Israel."<sup>z</sup> This quotation, it will be observed, is not exact, but the expression is so remarkable that we are not surprised to meet with it again. We do this in the Syriac MS., No. 14,532, which belongs to the seventh or eighth century, and contains a splendid collection from the fathers.

"*Of holy Melitus,<sup>y</sup> bishop of Antioch the city:—*

"'He that sustains the earth is supported by the tree, the Lord is humbled in his naked body, God is slain, the King of Israel is slaughtered.'"

Here again Melito is manifestly confounded with Meletius of Antioch. Of this writer we possess a sermon on the Scripture doctrine of Christ's person and nature, which Epiphanius has preserved in his work on Heresies.<sup>a</sup> We are quite satisfied that the author of that sermon was not the writer of these passages. The extracts here given and the sermon, have nothing in common which would for a moment suggest that they proceeded from the same pen. Probably the error arose from the fact that the Syrians were better acquainted with the name of Meletius than of Melito, and so assigned to the former what belonged to the latter. Nevertheless, it is an interesting fact, that we know Melito travelled into the East, and appears to have been acquainted both with the Hebrew and Syriac texts. The fourth of the following fragments contains a most important testimony relating to the antiquity of the Syriac version.

Four uncertain fragments of Melito from Routh.

1. From a manuscript catena on Genesis, among Grabe's papers in the Bodleian:—

"And the Lord Jesus Christ as a ram was bound, and as a lamb was shorn, and as a sheep was led to the slaughter, and [as a lamb] was crucified; and he bore the wood upon his shoulders, led away to be slain as Isaac by his father. But Christ suffered, and Isaac suffered not, for he was a type of him that was to suffer—Christ: but also being the type of Christ, he produced astonishment and fear in men. For there was a new mystery to be seen; the son led away by his father to the mount for slaughter, whom having bound, he placed upon the wood of oblation—preparing with zeal the things which were for the slaying of him. Now

<sup>z</sup> Lit., *The Israelitish right hand*: observe the last note.

<sup>y</sup> Or Meletius.

<sup>a</sup> Meletius of Antioch, or of Sebaste (in Armenia), so called because he was successively bishop at each place, flourished about the middle of the fourth century. In 361, he was banished on a charge of heresy: he afterwards returned, but was again banished. He was eventually restored, and died at the council of Constantinople, in 381. The discourse preserved by Epiphanius was delivered at Antioch in 361.

Isaac was silent when bound, as a ram not opening the mouth, nor uttering a sound. For the sword was not feared, nor the fire dreaded, nor suffering bewailed; enduringly he bore the similitude (*type*) of the Lord. Therefore, placed in the midst is Isaac, bound as a ram, and Abraham standing and holding the naked brand, not fearing to slay his son."

2. From the same catena:—

"For the just Isaac there appeared a ram for slaughter, that Isaac might be loosed from his bonds. He by being slain redeemed Isaac. Thus also the Lord, by being slain, saved us; and being bound, loosed, and being sacrificed, redeemed (us)."

3. From the same, nearly connected with the preceding one:—

"For the Lord was a lamb, like the ram which Abraham saw fastened in the tree of Sabec; and the tree denoted the cross, and that place Jerusalem, and the ram the Lord bound for slaughter."

4. From two MS. catenæ in the Vatican, but for the most part also in the catena of Nicephorus in the *Octateuch*, printed at Leipsic.

"For *detained* (*κατεχομενος*, as the LXX) by the horns, the Syriac<sup>a</sup> and the Hebrew say *suspended* (*κρεμαμενος*), thus typifying more evidently the cross. But the word *ram* also expresses this; for he says not a *lamb*, young as Isaac, but a *ram*, adult as the Lord. And just as he called the tree Sabec, (*i. e.*, of dismission,) the holy cross; so also Ezekiel at the end calls that 'the water of dismission'<sup>b</sup> (xlvi. 3), which typified holy baptism. For there are two things which give remission of sins—suffering for Christ, and baptism."

The *Clavis* is mentioned by L'Abbe and others as extant in a Latin MS. at the College of Clermont, Paris. It was transcribed by Grabe, and Woog intended to publish it. It consists of an explanation of words and terms occurring in the Scriptures. Specimens of it have been printed; but serious doubts are entertained of its genuineness.

There is also a book, *De Transitu Beatæ Virginis*, ascribed to Melito, which has been published in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*; but it is manifestly a spurious production.

Besides the ancient authorities already quoted on the subject,

<sup>a</sup> This curious allusion to the Syriac is worth an observation or two. 1. It proves the antiquity of the version of the Old Testament in that language. 2. It shews the importance which at that early period was assigned to it. 3. It also shews that in the second century there were men adapted and addicted to the critical study of the Word of God—men who undertook the labour of learning strange languages for the sake of the advantages to be derived therefrom in the interpretation of Holy Scripture.

<sup>b</sup> Or *remission*, *i. e.*, sending away.

which are to be found in the first of the two preceding passages, are in the *Guide*, § 12: "God suffered by the right hand of Israel." This quotation, it will be observed, is not exact, but the expression is so remarkable that we are not surprised to meet with it again. We do this in the Syriac MS., No. 14,532, which belongs to the seventh or eighth century, and contains a splendid collection from the fathers.

"*of holy Melitus, bishop of Antioch the city:—*

"He that sustains the earth is supported by the tree, the Lord is humiliated in his naked body, God is slain, the King of Israel is smothered."

Here again Melito is manifestly confounded with Meletius of Antioch. Of this writer we possess a sermon on the Scripture doctrine of Christ's person and nature, which Epiphanius has preserved in his work on Heresies.\* We are quite satisfied that the author of that sermon was not the writer of these passages. The extracts here given and the sermon, have nothing in common which would for a moment suggest that they proceeded from the same pen. Probably the error arose from the fact that the Syrians were better acquainted with the name of Meletius than of Melito, and so assigned to the former what belonged to the latter. Nevertheless, it is an interesting fact, that we know Melito travelled into the East, and appears to have been acquainted both with the Hebrew and Syriac texts. The fourth of the following fragments contains a most important testimony relating to the antiquity of the Syriac version.

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\* Lit., *The Involvement*

† Meletius of Antioch successively bishop of Antioch. In 361, he was banished, and again banished in 361.

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there are references to Melito in Ruffinus, *Translation of Eusebius*, in Augustine, *De Hæresibus*, c. 76 and 86; and *De Genesi ad literam*, lib. 10, c. 25; in Gennadius, *De Dogm. Eccles.*, c. 4; in Bede, *Retractat. in Act. Apost.*, c. 8 and 13; in Haymo, *Hist. Eccles.*, 4, 22; in Nicephorus Calistus, *Hist. Eccles.* 4, 10; in Nicephorus Gregoras, and in the *Chronicon* of Flavius Dexter, &c.

The author of the *Little Labyrinth* (quoted by Eusebius, *H. E.*, v., 35, who lived in the beginning of the third century, says—"For who knows not the books of Irenæus and Melito, and the rest, which proclaim that Christ is God and man?")

The orthodoxy of Melito has been questioned. Origen (*Theod. Quest.*, 20 in *Genes.*) distinctly enumerates Melito among those who affirmed that the image of God is in the body of man; and says he left a treatise on the *Incorporate God*, because we find mention made of the members of God. Gennadius also relates, that Melito and Tertullian believed there was something corporeal in the Trinity.<sup>c</sup> It would appear, therefore, that the work of Melito on the *Incarnation* was different from the one just named. There is, of course, considerable difficulty in deciding this question; but so far as the fragments which remain are concerned, nothing has come down to us upon which the charge of heterodoxy can be safely founded. It is, however, very possible that at some period, and in some of his writings, Melito expressed himself unguardedly in reference to the Divine existence. A man with such an imagination, and accustomed to the use of bold and startling expressions, might easily and unconsciously say what to more sober judgments would appear to ill accord with strictly orthodox doctrine.

Cave says, in reference to the list of books of the Old Testament above given, that it is to be observed that the book of Esther is wanting (as in the lists of Athanasius, Gregory Nazianzen, and Leontius). Perhaps, as Sixtus Senensis not badly conjectures, because it was not at that time received as of undoubted authority,—the additions which had been made to it leading to doubts respecting the whole. The book of Nehemiah is also missing; but it was formerly included under the name of Ezra, to which book it served as an appendix. If we

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<sup>c</sup> This opinion may have arisen from the strong anthropomorphisms employed by this writer, or from such expressions as that remarkable one in the document translated in the last number of this Journal, at the end of the third section. There the writer tells us, that the world is as it were the *body* of God, which falls like the human body, and decays, as He wills. Such expressions ought not in fairness to be too strictly taken. That God is the sustainer and preserver—the very *soul* of the material universe we all admit.

admit that the book of Wisdom is named in it, we are not to understand it of the Apocryphal book of that name, but of the Proverbs of Solomon, which are usually quoted under that name, according to Eusebius (*H. E.*, iv., 22), by Hegesippus, Irenæus, and all the ancients. Indeed, the true reading of the passage indicates as much.

There is a value belonging to fragments like those which we have now given, and an importance attaching to inquiries such as ours, which is not always manifest. In the first place, as it respects the fragments. In the Scriptures we have laid down the plans and models after which the Church was to be erected, and we have the recorded labours of those who wrought under the eye of the great Architect. In such fragments as we have now given we find how the great work was carried on when the Master was absent, and the Apostles were gone; for they are the *ruined remains* of the building of the Church in the second century. By comparing them with the original plan and the first works of Christian men we see how they agree; and by comparing them with the productions of later ages we learn the progress of error. Then, as it respects inquiries into the position and character of the men who led the Church of Christ, we can also compare them with the Apostles, and see how largely they were imbued with the same spirit; and we can compare them with churchmen of later, but not purer ages, and so fortify our position more strongly, by the concurrence of history the most unquestionable, with the principles which we believe to be those of the Gospel of Christ.

Besides all which, those who wish to learn the true position and sentiments of Christians in the early ages of the Church should study the remnants of their history and of their writings which have come down to us. These are sources of history scarcely inferior in value to the writings of such men as Eusebius and other annalists of our faith. In some respects they exceed them in value, because they enable us to study the men themselves, and we get an insight into the Church and its circumstances which no mere after record can give. We know the doctrines which were taught, for we have their own teachings. We know their state and fortunes, for they tell us themselves. We know the plans they adopted for the defence and propagation of the Gospel, because they describe or exemplify them. And to add no more, we know by what spirit they were actuated, because we know their sufferings and their toils. In a word, in their writings and lives, as far as we read them, we have more than their portrait—they themselves being dead yet speak, or rather, live again before our eyes.



Those who would see a discussion of various questions relating to Melito should consult Woog, in his *Dissertations on Melito*, which contain a large amount of information.

We now here close what we have to say respecting this ancient and excellent writer, as it is not our aim to furnish a complete treatise on the subject. It would require considerable time and patience to enumerate and canvass the opinions and statements of the many who have written about Melito. In the present paper nothing is professed but to present in an English dress the fragments which have come under the writer's notice, and to give a few particulars of information which may serve to assist those who choose to pursue the enquiry. At the same time, if this were Germany, where every subject finds an author, every author a publisher, and every publisher readers, and a sale for his books, we might endeavour to set in the clearest light the character and remains of Melito. He well deserves it, and he needs it much. Probably the mists which obscure him must wait the rising of some future sun ere they are dispersed, and before he appears in his true character. He will deserve well who performs this service for, the Angel of the church at Sardis.

B. H. C.



**ON THE ORIGIN OF THE GOSPELS.**

By JAMES SMITH, Esq., of Jordanhill, F.R.S.

No theory of the causes of phenomena can be of any value which is not reached through the paths of laborious and cautious induction ; but even after the most careful study of phenomena, we may draw hasty and unwarranted conclusions from them, either from overlooking their exact bearing in a theoretical point of view, or from being misled by our own preconceived views. Hence it is of importance towards the establishment of any theory, that both the evidence and the inferences drawn from it, should be examined and weighed by those who entertain opposite views, and, that every side of the questions involved in such enquiries, should be fairly stated and fully argued. Whoever propounds a theory must be, before it can be considered as established, prepared to meet the objections which may be made to it, disprove them if he can, or yield his assent to them, if they follow legitimately from admitted premises.

Having advanced a theory of the origin and connexion of the Gospels, differing in some respects from any that has preceded it, I feel in an especial manner called upon to notice all objections which may be made to it, because the results I have arrived at bear immediately upon the evidence of the contemporaneity of the earliest historical records of Christianity. If my views are established, we must admit that they are in the strictest sense of the word contemporaneous, and that they are either the works of eye-witnesses themselves, or derived immediately from the writings of those who were. Such results are of unspeakable importance at all times, but in none more than the present, when so much ingenuity has been employed by a certain school of critics to prove that the alleged ocular testimony, or proximity in point of time of the sacred historians to the events recorded, is mere assumption. The acknowledged importance of the results, if not a reason for adopting them, is at least one for careful investigation ; and that the arguments both for and against them, should be fully stated and carefully weighed.

Since the publication of my *Dissertation on the Origin and Connexion of the Gospels*, different reviews and remarks by distinguished biblical critics have been published, all of them agreeing in some points, some in all. On the other hand, objections have been started to some of the most essential positions of my theory, which it is my duty to discuss, and either to admit

or obviate. In some cases, also, I have been misunderstood from the want of clearness in my statements; these, also, it is my duty to explain.

Before I do so, it will be convenient to give the general statement of my views on the subject, which is as follows;—

I. Several of the apostles, including Matthew, *Peter*, and John, committed to writing accounts of the transactions of our Lord and his disciples, in the language spoken by them, *i. e.*, Syro-Chaldaic or Aramaic, known in the New Testament and the works of the fathers as Hebrew.

II. When the apostles were driven by persecution from Judea, a history of our Lord was drawn up from the original memoirs, in Hebrew and in Greek, by the apostle Matthew, for the use of the Jewish converts, the Greek being the same as the Gospel according to Matthew.

III. St. Luke drew up for the use of Theophilus, a new life of our Lord, founded upon the authority of “eye-witnesses and ministers of the Word;” including the Hebrew memoir of Peter, and the Greek Gospel of Matthew.

IV. After Peter’s death or departure from Rome (ἐξόδοσ) St. Mark translated the memoir written by Peter, into Greek.

V. John, at a still later period, composed his Gospel from his own memoirs, omitting much that was already narrated by the other evangelists, for reasons assigned by himself. (xxi. 25.)

I come now to the objections which have been offered to the foregoing view of the origin of the Gospels, and the causes of the connexion of the three first with each other.

In the *Journal of Sacred Literature* for October, 1853, there is an able and elaborate article on the subject, embodying a critique on my work. In it I find several objections stated to the positions I have advocated, nearly the whole of which arise from misapprehension of my meaning, a misapprehension, caused, I am free to admit, from a want of explicitness in my statements.

In the first place, the Reviewer, whilst he agrees with me that John at a later period, composed his gospel from his own original memoirs, supposes that I understood it to have been written in Aramaic; this I am very far from doing, and regret that I have expressed my meaning so ill, as to have led to such a supposition. I perceive that I have stated too broadly that the original apostolical *memoirs* were written in Aramaic: I think it probable they were, but probability is not proof; I ought therefore, in speaking of them in the first of the foregoing statements, to have left the language in which John’s original memoirs were written uncertain, and in the fifth, which relates exclusively to John’s *Gospel*, expressed my belief that it was

written in Greek. There is therefore no difference of opinion between us with respect to the origin or language of the fourth Gospel.

With regard to the first Gospel, whilst the critic agrees with me as to the existence of an Aramaic original, he objects to the conclusion which I have arrived at respecting our present Greek Gospel, which I believe also to have been written by St. Matthew. Before, however, I proceed to notice the objections, I must premise that my theory of the origin and connexion of the Gospels does not depend either upon the existence of an Aramaic original of Matthew's Gospel, or on the originality of the Greek text; it is enough to shew that it existed in Greek before St. Luke's Gospel was written.

One of my arguments in favour of its originality was the necessity of a Greek, as well as an Aramaic Gospel, in order to attain the objects which its author obviously had in view, because one part of the Jewish people did not understand Aramaic, whilst the other did not understand Greek. Upon this, the reviewer observes, "Mr. Smith here indulges a practice, which he, with justice, condemns in others,—he busies himself with the course the Apostle *should* have adopted instead of confining his attention to the path St. Matthew actually pursued."—p. 182. My argument, however, was not drawn from my opinion of what St. Matthew *should* have done, but what he *must* have done, in order to communicate the Gospel to the Jewish people. It is unnecessary here to continue this argument respecting the language of the first Gospels; I content myself with clearing up another mistake into which I perceive the critic has been led, in consequence of what is in fact a typographical error. I made use of the geological argument of "included fragments" to prove the posteriority of St. Luke's Gospel to that of St. Matthew; but I meant to confine it to the relative antiquity of these two Gospels alone, and a new paragraph ought to have shewn that I was proceeding to another subject. The geological example I adduced was the inference that beds of slate were older than adjoining beds of sandstone, because I found fragments of slate in the latter.

Upon this the critic remarks:—"The slate is the Hebrew Gospel of St. Peter, the sandstone the Greek Gospel of St. Luke. But the very existence of a Hebrew version of St. Mark (*i. e.*, St. Peter's Gospel), is not only doubted, but is stoutly denied by eminent critics."—p. 191. Now, in this case, I did not assume the existence of a Hebrew Gospel of St. Peter. I assumed nothing more than the existence of a Greek Gospel of St. Matthew; and, finding fragments of it in the Gospel of St. Luke, I in-

ferred that it must have been in existence before St. Luke wrote his Gospel. With this limitation I can perceive no fallacy in my conclusion, nor indeed is it imputed to it in the reviewer's remarks, which proceeded on the supposition that I drew inferences with respect to the relative antiquity of a third Gospel—a mistake caused by the error of not marking, by a new paragraph, the separation of the two questions.

The reviewer is not satisfied with the evidence adduced to prove that the second Gospel is a translation: he has not, however stated any contrary arguments; and as the next review in point of time does, I shall pass on to notice a very able critique on my work in the *Scottish Guardian*, from the pen of the Rev. Dr. Miller, of Glasgow.

This reviewer, like the last, does not adduce a conflicting theory inconsistent with mine: on the contrary he says,—

“If we are unable to fall in with our author's theory, if we are far from sure that any of the other theories proposed is free from serious difficulties, and if unprepared ourselves—as we certainly are—to ‘shew a more excellent way’ than any of them. . . . But that Peter wrote a Gospel in Syro-chaldaic or Aramaic, or what is popularly termed Hebrew, which Mark translated into his Greek Gospel, or that Mark, in the composition of his Gospel, however largely indebted to Peter, made use of any *written document* of that apostle in another language, is without a shadow of support from ancient church history. Nothing indeed can be better entitled to credit than the ancient tradition that Mark got the materials of his Gospel from Peter, and so much so that it may rather be termed the Gospel according to Peter. The internal evidence of Peter's special connexion with Mark's Gospel is so striking as to place it beyond a doubt. In this respect, the fathers termed Mark the interpreter (ἐρμηνευτής) of Peter, which Mr. Smith unwarrantably stretches to mean translator. But this will not authorize the leap which Mr. Smith takes to a Hebrew Gospel written by Peter, which no one ever pretended to have seen, and of the existence of which no ancient writer gives the slightest hint; which, if we suppose it to have existed, we are obliged farther to suppose was in some mysterious way retired and suppressed in favour of a *translation* by an *Evangelist*. The extreme improbability of such a conjecture is reduced, we think, to an impossibility by the fact that the tradition of Matthew's Gospel having been first written in Hebrew, and afterwards translated into Greek by himself or some one else under his authority—a tradition which Marsh, Greswell, Davidson and many Germans hold to be indubitable,—this tradition, we say, is reported and alluded to by the fathers, without any hint as to a similar translation from the Hebrew, in the case of Peter and Mark. Could this possibly have been if the fathers who report the one tradition had been aware of any about the other? We are far indeed from crediting this tradition about a Hebrew Gospel of Matthew, afterwards translated into our Greek one. We agree with the learned Hug that it is quite untenable.

But infinitely less ground is there for Mr. Smith's surmise about Mark; and although we thought it more difficult to meet Mr. Smith's most ingenious internal evidences in favour of it than we do, we could not, on internal grounds alone, allow ourselves to entertain the supposition."

The reviewer here states the great, I may say, the only, difficulty in the case, and I do not think it could be more clearly or powerfully stated than it is. Before, however, I offer any remarks upon it, I must be allowed to observe that what he says respecting my rendering of *ἐρμηνευτής* is so expressed as to lead the reader to conclude either that I limited its meaning to the interpretation of languages, or that the reviewer denied that the word could bear this meaning. Now, although satisfied that such was not his intention, I think it due to myself to quote what I actually did say on this point:—"By some it (*ἐρμηνευτής*) is supposed to mean 'expositor,' a sense which no doubt it is capable of." I then quoted a passage from the Septuagint, (Gen. xlii. 23,) where it could only mean interpreter of languages. Assuming, therefore, that the word is capable of such a meaning, the question arises,—In what sense is it used by the ancients as applied to the Evangelist St. Mark? It cannot mean expositor, for there is no exposition in Mark; but there are the strongest proofs of translation—proofs which are conclusive whenever we have two or more documents which present the phenomena of independent translation. With such proofs constantly recurring, and in the total absence of phenomena which would warrant any other explanation, I must still adhere to the meaning I attach to the word. Indeed, I know not what other word the ancient fathers could have used to designate Mark as the translator of Peter, supposing that he actually was so.

The argument adduced is the negative one, that an original of the second Gospel in another language, written by St. Peter, was never heard of. This, taken in its full extent, must be admitted; but this silence of ancient writers admits of explanation. In the first place, there is no preface to the work like the prefaces of St. Luke, or like that of Josephus to his *History of the Jewish Wars*; now we know from that preface, but from that preface only, that an Aramaic original of that work existed, but is no longer extant; therefore the mere silence of the few authors who have come down to us is not of itself a conclusive argument that such a document never did exist. There is, besides, reason to suppose that till it was translated into Greek it never was published to the world as a separate work, having been virtually published in the two first Gospels; the document which Mark translated being, in all probability, an

unpublished writing found by Mark after the death of Peter at Rome, wanting the conclusion.<sup>a</sup> The reasons which prevented Peter from giving it to the world would have no weight with Mark, who has rendered an inestimable service to the cause of Christianity by preserving an apostolical memoir in its original form, and one which gives so vivid a picture of the impression made upon an eye-witness by the miracles of our Lord. In order to do so, it was requisite that the translation should be a literal one; and certainly no work ever bore the marks of literal translation more strongly than the second Gospel. Who but a literal translator would have preserved the numerous merely autoptical passages with which it abounds, or abstained from paraphractical explanations of passages which always occur in autoptical compositions, in which the writer does not think of explaining what he perfectly understands himself?

Mr. Alford, in the second edition of the first volume of his New Testament, notices the objections made by Mr. Birks and myself to his theory, which ascribes the phenomena of the agreements in the first three Gospels to "oral tradition," and replies, that

"We have here a case in this respect exceptional and *sui generis*. The oral tradition (or rather ORAL TEACHING) with which we are concerned, formed the substance of a deliberate and careful testimony to facts of the highest possible importance, and as such, was inculcated in daily catechization; whereas common oral tradition is careless and vague, not being similarly guarded, nor diffused as matter of earnest instruction. Besides which, these writers forget that I have mentioned the probability of a very early collection of portions of such oral teaching into documents, some of which two or even three Evangelists may have used; and these documents or διήγησεις, in some cases drawn up after the first minute divergences had taken place, or being translations from common Aramaic sources, would furnish many of the phenomena which Mr. Smith so ingeniously illustrates from *translation* in modern historians and newspapers. I have found reason to infer<sup>b</sup> that St. Luke was acquainted with Hebrew.

"For the sake of guarding against misunderstanding, it may be well formally to state the conclusions at which I have arrived respecting the origin of our first three Gospels: in which I may add I have been much confirmed by the thorough revision of the text, rendered necessary in preparing this edition, and indeed, by all my observation since the first publication of these prolegomena:—

<sup>a</sup> I can only account for the remarkable break at ἐφοβούντο γὰρ (xvi. 8) by supposing that the last leaf of the manuscript was wanting, and that Mark, besides translating it, added the title, i. 1,—continuation till the time of writing, xvi. 9—20, and certain explanatory notes for the use of Roman readers, such as the value, in Roman money, of Jewish coin.

<sup>b</sup> Vol ii., *Prolegg.*, p. 14.

*"That the synoptic Gospels contain the substance of the apostles' testimony, collected principally from their oral teaching, current in the church, partly so from written documents embodying portions of that teaching: that there is however no reason from their internal structure to believe, but every reason to disbelieve, that any one of the three evangelists had access to either of the other two Gospels in its present form."*—*Prolegg.*, p. 2.

In the foregoing extract, I have given Mr. Alford's objections to my theory, with the exception of a foot note to be afterwards noticed.

None of the conclusions above stated rest upon proved facts, but upon the assumption of a case which is admitted to be exceptional, and therefore of no value in argument unless established by independent evidence. What we have to do with is to account for the agreements which subsist between different narrations of the same events; now, no doubt the witnesses of these events would relate orally what they saw, but is it possible to suppose that each of them related them in the same words upon every occasion? But even if they did, we must suppose that their hearers did the same thing, for the term tradition cannot be applied to the direct testimony of eye-witnesses.

The theory of oral tradition is of German origin, an offshoot of the Wolfian hypothesis of the origin of the Homeric poems; but even admitting that poetry might be transmitted by oral recitation, there is no analogy between it and historical narration. In justice to Gieseler, the propounder of this theory, I may mention that he warns his reader not to expect "entire certainty, but only that degree of probability of which historical conjecture is capable." I reject the theory however, not because oral tradition is the worst evidence which we can have of historical events; but because the phenomena are directly at variance with those of oral tradition in any possible shape; whilst on the other hand, they are precisely those which the use of written documents invariably presents.

We may ask what possible object could any of the Evangelists have in making use of tradition, when they could in every case have recourse to the authority of eye-witnesses? Why should Matthew, himself an eye-witness of many of the events he has recorded, and living in constant intercourse with those who were, make use of tradition?

With regard to the second Gospel, I do not insist upon my

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<sup>c</sup> "Man muss sich gleich im Anfange bescheiden, dass man, so verschiedene Wege man auch zur Erklärung dieser Dunkelheiten einschlagen mag, bei dem Unzureichenden der historischen Nachrichten doch nie zu vollkommener Gewissheit, sondern nur zu der Wahrscheinlichkeit gelangen kann, welcher historische Conjecturen überhaupt fähig sind."—p. 1.



own interpretation of ἐρμηνευτής, but take Mr. Alford's own statement; he says, "An unanimous tradition of the ancient Christian writers represents him (Mark) as the 'interpreter' of Peter; i. e., the secretary or amanuensis, whose office it was to commit to writing the orally delivered instructions and narrations of the Apostle." Even supposing that St. Peter only dictated what Mark wrote, or that Mark recorded what Peter told him, this is not making use of oral tradition. Again, upon Mr. Alford's own shewing, Luke did not write from oral tradition. He says, "From this (Luke's preface) we gather that Luke was *not himself an eye-witness, nor a minister of the word* (ὕπηρέτης τοῦ λόγου) *from the beginning*: that he compiled his Gospel *from the testimony of eye-witnesses and apostles*, which he carefully collected and arranged." We may reject the theory of writers, circumstanced as the evangelists were, having recourse to oral tradition, for nothing can be more directly the reverse of tradition, than the testimony of eye-witnesses, whether oral or written.

Although, however, St. Luke informs us that he drew up his Gospel "from the testimony of eye-witnesses and apostles;" and although St. Matthew was an eye-witness and an apostle, it does not necessarily follow that St. Luke made use of his Gospel. This can only be ascertained by comparing the two accounts. Now we have not to go far before we have evidence that he did. The parallelism between the three Gospels begins with the commencement of the public life of our Lord. (Matt. iii.; Mark i.; Luke iii.) Now, at the 7th verse of the third chapter of Luke, we find a passage extending to three verses, agreeing word for word, with a single exception, with four verses of the same account in the Gospel of Matthew iii. verses 7—10. Here, at least, Luke must have taken from a written original in the same language, and when I find such a passage in the work of "an eye-witness and apostle," I am quite satisfied that I have traced it to its source. We have not to go far for another example of the same kind, for the 16th and 17th verses of the same chapter, correspond verbally with the 11th and 12th verses of Matthew's account. If an example can be adduced where similar agreements arise from any other cause than transcription from a work in the same language, I am quite ready to abandon my hypothesis. Had Luke's writings been discovered for the first time amongst the papyri of Herculaneum, with such evidence before us, would any doubt have been entertained that the author had made use of the writings of Matthew as one of his authorities? It would have been held as the most valuable of all the ancient external evidence of the early exist-

ence and authenticity of that Gospel in the same language which we now have.<sup>d</sup>

Mr. Alford admits that the two passages I have alluded to have a common origin, but infers from certain slight deflections, such as the substitution of one word for another, that the evangelists must be independent of each other, *i. e.*, that neither of them can be the original author. He remarks on these variations, "Let it be borne in mind that the slighter the deflection, the more striking the independence of the evangelists." Admit this canon of criticism, and it will be rarely possible to prove the dependence of one author upon another, for there are few extracts where such variations may not be detected by a microscopical examination.

In the examples of similar agreements, taken from modern contemporary historians in my *Dissertation*, there is a passage in Alison, avowedly copied from Napier, and marked as a quotation; yet here I find the word "like," substituted for "as," and Mr. Alford himself, in quoting Mark iv. 35, substitutes "οὐδὲν" for γενομένης. Are we therefore to infer that Alison was not acquainted with Napier, or Alford with Mark?

I come now to the remark made by Mr. Alford respecting the cases adduced by me from modern historians, to illustrate my views of the causes of the phenomena in question. I exemplified them by similar phenomena in the accounts of the Peninsular campaigns, as given by Napier, Suchet, and Alison. In order that the bearings of the remarks on the question at issue may be understood, I have to premise that Mr. Alford, proceeding upon the principle of exhaustion, had, in his prolegomena, imagined a number of cases, to shew that in none of them could the phenomena be explained upon the supposition that the later evangelists made any use of the labours of the earlier ones. Upon this I observed, "Mr. Alford has not exhausted the possibilities of the case. He has not met a case similar to the very common one of which the histories of Napier, Suchet, and Alison, are an example."<sup>e</sup> To this Mr. Alford replies;—

<sup>d</sup> Mr. Birks has powerfully stated the force of this argument in the appendix to his edition of Paley's *Evidence*, p. 424, and shews that it proves the mythical theory of the origin of the Gospel history by Strauss to be utterly unfounded: "The mythical hypothesis, tried even by this test alone, suffers a shipwreck as total and complete as the vessel of Alexandria; while the historical authority and truth of the Acts and St. Luke's Gospel, and, by inference, of the three others, is established on a firm basis." I call the evidence of Luke to the historical authority of Matthew's external.

<sup>e</sup> Note to Luke iii. 7, 9.

<sup>f</sup> See note to Luke viii. 22, 25.

<sup>g</sup> *Dissert.*, p. 44.

"The examples cited from modern historians by Mr. Smith, of Jordanhill, are not in point. In almost every one of those, reasons could be assigned, for the adoption, or rejection, by the posterior writer, of the words and clauses of the prior one. Let the student attempt such a rationale of any narrative common to the three Gospels, on any hypothesis of priority, and he will at once perceive its impracticability. If Matthew, Mark, and Luke, are to be judged of by the analogy of Suchet, Alison, and Napier, the inference must be, that whereas the historians were intelligent men, acting by the rules of mental association, the Evangelists were victims of caprice and such caprice as it is hardly consistent with the possession of a sound mind."—*Prolegg.*, p. 5.

This is not exactly an answer to my statement, that he had not taken into consideration a case so simple and probable, and of such every day occurrence, as that of the modern historians, cited by me because it is quite possible that phenomena, inexplicable on any of the suppositions adduced by him, may be explained upon one, which he has not brought forward. It may be here proper to state the analogy which I consider to exist between the ancient and the modern historians, cited by me; they are:—

1st. That they are contemporary historians, either written by those who were personally engaged in the events which they describe, or taken from the accounts of those who were.

2nd. That they are all written in one language, but one at least is translated from another language.

3rd. That the later writers were acquainted with, and make occasional use of the earlier ones.

4th. That they transcribed from earlier writers in the same language, and translated from earlier writers in another language.

5th. That they selected such portions of the earlier authors, as suited their purpose, added matter which either fell within their own knowledge, or was drawn from separate and independent sources.

6th. That the historians condensed the original memoirs by omitting autoptical details, *i. e.*, the circumstantialities which characterize the writings of eye-witnesses.

Let us now compare the position of the ancient and modern historians, with respect to the transactions which they have recorded.—

Taking the authors in the retrograde order—St. Luke and Alison are contemporary historians, using the word historian in the restricted sense, in contradistinction to memoir-writers, each of them living at a time when many of those who were engaged in the events were still alive; each of them having personal

intercourse with some of the eye-witnesses; each of them in possession of, and making use of, the works of eye-witnesses.

St. Matthew and Napier were historians, using the word also in the restricted sense, writing in the same language as St. Luke and Alison; each of them personally engaged in many of the transactions they have recorded, and each of them living with those who were.

The Gospel of St. Mark, and Suchet's memoirs, are autoptical memoirs, made use of by the above-mentioned historians. Each of them must have been written in a different language from those with which I am acquainted; for, upon comparing them with the other, we find the phenomena of translation.

Such are the analogous cases of the ancient and modern contemporary historians, and I cannot discover in the writings of the Evangelist one argument which may not be referred to one, or other, of the supposed cases.

Mr. Alford states his position so broadly, as to challenge a comparison of "any narrative common to the three Gospels, on any hypothesis of priority." I have no occasion to take up the challenge, having already, in my synopsis, placed the three accounts in juxtaposition, and in the notes on the sections shewed that my hypothesis explained the phenomena, at least, to my own satisfaction, and I cannot see that any of the cases brought forward by him, prove the contrary, or overturn my conclusions; for example, he observes with regard to the death of John the Baptist, not given by Luke: "How inexplicable would be the omission of the death of John the Baptist by the Evangelist who has given so particular an account of his ministry (chap. iii. 1—20), if Luke had had before him the narratives of Matthew and Mark."<sup>a</sup>

I perceive no difficulty in the case. Luke was writing a history of the life of our Saviour. On the former occasion John's preaching and baptizing bore directly on that history; but the details which preceded his death did not. Luke mentions the manner of his death incidentally (ix. 9), which is all that is of historical importance, and omits circumstantial details which are not. Again, in the following verse Luke merely says: "Our Lord took his disciples privately to a city called Bethsaida" (ix. 10). I adopt here his own reading, which I am satisfied is the true one. Now, if we turn to Mark (vi. 45), it will be seen that Bethsaida was their destination. In the second Gospel we have the details of an eye-witness; in the third, the account of a historian. In point of fact, there is no-

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<sup>a</sup> Note to Luke x. 7, 9.

thing more characteristic of the difference between the autographical and the historical styles than the manner in which a journey is described by the person who has made it, and he who records it on the authority of others. None of the details affect the miracle; they are therefore unhistorical, and omitted by St. Luke as such. This is the answer to the difficulty thus expressed: "How any of these accounts could be compiled with a knowledge of the others I cannot imagine."<sup>i</sup>

I have not discovered any insuperable difficulty in the instances cited in the notes. I may not be able to explain them all, merely because the data by which they might be explained are wanting. It must be remembered that both Luke and Matthew were historians who had other historical materials than those contained in the synoptical Gospels; but where such are used we have no means of explanation, and must be contented to remain in ignorance. There is, however, one case adduced by Mr. Alford, which I do not feel myself at liberty to pass in silence for several reasons; one of which is, that not seeing any difficulty on my hypothesis in accounting for the phenomena, I did not feel called upon to offer any remarks upon it in my notes; another, because the phenomena throw much light upon the composition of the Gospels. It is one of the few events recorded by John also, in which we have the advantage of the light which a perfectly separate and independent witness must throw upon the relations of others. The strongest reason however is, that it is the example selected to prove—

*"The absolute impossibility of either of those Evangelists having had before him the narratives of the others. Let any unbiassed mind compare the four, and imagine either of them writing his own account with the others before him, and at the same time receiving them as authentic. If we can imagine this, then no difficulty of any other kind need perplex us; for we have mastered one greater than all the rest."*<sup>k</sup>

This is quoted from the first edition. In the second, Mr. Alford admits that certain difficulties as to the facts are removed on farther consideration, "*supposing the four accounts to be entirely independent of each other;*" and arrives at the conclusion, "*that they are, and must be, absolutely and entirely independent of one another.*"<sup>l</sup>

In order to establish this position he has given a tabular view of the accounts of St. Peter's denial by each of the evangelists, which I gladly copy, not only for convenience of reference, but because it exhibits at a glance those phenomena which prove, in Mr. Alford's estimation, "The absolute impossibility

<sup>i</sup> Note to Luke ix. 40.

<sup>k</sup> Note, p. 207, First Edition.

<sup>l</sup> Second Edition, p. 263.

of any of the evangelists having had before them the narratives of the others ;" but in mine, the impossibility of such agreements existing as we find in it, if Matthew was ignorant of the original of the second Gospel, or if Luke was ignorant either of it or the Greek Gospel of Matthew. It is as follows :—

	MATTHEW.	MARK.	LUKE.	JOHN.
<i>First Denial.</i>	Sitting in the hall without, is charged by a maidservant with having been with Jesus the Galilean: "I know not what thou sayest."	Warming himself in the hall below &c., (as Mat.)—goes out into vestibule—Cock crows: "I know not, neither understand what thou sayest."	Sitting πρὸς τὸ φῶς is recognized by the maid and charged—replies, "Woman, I know him not."	Is recognized by the portress on being introduced by the other disciple: "Art not thou also one of this man's disciples? He saith, I am not."
<i>Second Denial.</i>	He has gone out into the porch—another maid sees him, "This man also was with Jesus of Nazareth. He denies with an oath, "I do not know the man."	The same maid sees him again and says, "This man is of them." He denies again.	Another (but a male servant) says, "Thou also art of them." Petersaid, "Man, I am not."	Is standing and warming himself. They said to him, "Art not thou also of his disciples?" He denied, and said, "I am not."
<i>Third Denial.</i>	After a little while the standers-by say, "Surely thou art of them; for thy dialect betrayeth thee." He began to curse and to swear: "I know not the man."	As Matthew. "Thou art a Galilean, and thy dialect agrees."	After about an hour another person persisted, saying, "Truly this man was with him, for he is a Galilean." Petersaid, "Man, I know not what thou sayest."	One of the slaves of the high priest his kinsman, whose ear Peter cut off, says, "Did I not see thee in the garden with him?" Peter then denied again.
	Immediately the cock crew, and Peter remembered, &c., and going out he wept bitterly.	A second time the cock crew and Peter remembered, &c., and ἐπιβάλων he wept.	Immediately, while he was yet speaking, the cock crew, and the Lord turned and looked on Peter, and Peter remembered, &c. And going out he wept bitterly.	Immediately the cock crew.

Before proceeding to consider the data upon which Mr. Alford grounds his reasonings, I will narrow the argument by leaving out of sight the points upon which we are agreed, which are,

The absolute independence and originality of John's account and also of that in the second Gospel: the only questions which remain to be answered are—

1st. Does a comparison of the synoptic narratives prove or disprove the supposition that Matthew made use of the original of Mark's narrative?

2nd. Does it prove or disprove the supposition that St. Luke had before him the narratives of the other *two* evangelists?

I maintain the affirmative of both questions. I now proceed to prove the affirmative in the first; and, in order that my reasons may be more intelligible, subjoin in juxtaposition the accounts in Matthew and Mark from the authorized version, which is sufficiently literal to shew the translational variations, and which, at all events, will serve as a guide to the original.

## MATTHEW XXVI.

- 69 Now Peter sat  
without in the palace :  
and a damsel came unto him,  
  
saying, Thou also wast  
with Jesus of Galilee.  
70 But he denied before them all,  
saying, I know not  
  
what thou sayest.  
71 And when he was gone out  
into the porch, (*πυλῶνα*),  
  
another maid saw him,  
and said unto them  
that were there,  
this *fellow* was also  
with Jesus of Nazareth.  
72 And again he denied with  
an oath, I do not know the man.  
73 And after a little while  
came unto him they that stood by,  
and said to Peter, Surely  
thou also art one of them ;  
  
thy speech bewrayeth thee.

## MARK XIV.

- 66 And as Peter was  
beneath in the palace,  
there cometh one of the maids  
of the high priest.  
67 And when she saw Peter warm-  
ing himself, she looked upon him,  
and said, And thou also wast  
with Jesus of Nazareth.  
68 But he denied,  
saying, I know not  
neither understand I  
what thou sayest.  
And he went out  
into the porch ; (*προαύλιον*) ;  
and the cock crew.  
69 And a maid saw him again,  
and began to say to them  
that stood by,  
This is  
one of them.  
70 And he denied it again.  
  
And a little after,  
they that stood by  
said again to Peter, Surely  
thou art one of them ;  
for thou art a Galilean,  
and thy speech agreeth thereto.

## MATTHEW XXVI.

74 Then began he to curse  
and to swear,  
saying, I know not the man.

And immediately the cock crew.

75 And Peter remembered the word  
of Jesus which said unto him,  
Before the cock crow,  
thou shalt deny me thrice.  
And he went out,  
and wept bitterly.

## MARK XIV.

71 But he began to curse  
and to swear,  
saying, I know not this man of  
whom ye speak.

72 And the second time the cock  
crew.

And Peter called to mind the word  
that Jesus said unto him,  
Before the cock crow twice,  
thou shalt deny me thrice.  
And when he thought thereon,  
he wept.

According to my view, Matthew's account is taken from that of Peter before it was translated into Greek; but Matthew is a historian as well as a translator, Mark the translator of a memoir. But every memoir contains much that, historically speaking, is superfluous; this the historian retrenches, and adds such facts and explanations as may render his narrative clearer, or are, in his estimation, of sufficient importance to be recorded. Let us now test the omissions, additions, and alterations, by comparing them with the supposed origin of the two accounts. The particulars relative to the maid-servant in Mark xiv. 66, 67, as well as the repetition in verse 68, are obviously what a historian would naturally omit; the only other omission which requires remark, is the account of the first cock-crowing in verse 68, and the reference to what our Lord foretold concerning it in verse 72. It is obvious that the last cock-crowing is the essential one, and this is probably the reason why it is the only one mentioned by Matthew, Luke and John. It is not, however, clear that the first cock-crowing was mentioned even in the second gospel; Mr. Alford has bracketed it as a doubtful reading.

There are four circumstances mentioned by Matthew, which do not occur in Mark; three of these are illustrative of the character of Peter, his openness, his impetuosity, and his candour—his first denial is "before them all" (Matt. xxvi. 70)—his second is affirmed by an oath, verse 72, and his repentance is bitter, verse 75.

Assuming that Peter was the author of the account in Mark, we can easily understand why circumstances so peculiar to himself were not noticed, for no man thinks of the peculiarities of his own idiosyncrasy, and is generally unconscious of them. The only other addition in Matthew's account is the explanatory one that it was "another" maid who challenged Peter the second time. Mr. Alford naturally supposed, from



the article prefixed in Mark, that it was the same maid; however, in his second edition, he admits that it is not necessarily so. I believe that the article always has significance, and nothing is more characteristic of autopticity in narration than the use of it without explanation of what it is meant to refer to—simply because it is clear to the writer himself, and he is not conscious that explanation is requisite. Now, in the present case, there is an ambiguity which Matthew has cleared up. It must have been another maid, for Peter went out of the hall between the first and second denials.

The variations between Matthew and Mark are not contradictory, and they are such as Matthew, from his own knowledge would very naturally make: thus in Mark xiv. 70, we have the fact that Peter was a Galilean, and had the Galilean accent. In the corresponding passage in Matthew we have the inference that his speech betrayed him. Another class of variations are those which result from independent translation. It is only necessary to take a look at the original to see how numerous they are.

I come now to St. Luke's account, which is independent of either of the others till, and including the first clause of the 61st. verse—"And the Lord turned and looked upon Peter." I am not called upon to explain difficulties here. It may, however be said, Can we suppose that St. Luke, with the preceding gospels before him, would so far contradict them as to differ as to the sex of the second challenger? The answer is, that in the original account, upon which St. Luke based his, which I admit to be independent, the sex of the servant was probably not mentioned, as in John's account, and that St. Luke, not meaning to indicate it, used the masculine, as we speak of "man-kind," or as a clergyman addresses his flock as "brethren."

I come now to the two last verses of St. Luke's account, in which he takes the 61st from the original of Mark, and the 62nd from the Greek of Matthew. After the words, "And the Lord turned and looked upon Peter" which belong to the original authority of his account of the three denials, follow the words, "And Peter remembered the word of the Lord, how he had said unto him, before the cock crow thou shalt deny me thrice." We have three independent translations of this passage in the accounts of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, the only difference being that Matthew and Luke make no mention of the cock crowing as the second, *ex δευτέρου*, a difference not supported by all the Uncial MSS.; but at all events already explained, the last verse of St. Luke's account is taken *verbatim* from the conclusion in Matthew's account. This is one of the

included fragments of the Greek gospel of St. Matthew which we meet with so frequently in that of St. Luke. I hold, therefore, that we have evidence in the narrations of the denial of St. Peter, of the existence of an original in another language which has been translated by Mark, forms the basis of Matthew's account, was known and made use of by Luke, who also knew and made use of the Greek gospel of Matthew.

I can, therefore, see nothing in this selected example inconsistent with my views on the connexion of the gospels, but every thing in confirmation of them.

The latest critique on my work with which I am acquainted, is by Professor Ranke of Marburgh, in the numbers of the "*Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*" for August, 1854. It is a singularly elaborate and accurate analysis of the whole work. I shall state, and if I can, obviate his objections.

His first objection is to the limited sphere of my investigation, partly because it extends only to a portion of the gospels, and partly because I left many of the sections without remarks, or with remarks not sufficiently explicit. To the first I would observe that the portion of the gospels I have gone over is co-extensive with the object I had in view, which was limited to the illustration of the synoptical portion of the synoptical gospels. With regard to the sections which I have passed over with little or no remark, I did so because I believe that I had sufficiently exemplified the various phenomena in the earlier sections to enable the student to observe and account for them in the later. I find indeed, that I have thus, on one occasion, given rise to misconception on the part of the critic. I am glad of an opportunity of removing it. But to proceed regularly with my answers to the objections which he starts to my views. He observes that they lead to important questions which must be minutely gone into and answered before they can be considered as established. No doubt they do. I only regret he has given but one as an example, and one which has been already answered. He asks, if Peter be author of the second gospel, how is it that his appointment to the apostleship is more fully stated in Luke than in it? My answer was given in the words of Mr. Greswell, that "the modest and indirect manner in which he is placed at the head of the apostolic catalogue," is characteristic of a writer speaking of himself. (p. lxxvi.)

The next specific objection is one of those in which I have been misunderstood for want of sufficient explanation. There is a short passage in Luke xviii. 17, which agrees almost verbally with Mark x. 15—where we cannot refer the verbal agreement to Matthew's gospel. Upon this I remarked, "There is more

verbal agreement between Mark and Luke in this than in any other section. It is not probable that the one who wrote last was ignorant of the work of his predecessor, and may have been influenced by his recollections of his translation" (p. 297). Upon which the reviewer remarks, that to leave undecided so important a matter as the relative antiquity of Mark and Luke, indicated a want of research. The mistake which I have given rise to was caused by my not distinguishing Mark the translator from the original author of the second gospel. I believe the translation was made after Luke wrote his gospel—and if the translator was acquainted with it, the recollection of a striking passage might have influenced him. I never for a moment doubted that St. Luke's gospel was posterior to the second, considered as an original work.

The truth is, the verbal agreement here presents no difficulty whatever. The two passages in which it occurs are, as I suppose, independent translations of the same original, but in all independent translations we find verbal agreements quite as long as the one in question. Had it not been cited by Hug as a case of transcription I would have passed it without notice.

The reviewer then observes, that the weak side of my argument does not rest upon such cases as occur here and there, but upon conclusions utterly untenable, drawn from St. Luke's preface, and from the remains of Papias.

With respect to the preface he objects to my translation, I think upon mistaken grounds; he supposes I rendered *Καθὼς* into "*such*;" I rendered it into "*such as*."—I however founded no argument upon it farther than that St. Luke asserted that he was in possession of the accounts of eye-witnesses personally engaged in the transactions, in the words "*παρέδοσαν ἡμῖν οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται*," &c., which I presume will not be disputed.

Matthew, Peter, and John, were eye-witnesses and ministers of the Word from the beginning, if St. Luke was possessed of their writings, we must suppose that he made use of them; but as he does not name his authorities I know but of one way of ascertaining the fact, which is by comparing his writings with theirs. I did so, and found evidence sufficient to satisfy me as to the facts, that he did make use of them. The learned reviewer is of opinion that if St. Luke had been in possession of documents of such inestimable value, his preface and his gospel would have been different from what they are. I look upon the *a priori* opinions of critics as of no weight in a question of this kind; the ideas and the practices of the ancients are so entirely different from those of the moderns that we are not entitled to say

before-hand how they would have expressed themselves, and must rest satisfied with the knowledge of what they actually did, from the evidence which has come down to us.

I have made it a rule never to found an argument on my own translation, or my own selection of readings. In the present instance I did indeed state what was my understanding of the first sentence of St. Luke's preface. But I added—"However we may understand the passage, we must admit that, by St. Luke's own statement, he was in possession of accounts furnished by eye-witnesses." Had I adopted the translation of other and better scholars than myself, so far from weakening my case, I would have made it stronger. Thus Mr. Alford, who supposes that the "many" had drawn up their digests from the accounts of eye-witnesses, shews most logically that "by the *καμολ* he includes himself among the *πολλοι*, who made use of autoptic and apostolic authority." \* My conclusions, therefore, do not rest in the slightest degree on my translation; and the reviewer's remarks upon it are, so far as regards the question at issue, irrelevant,—or rather, if well founded, strengthen my views of the origin of St. Luke's Gospel.

The objection as to the inferences drawn from the notice of the author of the second Gospel by Papias, requires a more extended answer. I admit at once, that if I had taken into account the whole of the extract from Papias given by Eusebius, I must have arrived at the conclusion that, in the opinion of Papias, St. Peter's communications to Mark were oral, not written. Such, in fact, was the sense I applied to the sentence quoted from that father in my dissertation on the writings of St. Luke, appended to my former work on the voyage and shipwreck of St. Paul; and the sentence I quoted from Eusebius I translated thus:—"The Presbyter (John) said this: 'Mark was the translator of Peter, and he wrote accurately the things which he remembered.'" It was suggested by the reviewer in the English Review, that the word *ἐμνημόνευσεν* might be rendered "recorded," and referred to Peter. Upon looking at Dr. Cruse's translation of Eusebius, I found he had rendered the word into "recorded;" and, as he had no theory to support, I expressed my agreement with the opinion of the critic, that *ἐμνημόνευσεν* might be so rendered, and if so, must be referred to Peter, for we cannot suppose that Papias meant to say that Mark "wrote what he recorded." I ought unquestionably to have taken the whole passage quoted by Eusebius into consideration, and either admitted that the meaning attached to the word by the reviewer

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\* Second Edition, p. 41.

and by Dr. Cruse was not applicable to the word in the passage in question, or to explain how it might bear that meaning. The passage from Papias respecting the Gospel of Mark, as quoted by Eusebius, is perfectly well marked both as to its commencement and conclusion. I give it from Dr. Cruse's translation:—

“We (Eusebius) shall now subjoin to the extracts from him (Papias) already given, a tradition concerning Mark, *who wrote the Gospel*,” in the following words—‘And John the presbyter also said this: Mark being the interpreter of Peter, whatsoever he recorded he wrote with great accuracy; but not, however, in the order in which it was spoken or done by our Lord, for he neither heard nor followed our Lord; but, as before said, he was in company with Peter, who gave him such instruction as was necessary, but not to give a history of our Lord's discourses: wherefore Mark has not erred in any thing by writing some things as he has recorded them; for he was carefully attentive to one thing, not to pass by any thing that he heard, or to state any thing falsely in these accounts.’”  
—p. 152.

The first part of the foregoing extract relates to the information respecting the second Gospel derived from John the Presbyter, who was well acquainted with the Apostles. The latter part of it contains Papias' own speculations respecting the manner in which Mark derived his matter from Peter. The direct evidence of Papias proves no more than this, that he received information respecting the second Gospel from John, and therefore that it must have been known to John. All the rest is hearsay; but the value of hearsay evidence is very different with regard to the main fact and the subordinate details. The main fact is, that Mark, the interpreter of Peter, derived the matter of his Gospel from him. The details relate to the manner in which the communication was made. Now, no doubt Papias understood that the communication was oral; but in all matters of critical research the conclusions of the fathers are not of much value. They are, in fact, not unfrequently contradictory, and some of them must be rejected.

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\* The attempt of Strauss and other critics of the German school to get quit of this evidence shows how entirely the rules of inductive reasoning are neglected by them. Strauss assures us that the above passage cannot refer to our second Gospel. “For our second Gospel cannot have originated from recollections of Peter's instructions—i.e., from a source peculiar to itself, since it is evidently a compilation, whether made from memory or otherwise, of the first and third Gospels. As little will the remark of Papias, that Mark wrote without order (*ὁ ἄτακτος*), apply to our Gospel” (*Life of Jesus*, E. T. L., 59). Eusebius expressly says, that Papias refers to “Mark who wrote the Gospel.” Eusebius, with the writings of Papias before him, could not be ignorant of his meaning. Do any critical writers maintain that the Mark of Eusebius was not the Mark of our canon? The *Historic Doubts relative to Napoleon Buonaparte* are rather more ingenious, and quite as conclusive.

In the present case the question is reduced to the single point of the mode in which Peter communicated the matter of the Gospel to Mark. Could I be satisfied that *ἐρμηνευτῆς* might be rendered "amanuensis," it would answer my purpose, because the authorship would be Peter's quite as much as if he had written it with his own hands—as much as that Paul was author of the epistle to the Romans, where Tertius was his amanuensis. In this manner, no doubt, we might get quit of the difficulty without calling in question the critical conclusion of Papias—the difficulty being, that the phenomena prove that it must have been *written* in a *different* language before any of the other Gospels; whilst the fathers, as well as the internal evidence, shew that in its present form it must have had a Roman origin, and, therefore, that the Greek version belongs to a later period than either the Gospels of Matthew or Luke. I cannot, however, in any case admit that we are entitled to give a meaning to a word not warranted by examples from ancient writers in order to suit our preconceived views.

The testimony of Papias as to the fact that John the Presbyter was acquainted with our second Gospel, will not be called in question by any one who understands the clearest rules of evidence; for no one can speak about a work the very existence of which is unknown to him. But we may call in question, and if we have stronger contrary evidence, reject the results of the critical research of Papias. He lived exactly at the period before critical research begins, and when direct information is unattainable; and, according to his own account he preferred hearsay to written evidence.

My answers, therefore, to the two points which the reviewer thinks fatal to my theory are—

1st. With regard to Luke's preface, the conclusions I draw from it are not affected by my translation.

2nd. With regard to the opinion of Papias, I admit that it is against me, but consider that I have disproved it by contrary evidence—evidence partly furnished by Papias himself; for what is the meaning of the word *ἐρμηνευτῆς Πέτρου*, if it be not the translator of Peter? This Papias expressly says he received from John the presbyter; but when he says that Mark merely wrote what he remembered to have heard, it is to all appearance a speculation of his own. Those who would attach a different sense to the words quoted are bound, first, to give an example of their occurrence in the sense they attach to them; and next, to shew that it agrees with the literary characteristics of the work in question.

There is one desideratum mentioned in this critique which

I have not the means of supplying, because the precise nature of the objections which I should be naturally called upon to obviate are not known to me, and are not stated by the reviewer, but apparently have reference to the reports of "the sermon on the mount by Matthew and Luke—the agreement of which I explained by supposing that Matthew combined in one continuous address" the report of one sermon with others of the same nature delivered in the same place at different times, and gave modern examples of recording words spoken in this manner. Upon this the reviewer remarks:—

"The author here treads upon grounds bordering on greater danger than he seems to be aware of, for it is precisely at this point of the "borrowing hypotheses" (*benutzungs hypothese*) that, in later times, the strongest attack has been made upon the credibility of St. Luke. The assumption that Luke is a historian, and as such is entitled to omit the details of memoirs, to add from separate sources, and to alter the arrangement, does not apply in this case."

The answer is, it is not supposed to apply in this case. In the note on the sermon on the mount I observed that, "Whilst, however, I think that Matthew has combined in one discourse several delivered on different occasions, and that Luke was acquainted with and made use of Matthew's Gospel when it suited his purpose, he has not taken the so-called 'sermon on the plain' (vi. 20—49) from Matthew, but from the original reports." No inference unfavourable to St. Luke's credibility as a historian can therefore be drawn from the case alluded to by the reviewer, nor, indeed, to any other case in which he has made use of St. Matthew's Gospel.

I need scarcely say, after these remarks, that I see no reason to depart from the conclusions which my researches have led me to adopt.

JAMES SMITH.

*Jordanhill, Jan., 1855.*

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## CORRESPONDENCE.

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\*.\* The Editor begs the reader will bear in mind that he does not hold himself responsible for the opinions of his Correspondents.

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## BELSHAZZAR, AND CYRUS THE PERSIAN.

SIR,—I take the liberty of offering the following remarks connected with the recent discussions on the Times of Daniel.

I. We read in Isaiah xxi. 2, this prophetic injunction :—"Go up, O Elam ; besiege, O Media." Against what nation were Elam and Media to go up ? What city were they to besiege ? and what was to be the issue of the siege ? The reply to these questions is doubtless to be found in the 9th verse of the same chapter. "Babylon is fallen, is fallen ; and all the graven images of her gods he hath broken to the ground." The Christian reader of this prediction, cannot but believe that in the lapse of one or more generations, God's Providence turned it into history, and that the time at length came in which it could be truly said by the historian, "The confederate forces of Elam and Media marched against Babylon, and besieged and took the city." Now, there can be no reasonable doubt that by the Media and Babylon of this chapter, are meant the Media and Babylon of Daniel and Ezra, of Herodotus and Xenophon.

If we are unable to decide from Isaiah on the exact boundaries of Elam, we do not seem to have any ground for hesitating to identify this region with the Elam of which Daniel speaks in vii. 2, where he teaches us that, in the *third* year of Belshazzar (when Babylon was yet the metropolis of an independent empire), Elam was a province of Babylon, *in which was Shushan the Palace*. This latter fact at once opens the way for our inquiring, "to what region in profane history does the Scriptural Elam correspond ?" In carrying out this inquiry, we may safely assume that Daniel's "Shushan the palace" is to be identified, in its site, with the "Shushan the palace" of Nehemiah, in which Artaxerxes (Longimanus) held his court. We are thus warranted, from the comparison of Daniel with Nehemiah, to conclude that the Shusan of Scripture was the Susa of classical writers. But we know Susa to have been the principal city of Susiana, where the kings of Persia spent the winter season, the Median Ecbatana being their summer residence. The province of Susiana bordered immediately on the eastern bank of the Tigris, and was separated from Babylonia only by that river ; and it may thus be taken for granted, that the Elam of Holy Writ comprised a large portion (if not the whole) of the Susiana of secular historians. This would be, perhaps, quite enough for our present purpose ; but something more may be added. It is known that the district of Elymais, bordering also on the eastern bank of the Tigris, adjoined Susiana ; and from the similarity of the name, it is highly



probable that Elymais was also included, with Susiana, within the limits of the Elam of Holy Writ. The important lesson, however, which we gather from learning that Elam was identical with Susiana (including, probably, Elymais also) is, that this region lay on the eastern bank of the Tigris, while it extended eastward to the western limits of Persis. We might thus naturally think that Elam would have been one of the early conquests of the Great Cyrus. Yet when we reflect that the ruler of Elam could, at any time, invade Babylonia, and menace Babylon, merely by crossing the Tigris, we should rather think, that Cyrus would not attack this important province until he was prepared to encounter the whole power of the Chaldean monarch. And when we also take into account the probable fact, that the royal palace (and city) of Shushan was only second in importance to Babylon itself, and was, doubtless, strongly fortified, we may believe that (unless a civil dissension should invite him) even the martial and illustrious Cyrus would not willingly venture to invade Susiana, and besiege the royal fortress of Susa (Shushan) until he should have reasonable grounds for thinking that the enterprise would terminate favourably, and that he should be prepared to follow up his success by the invasion of Babylonia and siege of Babylon. But in Xenophon's historical romance, we find it asserted that, when Cyrus commenced his military career, Abradates was king of Susiana. Nor does this writer make Abradates quit, at the solicitation of his wife, Panthea, the service of Babylon, and unite himself, apparently as an independent ally, to Cyrus, until the latter had entered upon his victorious expedition against Cræsus, king of Lydia. And it was in the battle of Thymbra, at no great distance from Sardis, and shortly before the overthrow of the Lydian empire, that Abradates was mortally wounded, and Susiana lost her king. And, if Cyrus remained in Asia Minor until he had conquered the various Grecian states in that region, we have reason to presume that he did not take possession of the kingdom of the deceased Abradates until his return into Media and Persia. It may, however, be suggested that Xenophon's romance is opposed to the prophet Daniel's narrative, and that, while Daniel tells us that Elam was a province of Babylon, Xenophon says that Abradates was king of Susiana, and not afraid to leave Babylon and join Cyrus. This may be true. But Xenophon, while he tells us that Abradates was king of Susiana, informs us, also, that, when he joined Cyrus, he wore a corslet of quilted linen, after the fashion of his country. It would seem that his wife, Panthea, during her short residence in the Medo-Persian Camp, had learned that this was scarcely armour strong enough for conflict, or sufficiently suitable to the rank of a king. Accordingly, on the morning of the battle of Thymbra, Panthea presented her husband with a helmet, and complete suit of armour, for which he laid aside his own corslet of quilted linen. As we read this, we cannot help thinking it to be very improbable that the Sovereign, whose royal residence was in the ancient city of Susa, should have had no better defensive armour than a corslet of quilted linen when he proceeded, at the head of his forces, to assist Cyrus against the armies of the powerful Sovereign of Lydia. We shall surely, on reading Xenophon's narrative, feel strongly inclined to believe that this Abradates, whose defensive armour was of so simple and humble character, was the

chief (or petty king) of a less civilized portion of Susiana, *and that he was never lord of that Shushan*, which, having previously been subject to Nebuchadnezzar, had descended to Belshazzar, and remained with him until it came into the power of Cyrus. And, if we grant the truth of what Xenophon states, concerning Abradates and Panthea, we shall easily believe, from a comparison of Daniel<sup>a</sup> with this Greek writer, and with Herodotus, that the Great Cyrus became master of Susa before he besieged and took Babylon, although not very long before the siege of that city. And as Shushan subsequently became the favourite palace of the Persian monarch, it is highly probable that Cyrus, as soon as he had taken Elam from Babylon, would proceed at once to make Shushan his own royal residence, while he may have permitted his uncle Cyaxares (Darius the Mede) still to retain the palace at Ecbatana; and thus Shushan, which had been the capital of Elam, and probably the second city in the empire of the Sovereign of Babylon, would become the royal residence of a Persian monarch. But when the prophet Isaiah predicts that Elam was to march as a confederate with Media against Babylon, he doubtless teaches us that Babylon would then have lost all her dominions beyond the Tigris, and that the then Sovereign of Shushan would take a principal part in the siege and conquest of the Chaldean metropolis. And as we may readily suppose that the name of the barbarous region of Persia was utterly unknown to the Jews in the time of Isaiah's prediction, we do not wonder that the Omniscent Spirit who foreknew that the future conqueror of Babylon was to be lord of Shushan and the Elamites before undertaking the siege of the great imperial city, directed the prophet to summon Cyrus, not as the Sovereign of Persia, but as the king of Elam. "Go up, O Elam, besiege O Media. Babylon is fallen." Nor is there anything improbable in the idea that it was in the palace of Shushan that Cyrus formed the plan of his victorious expedition against Babylon, and that it was from Shushan that he proceeded to take the command of the invading host; and we may also observe that it was from the royal city of Susa that Xerxes set out on his famous but disastrous expedition against Greece.

There does not, therefore, appear to be anything in Xenophon's work to lead us to doubt, as Cyrus, after the death of Abradates, and the overthrow of Croesus, proceeded to the subjection of Asia Minor, and afterwards to the conquest of Syria and Arabia, that Elam and Shushan<sup>b</sup> did

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<sup>a</sup> As Daniel, when at Shushan, saw in a vision the Medo-Persian ram pushing triumphantly westward, northward, and southward, we may conclude that in its western career it subdued Elam before it overthrew Babylon. The prophetic summons in Isaiah—"Go up, O Elam"—proves that Elam was to be taken from Babylon, before the city was besieged and taken by the Medes.

<sup>b</sup> The antiquity of Susa (Shushan) the capital of Elam, may be gathered from the classical fable that it was founded by Tithonus, the father of Memnon. Elam was a kingdom of some note in the days of the patriarch Abraham, when the kings of Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, and Zeboim, were subject, during twelve years, to Chedorlaomer, king of Elam. Chedorlaomer is described as the head of that confederacy which included a king of Shinar, and which Abraham defeated near Damascus. It is supposed that Isaiah prophetically summoned Elam and Media to the siege of Babylon, cir. 714 a. c., at which time, as we appear to know from other sources, Elam was a kingdom

not become subject to the Persians, until a comparatively short time before the successful Medo-Persian invasion of Babylonia and siege of Babylon. Nor does Herodotus furnish any just ground for impugning the correctness of the prophet Daniel's narrative, who states that Elam and Shushan belonged to Babylon in the third year of Belshazzar's reign. For the Greek historian represents Nitocris the Queen of Babylon, as viewing with apprehension the growing power of the Medes<sup>c</sup> (i. e., of the Medo-Persian power under Cyrus), and as taking great precautions to protect Babylon from this new and rising danger. And the language of Herodotus on this point is favourable to the idea that when this queen commenced her important defensive preparations, it was rather with the design of providing against possible future contingencies, than against any present, or actually imminent, hostile aggression on the part of Cyrus. And we have, therefore, reason to believe, that, so far as the authority of Herodotus is to guide us, Cyrus had not then manifested any intention of coming into direct and open collision with Babylon, which must have been the case if he had already invaded Susiana, and laid siege to the royal citadel of Shushan. With regard then to Daniel's assertion, that Elam and its royal fortress of Shushan belonged to the Sovereign of Babylon, in the third year of Belshazzar's reign, let two things be borne in mind. Xenophon teaches us that (the probably less civilized) part of Susiana, of which Abradates was chief, (and therefore, still more Shushan and the portion of Elam which adjoined the Tigris) was not in the possession of Cyrus when he marched at the head of a Medo-Persian force to overthrow the empire of Croesus. And if we grant (what cannot be reasonably doubted) that Elam (Susiana) was a province of Babylon, when Cyrus dethroned Astyages, there is nothing stated by Herodotus which requires us to suppose that Elam and Shushan were brought under the power of Cyrus, until at least a few years after the overthrow of the Lydian empire. Were we then to suppose that the third year of Belshazzar was about the fifth or sixth year before the overthrow of Babylon, neither Herodotus nor Xenophon gives us any reason for supposing that Elam, even at that advanced period in the victorious career of Cyrus, was not still a province of the Babylonian empire.

II. What date is to be assigned to the third year of Belshazzar, in which Daniel had the vision of the Medo-Persian ram and the Macedonian

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of some importance. For Dr. E. Hinckes informs us, (*J. S. L.*, p. 408), from the Assyrian inscriptions, that in 722, B. C., Merodach-Baladan made himself master of "Babylon by the help of the then king of Elam. In the following year, Sargon defeats the Elamites and Babylonians. Afterwards, cir. 698, Sennacherib, already master of Babylon, wages war with the kings of Elam." Dr. Hincks tells us (*J. S. L.*, p. 234), that Elymais was subsequently subdued by the kings of Assyria. It seems to be certain from Jer. xlix. 35, that Elam was conquered by Nebuchadnezzar. In Ezra iv. 9, the Elamites are mentioned, but not the Persians; and in Acts ii. 9, we read of Parthians, Medes, and Elamites; while nothing is said of Persians, as they were subject to the Parthians, or may have been included under the name of Elamites.

<sup>c</sup> In Herodotus, the Scythian Queen, Tomyris, is made to style Cyrus "*King of the Medes.*"

he-goat? In the received chronology, we are taught that Belshazzar's reign commenced cir. 555, when he removed certain usurpers who had murdered his father, Evil-merodach. His third year would therefore be cir. 553 B. C. These dates were perhaps fixed mainly in deference to quotations by Josephus from Berossus. In the July Number of the *Journal of Sacred Literature*,<sup>d</sup> I noticed Col. Rawlinson's recent discovery, through certain Babylonian inscriptions, of the fact that Nabonidus (the last king of Babylon, according to Berossus) admitted his eldest son, Bel-shar-ezar (Belshazzar), to a share of the government; and I took occasion from this fact, to suggest that we had in it a very probable reason why Daniel was made the *third*, and not the *second* ruler in the kingdom. If we may feel assured of the correctness of Col. Rawlinson's discovery, we are no longer under the necessity of dating the commencement of Belshazzar's reign, according to the received chronology, cir. 555. Still less are we compelled to agree with Dr. Hales in his departure from the generally received view, when he tells us that Belshazzar was slain by conspirators, cir. 553 B. C.

We know from Holy Writ only two facts connected with the third year of Belshazzar's reign; Elam and Shushan still belonged to Belshazzar, and it was also in this same year that Daniel had his vision of the Medo-Persian ram and Macedonian he-goat. That vision is thus described:—"I saw, and behold there stood before the river (Ulai) a ram, which had two horns; and the two horns were high; but one horn was higher than the other, and the higher came up last. I saw the ram pushing westward, and northward, and southward, so that no beast might stand before him, neither was there any that could deliver out of his hand; but he did according to his will, and became great." (viii. 34).

I pause to remark that it is, perhaps, scarcely possible to read this account of the triumphant progress of the Persian horn, without calling to mind Isaiah's prophetic history of the victorious career of that Coresh, "whose right hand was to be holden by the Lord, and before whom, as the Lord's anointed, nations should be subdued, the loins of kings loosed, and the two-leaved gates opened; yea, before whom crooked places should be made straight, the gates of brass broken, and the bars of iron cut in sunder; and to whom should be given the treasures of darkness, and hidden riches of secret places." But more will be said on this point presently.

To return to our subject. It seems to me from this description in the vision, that the Persian or higher horn came at once into existence and pre-eminence; and that it was not until this higher or Persian horn started at once into supremacy, that the ram's triumphant career commenced. We should naturally, and not unreasonably, think that it would redound more to the glory of His prescience, who knows the end from the beginning, to suppose that Daniel's vision was entirely prospective and prophetic, and that the vision was vouchsafed to the prophet at least shortly before the dethronement of Astyages by Cyrus, when (according to Herodotus) the Persian horn arose at once into existence and superiority; Media becoming inferior, in point of political precedence, to Persia. Such a view would

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<sup>d</sup> p. 521.

constrain us (according to the received chronology) to date the third year of Belshazzar not later than cir. 560—559 B. C. But to do this would be plainly absurd. Have we then any warrant in Scripture for presuming that the early portion of such a vision may be, not prophetic, but retrospective. If we turn to the preceding chapter, we find that another vision had been given to Daniel, about two years previously, in the first of Belshazzar. "I saw," writes the prophet, "in my vision by night, and behold the four winds of the heaven strove upon the great sea. And four great beasts came up from the sea, diverse one from another. The first was like a lion and had eagle's wings; *I beheld till the wings thereof were plucked*, and it was lifted up from the earth, and made stand upon its feet as a man, and a man's heart was given to it." They who consider that this lion represented the kingdom of Babylon, and especially its greatest monarch, Nebuchadnezzar, whose career had been finished before the commencement of Belshazzar's reign, and, therefore, previous to the time of this vision, will have no difficulty in believing that, in like manner, the higher Persian horn had come into existence, and the Medo-Persian ram had achieved a portion of its triumphant career, *before* Daniel received his second vision; the commencement of this vision also being retrospective. Hence, we are under no necessity of thinking that this second vision occurred so early as 559 B. C. We are rather at liberty (supposing the received chronology to be correct) to date it as late<sup>e</sup> as we may think probable, only allowing sufficient time for Daniel to withdraw from Elam, before it passed under the power of Cyrus, and before the siege of Babylon was undertaken by the Medo-Persian host. That siege is thought to have commenced in 540 B. C., and therefore it might be permitted us, so far as the Scriptures are concerned, to date Belshazzar's third year even as low as cir. 541-542 B. C. I have thus endeavoured to shew that there is nothing in Daniel, or in Xenophon and Herodotus, to compel the advo-

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\* It is said (*J. S. L.*, p. 457), "If Belshazzar reigned only three years, Elam must have been a province of Babylon for the first twenty years of the reign of Cyrus." According to the received view, Cyrus commenced the siege of Babylon, cir. 540, and about the twentieth year of his reign. From what has been advanced in this paper, it does seem to me that the Scriptures, with Herodotus and Xenophon, do not forbid us to suppose that Elam may have been a province of Babylon almost as late as the eighteenth year of Cyrus. Again, as Cyrus did not take Babylon until the *third* year of the siege, and Daniel was in Shusan, as a servant of Belshazzar in the third year of the latter's reign, Scripture favours the idea that Belshazzar must have reigned at least five or six years. To the question, "where do we learn that Belshazzar was slain at the taking of Babylon?" it may be replied, that while this cannot be proved from Scripture, yet, if we had only the predictions of Isaiah and Jeremiah, with the narrative of Daniel, to guide us, we could scarcely help inferring from these scriptural data that Belshazzar was slain at the taking of Babylon by Cyrus, king of Persia. The following extract from Mitford will assist in shewing the probability that Cyrus did not take Susa early in his reign. "Susa had been chosen for the Persian capital, from the convenience of its situation between Babylon, Ecbatana, and Persepolis. After no long stay in Babylon, Alexander proceeded himself with his army to Susa. The way from Susa into Persia was difficult, over rugged mountains held by the Uxians, who had for ages maintained their independence. And when the Persian government wanted passage for their troops between Susa and Persia proper, it had grown into custom to pay them for permission."

cates of the received view to believe, either that the overthrow of Belshazzar was very early in the captivity, or that Elam did not continue to be a province of Babylon several years after Cyrus the Great was reigning in Persia.

I have an additional remark to offer in reference to the prophetic anticipations of Isaiah, which were quoted at the commencement of this paper: "Go up, O Elam; besiege, O Media. Babylon is fallen, is fallen" (Isaiah xxi. 2 and 9). We know from authentic history, that it was many centuries ere this proud city became a heap of shapeless ruins. Even in the days of Alexander, when the Macedonian he-goat had cast down the Medo-Persian ram, Babylon was still a large city; and the son of Philip, ignorant of the determined purpose of the Most High, formed the design of restoring the Queen of the Euphrates to some measure of her ancient dignity and splendour. We find recorded in secular history, two memorable and protracted sieges of Babylon by a Medo-Persian host, each of which terminated successfully. We cannot doubt that it was to one or other of these that the prophet Isaiah alluded. The former occurred in the reign of Cyrus, the latter in that of Darius Hystaspes, who destroyed the brazen gates, and lowered the walls, in order to prevent a repetition of such formidable revolts. But we cannot hesitate in deciding to which of these two successful sieges we are to apply the prophet's triumphant exclamation, "Babylon is fallen, is fallen; and all the graven images of her gods he hath broken to the ground." Such words of triumph belong not to the humiliation and defeat of a rebellious vassal. No, the language of the son of Amoz must refer to that first and greatest humiliation (compared with which all subsequent falls were comparatively slight and insignificant) when the virgin daughter of Babylon, the hitherto proud and invincible imperial metropolis, fell irrecoverably from her height of empire and supremacy. And we thus are led to the almost certain conclusion that the successful besieging host of Elam and Media (Isaiah xxi.) was under the immediate command of that great Cyrus, whose name and renown have been recorded by Herodotus and Ctesias, by Xenophon and Berosus. When he triumphed, all the false gods of Babylon, even Bel and Nebo, were put to lasting shame, and doubtless, many an idol was contemptuously broken to pieces by the victorious Medes and Persians.

III. I have now to endeavour to answer the question; Who was the Coresh of whom the Lord, through Isaiah, thus speaks? "He is my shepherd, and shall perform all my pleasure; even saying to Jerusalem, Thou shalt be built, and to the temple, Thy foundation shall be laid" (xlv. 28). It might have been fairly inferred from these words, even before their actual fulfilment, that, at the time in which Jehovah should raise up this Coresh to be his shepherd to collect the scattered flock of Judah, Jerusalem and its temple would be lying in ruins, and that Coresh himself, either as the supreme Sovereign, or as a powerful Viceroy under a still more powerful Master, would be ruler of Palestine, and have full authority to enable the Jews to commence the rebuilding of the city and the temple. We are, however, carefully to notice how, in immediate connexion with the prediction just cited, the prophet proceeds to speak of this same Coresh in the most striking language. "Thus saith the Lord

to his anointed, to Coresh, whose right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before him; and I will loose the loins of kings to open before him the two leaved gates, and the gates shall not be shut; <sup>f</sup> I will go before thee, and make the crooked places straight; I will break in pieces the gates of brass, and cut in sunder the bars of iron. And I will give thee the treasures of darkness, and hidden riches of secret places, that thou mayest know that I the Lord which call thee by thy name, am the God of Israel. For Jacob my servant's sake, and Israel mine elect, I have even called thee by thy name: I have surnamed thee, though thou hast not known me" (xlv. 1—4). I have said that the prediction immediately preceding this might perhaps leave it doubtful whether *Coresh, the Lord's shepherd*, was a mighty Sovereign, or a powerful Viceroy. But can there be any possible doubt on this point, with reference to "*Coresh, the Lord's anointed?*" How are we to interpret these words—"Thus saith the Lord to his anointed, to Coresh, whose right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before him?" Does Coresh achieve all this, in the subordinate character of a valiant general, as Tartan besieged and took Ashdod, not for himself, but for his Sovereign, the Assyrian Sargon? Surely it is impossible to see only a Viceroy here; a mere brave and powerful Satrap, in the anointed one, whose right hand is upholden by Jehovah, and before whom nations are subdued? We cannot help understanding the prophet to mean that God gives these subdued nations, not to any supposed Sovereign, to whom Coresh was a vassal, but to Coresh himself, who, by being thus divinely upholden, became the mightiest of earthly Sovereigns. And I do not suppose that there will be a moment's hesitation in admitting that all these victories and conquests vouchsafed to Coresh, the Lord's anointed, preceded, and were designedly introductory to, his commanding as the Lord's Shepherd, Jerusalem to be built, and the temple to be founded anew. Therefore the Lord gives this reason for exalting Coresh, "For Jacob my servant's sake, have I called thee by thy name." And through the whole of the triumphant career of Coresh, the eye of the Lord was ever over his exiled flock, and his ruined temple. Hence, Isaiah appears to teach us that when Coresh should issue the decree concerning the temple, he would have been already, and, comparatively recently, raised up by the Most High to be the greatest of all the then living earthly potentates.

But it will be worth while, in order to the further elucidation of our subject, to notice how the humiliation of Babylon is mentioned in close connexion with (and apparently as the consequence of) the victories and

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<sup>f</sup> When the prophet says, "to open before him the two-leaved gates, and the gates shall not be shut"—we cannot help recalling to mind what is related of Cyrus—that he entered Babylon on the night of a certain great festival, and that in the tumult and confusion which prevailed on such an occasion, the brazen gates, which were placed in order to close the descents from the quays to the river, were thoughtlessly left open. See Jer. li. 30, 32. When surprise is expressed that Nabonidus is not mentioned by Daniel, we should remember that the indignation of the Most High was specially against Belshazzar, and the divine purpose may have delayed Daniel's vision of the ram and he-goat, until the first year of the joint-sovereignty of the impious son had commenced.

conquests of Coresh. "Bel boweth down, Nebo stoopeth—their idols were upon the beasts" (*i. e.*, placed by the victors upon beasts of burden to be removed into a foreign land)—"their idols could not deliver the burden, but themselves are gone into captivity" (xlv. 1—2). Not long after, we find another allusion to Coresh, who, while in reference to Judah, he is the Lord's anointed and shepherd, is also towards Judah's Chaldean oppressors "a ravenous bird, whom Jehovah calls from the east, the man from a far country, who executeth the Lord's counsel, viz.,—that Babylon shall be a prey, and her "treasures of darkness and hidden riches" a spoil to a fierce and mighty conqueror. And a few verses below, we seem to have the following result of the assaults made by this ravenous bird from the east; "Come down and sit in the dust, O virgin daughter of Babylon (*i. e.*, O city hitherto unsubdued!) sit on the ground, there is no throne, O daughter of the Chaldeans" (xlvii. 1). Hence, when the prophet tells us that the ravenous bird from the east will cause the daughter of Babylon to quit her throne and sit on the ground, in the dust, he is to be understood as figuratively describing the same events as when in more sober prophetic history he tells us that the confederate hosts of Elam<sup>s</sup> and Media shall invade the Babylonian territory, besiege the city, and raise the shout of triumph, "Babylon is fallen, is fallen." And in the prophet Isaiah, we have more than a dim prophetic glimpse of the previous Chaldean triumph over Judah, when he rebuked the pride which had led Hezekiah to shew his treasures to the ambassadors of Merodach-Baladan. "Behold the days come, that all that is in thine house, and that which thy fathers have laid up in store until this day, shall be carried to Babylon, nothing shall be left. And of thy sons that shall issue from thee, which thou shalt beget, shall they take away: and they shall be eunuchs in the palace of the king of Babylon." (xxxix. 6, 7.) And thus, even if we had only the writings of the inspired prophet Isaiah to guide us in our inquiries, we should feel almost certain of the truth of the following conclusions, viz.,—that at some subsequent period Jerusalem and the temple were laid in ruins—the Jews carried away into captivity—that it was Babylon who had wrought the desolation, and removed the captives—and that an illustrious warrior named Coresh should, under the Divine

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<sup>s</sup> When Assyrian and Chaldean aggression is foretold by the prophets, they not unfrequently describe the evil as coming from the north; for the enemy would enter Palestine at its northern portion. It was by Hobab, on the left hand of Damascus, that Chedorlaomer was returning with his confederate kings, when he was overtaken and defeated by Abraham. Yet the prophet, when, apparently, speaking of Abraham and this very victory, describes the patriarch as the righteous man raised up by God from the east, since the place of his nativity was farther both toward the north and east, than Palestine (Isaiah xli. 2). Some versions give "righteousness" instead of "the righteous man." In the 25th verse of this chapter, mention is made both of the north and east; the prediction may have reference to Coresh, both to his conquest of Babylon, and to his acknowledgment of the supreme deity of the God of Israel. In xlv. 13, Coresh may be primarily intended; but the prediction, especially when taken in connexion with the succeeding verse, seems purposely worded so as to lead the mind to the yet future and glorious restoration of Judah and Jerusalem by a Redeemer infinitely greater than Cyrus. In xlv. 11, the prophet seems to be especially speaking of the divine purpose against Babylon; "the ravenous bird" is, therefore, to be called only from the east, and no mention is made of the north.



assistance, become the powerful Sovereign of many vanquished nations—that he, after having subdued many nations, should put himself at the head of the confederate forces of Elam and Media, and besiege and take Babylon, and gain great spoil not without the slaughter of large numbers of the inhabitants—that he would be made to believe the God of Israel to be the Supreme Lord—and that he would permit and encourage the captive Jews to return and rebuild the temple. It seems to the writer, that the more diligently we compare together the predictions of Isaiah, and the more patiently we study the language in which they are expressed the more shall we be disposed to believe that Coresh, the restorer of the Jews to their land, was the victorious leader of the hosts of Elam and Media, and that, among the cities which he subdued and spoiled, Babylon with her two-leaved gates, her treasures of darkness and her hidden riches of secret places, would unquestionably and certainly be one. Hence, Isaiah teaches us that Coresh, when he should issue his decree for the rebuilding of the temple, would have previously attained the highest earthly dominion among his contemporaries, after a career of conquest, in which he would have taken and spoiled Babylon, and cast her down for ever from imperial supremacy over the nations, into subjection and vassalage. Coresh was also to receive, before the promulgation of the decree in question, the conviction that the God of Israel, who had called him by name, was the supreme God—"that thou mayest know that I the Lord, which call thee by thy name, am the God of Israel."

IV. Let us next compare these predictions of Isaiah, with certain plain and clear statements found at the commencement of the book of the sacred historian Ezra. "Now in the first year of Coresh, king of Persia, that the word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah might be fulfilled, the Lord stirred up the spirit of Coresh, king of Persia, that he made a proclamation throughout all his kingdom, and put it in writing, saying, Thus saith Coresh, king of Persia, the Lord God of heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth; and he hath charged me to build him an house at Jerusalem, which is in Judah. Who is there among you of all his people? his God be with him, and let him go up to Jerusalem, which is in Judah, and build the house of the Lord God of Israel (he is God), which is in Jerusalem" (1 Ezra i. 3). We have here the identical name of Coresh, which we found in the prophecy of Isaiah; and we at once expect to discover that the decree of Coresh was to fulfil the words of Isaiah, as well as those of Jeremiah. The sacred historian tells us (just as the inspired prophet foretold would come to pass,) that Coresh, in the most express and public manner, issued a decree for the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem. Again, did the prophet declare that the then future Coresh should be brought to know that God had called him by his name, and that the God of Israel was the Supreme God? In striking accordance with the prediction, we distinctly read, that the historical Coresh of Ezra made an open acknowledgment throughout his dominions, that the God of Israel had charged him (of course,<sup>a</sup> by name) to build his

<sup>a</sup> As we nowhere read that any direct message was sent from Jehovah through Daniel to Coresh, and as Isaiah foretold that Coresh should know that the Lord had called him by name; it does not seem possible to doubt that the prophet Daniel pointed

temple, and that this God of Israel was the Lord God of heaven. But it has also been seen that Isaiah must of necessity be understood as teaching, that Coresh was to be master of Babylon at the time of publishing the predicted decree. This fact also is plainly implied in Ezra's narrative. For he who was king of Persia, and lord of Palestine, and who could say to all Jehovah's captive exiles, as residing in his dominions, who is there "among you of all his people?" must also have been lord of Babylonia, where so many of the captive children of Judah must have been dwelling. This is, however, elsewhere put beyond doubt, as we read—"In the first year of Coresh, *king of Babylon*, the same king Coresh made a decree to build this house of God" (Ezra v. 13). Beyond all question, therefore, the Coresh of Ezra, was king of Babylon, king of Persia, and lord of Palestine, by whom Judea was restored to the exiles, and in virtue of whose grant, the returned Jews were empowered to cut down "the cedars of Lebanon for their temple." (Ezra iii. 7.) But Cyrus might have been all this, and yet a contemporary Sovereign of Media and Armenia might possibly have been scarcely, if at all, inferior to him in power and dignity; whereas, we seem to gather almost certainly from Isaiah, that Coresh was to be elevated by the Most High, after a brilliant career of conquest, to be far the greatest of all then living kings. But the language of the historian still agrees with the spirit of the prophet's predictions; for we find *Ezra's Coresh*<sup>i</sup> saying of himself, "The Lord God of heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth." Here he speaks of his own unrivalled power and greatness, in language which might have been suitably used, had he obtained his wide dominion by inheritance, though still more suitably, by one who had obtained his power by arms and conquest. Yet it may possibly be objected that Isaiah says nothing of Persia as under the sway of Coresh. But if we grant, what we cannot reasonably refuse to

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out the predictions of Isaiah to Coresh, and that the latter, (who, we may suppose had previously heard much of Daniel's holy character and wisdom,) believed them to have proceeded from the God of heaven. Coresh would not, perhaps, be affected with greater wonder and awe on finding himself twice mentioned by name, than on learning that the ancient prophet had foretold that "the two-leaved gates should not be shut." The power and prescience of the God of Israel would thus be impressed upon his mind with twofold force.

<sup>i</sup> I wish to observe that the language used by the Coresh of Ezra, would, when we bear in mind the great duty for the fulfilment of which the Most High had specially raised him up, almost constrain us to believe that the Medes were included within the dominions which the Lord God of heaven had given to him. Many Jews had most probably settled in Media; and if Coresh were not Sovereign of that region also, he would have possessed no right whatever to summon, by proclamation, the Jews residing there, and offer them permission to return to Palestine. It will not do to argue that it might as well be said that Egypt must have been a province of the dominions of Coresh. The Jews who went into Egypt, went thither of their own will, and without any divine direction; hence they had neither part nor lot in the promised deliverance through Coresh. Perhaps the very nature and extent of the duties which devolved on Coresh as the Lord's anointed and shepherd, required that he should have no earthly superior, and that his dominions should be so extensive, that he could, as a Sovereign, summon all the captive exiles to the east of the Euphrates, and be enabled, without hindrance from any rival potentate, to establish them once more in Palestine.

concede, (1.) That the conquest of Babylon by Coresh is certainly predicted by Isaiah in xlv. i. 3. (2.) And that this was the same overthrow of the Chaldean metropolis, as that predicted to be accomplished by the Medes (xiii. 17), and by Elam and Media (xxi. 2 and 9), then must the Coresh of Isaiah be specially the leader of the hosts of Elam and Media when he took Babylon. And if so, we may, without difficulty, believe that he was to be lord of Elam, Media, and Persia, when he decreed the restoration of the Jews, and the rebuilding of their temple.

V. There is, however, another sacred historian, the prophet Daniel, who bears distinct testimony to the royalty and greatness of the Coresh of Ezra, and, therefore, to that of the Coresh of Isaiah. Daniel mentions him not less than three times; once as Coresh the Persian, thus pointing out that Persia, and not Media, was the place of his birth; once he styles him King Coresh; and once he calls him king of Persia. And it appears to me that this book of Daniel alone, furnishes very satisfactory evidence that the individual to whom Isaiah, Ezra, and Daniel agree in assigning the name of Coresh, was not merely a vice-regal satrap, however powerful, but a mighty and independent Sovereign. The first of the three passages just alluded to, and to which the reader's attention may be directed, is the following,—“So this Daniel prospered in the reign of Darius, and in the reign of Coresh the Persian (vi. 28). What else can we understand from such a statement, than that Darius and Coresh were two Sovereigns to whom Daniel owed allegiance at different periods; and that when Darius ceased to reign, Coresh succeeded to his kingdom, and became Daniel's king, at least in as high a sense as Darius had already been so. Again, at the end of the first chapter, in which Daniel's early history under Nebuchadnezzar had been described, it is added, (and the addition may possibly have proceeded from the pen of Ezra), “And Daniel continued even unto the first year of King Coresh.” (i. 21.) The fair, not to say obvious, inference from this passage is, that in process of time, Coresh succeeded as an independent Sovereign to the Chaldean throne, when Daniel, of course, would owe to him the same allegiance, which he had previously owed to Nebuchadnezzar. Nor is the third passage less decisive. “In the third year of Coresh, King of Persia, a thing was revealed unto Daniel.” (v. 1.) Thus Coresh, two years after he had issued the decree for the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem, in which he claims to himself the title of “King of Persia, and possessor of all the kingdoms of the earth,” is called also by Daniel, King of Persia. And as Daniel gives this important royal title at a time when, we may feel assured, that on the head of the Medo-Persian ram, the Persian or higher horn, was pre-eminent over the Median, the very fact that Coresh was then king of Persia, amounts to a positive proof that he was superior in power and greatness to the then Sovereign of Media, if Media really had at that time a separate Sovereign—and it amounts to very high presumptive evidence that, at the time in question, Coresh was the Sovereign of Media, as well as of Persia. But there is one point connected with the verse now under consideration, which deserves special notice. It was the usage of the sacred writers to date their histories and predictions, according to the years of the reigning Sovereign. The custom which had

prevailed under their native kings, was still continued when they had passed under a foreign yoke. Thus Haggai and Zechariah mark the date of their predictions, by naming the particular year of the reign of Darius in which they were delivered. And the Evangelist Luke teaches us the supremacy of Rome over Judea, about the time when our Lord was to enter on his divine mission, by writing that, "in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, the word of God came to John, the son of Zacharias, in the wilderness." Daniel too, makes a similar use of the names and reigns of Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar, and Darius the Mede; all of whom were independent Sovereigns of Babylon. For, even if we suppose that Coresh was already the higher horn on the head of the Medo-Persian ram when Babylon was taken, (and this seems highly probable,) and that it was Coresh who, as the superior in political power, and the actual conqueror of the Chaldean metropolis, graciously permitted Darius the Mede to receive the kingdom of Belshazzar, it is evident, from Daniel's narrative, that Darius was permitted to hold Babylon as an independent Sovereign. It may, therefore, be inferred that in "the third year of Coresh," this Persian king stood in the same relation to Daniel, as the Chaldean kings and Darius the Mede had done previously, *i. e.*, he was Daniel's Sovereign, from whom the prophet had no appeal to a higher earthly potentate. And it is not credible that Daniel would (almost treasonably), have called Coresh, King of Persia, if the latter had been only a vice-regal satrap of Babylon, under Xerxes, or his son Artaxerxes. It would be one thing for an aspiring satrap to style himself King of Persia, with no just claims to the title; and quite another thing for Daniel to sanction such a titular usurpation, by adopting it in a writing intended to form a part of the inspired Hebrew Scriptures, and which Coresh would probably never see.

But we are also still further to consider these introductory words, "In the third year of Coresh, king of Persia," in their connexion with the remarkable vision which was then vouchsafed to Daniel. During the three weeks which immediately preceded the appearance "of the man clothed in fine linen, by the side of the great river Hiddekel (Tigris)," the prophet abstained "from all pleasant bread, and from flesh and wine," and refrained "from anointing himself." In this vision, the heavenly messenger thus addresses the servant of God; "From the first day that thou didst set thine heart to understand, and to chasten thyself before thy God, thy words were heard, and I am come for thy words." He then proceeds to state the reason why three full weeks were permitted to elapse before the prayer was answered. "The prince of the kingdom of Persia, (perhaps some leading evil angel, whom Satan, the prince of the power of the air, and the god of this world, had specially charged to obstruct, at the Persian Court, the rebuilding of the Lord's temple by Zerubbabel and Jeshua,) withstood me one-and-twenty days;" the very three weeks which Daniel had spent in earnest abstinence and prayer; "but lo, Michael, one of the chief princes, came to help me, and I remained there with the<sup>\*</sup> kings of

<sup>\*</sup> The heavenly speaker here uses the plural form, "*Kings of Persia*," although mention is only made of Coresh.

Persia." (x. 13.) This should be sufficient to prove that, as the kingdom of Persia is here evidently used by the heavenly speaker in the true and proper sense of the term, and declared also to be the seat of that earthly power which alone could check the building of the Lord's temple, Coresh, who was the Sovereign of that kingdom, must necessarily have been, not the vice-regal satrap of Babylon, but the great King of Persia, the higher and supreme horn of the Medo-Persian ram. Nor does the vision forbid us to think that Coresh was now Sovereign of Media, as well as of Persia, and Babylon. For it is incidentally said by the speaker, "Also I, in the first year of Darius the Mede, even I stood to confirm and strengthen him." This would seem to indicate that Darius had ceased to live and reign, and as his kingdom of Babylon had passed to Coresh, to what other individual can we suppose Media to have passed, than to him who succeeded Darius on the throne of Babylon, *i. e.*, the whole dominion of the Medo-Persian ram was now subject to the higher Persian horn.

And how thoroughly does Daniel's account of the efforts made to stay the building of the temple, so early as in the third year of Coresh—*i. e.*, only two years after he had issued his former decree—agree with the facts of history as recorded in the book of Ezra. For this writer tells us, that no sooner had the foundation of the temple been laid, (iii. 11,) than the people of the land, the descendants of Esarhaddon's Gentile colonists—"the adversaries of Judah,"—began to trouble the Jews in building, and weakened their hands. They even "hired counsellors against them," (to slander and hinder them at the Persian Court,) "all the days of Coresh, king of Persia, until the days of Darius, king of Persia."

Now it was in the first year of Coresh, that permission was given to the Jews to return to their own land, and the decree issued for the rebuilding of the temple. The exiles had to be assembled from the different parts of the empire of Coresh, and it was not until the second month of the second year of their return, that Zerubbabel and Jeshua laid the foundation of the temple. It would, of course, take some little time for the adversaries of Judah to have their hired counsellors at work in the Court of Coresh. Hence, we may, not improbably, gather from the narrative of Ezra, that it was in the *third* year of Coresh the King, that earnest efforts were first made among the courtiers, to obstruct the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem. We have seen, too, that the language of Daniel's vision, proves Coresh to have been the great King of Persia, and we may just add, that the language of Ezra's narrative confirms this view. For it seems scarcely possible to deny that Ezra, when he says "the hired counsellors" opposed the Jews "all the days of Coresh, king of Persia, until the days of Darius, king of Persia," must be understood as asserting (a point, be it remembered, which this sacred historian was thoroughly competent to decide), that Coresh was one of the predecessors of Darius on the Persian throne, and king of Persia in the same independent and sovereign sense of the term, as was Darius afterwards.

But what are we to infer from the following well-known prediction which formed part of the vision that appeared to Daniel in the third year of Coresh, king of Persia, *viz.* :—"Behold there shall stand up yet three kings in Persia, and the fourth shall be far richer than they all; and by

his strength, through his riches, he shall stir up all against the realm of Grecia''? (xi. 2.) I believe very few students of prophecy will hesitate to allow that this fourth Persian king of such vast wealth and power, and the determined enemy of Greece, was no other than Xerxes. When it is said, there shall *yet* stand up three kings in Persia, it must mean that these three kings are to reign *after* Coresh, and as the successors of Coresh. If we think that Xerxes was to be a fourth king, in the sense of being additional to the three, then must these three have been Cambyses, Smerdis, and Darius Hystaspes. But if we suppose Xerxes to have been one of the three, and to have been the fourth, in reference to Coresh as the first, then must his three predecessors have been Coresh, Cambyses, and Darius Hystaspes. In this case we must think that the heavenly speaker did not take into account the brief seven or eight months reign of the magian usurper Smerdis. On either view, therefore, it seems established beyond controversy, from the vision, that the Coresh of Daniel, (and, therefore the Coresh of Ezra and Isaiah,) lived and reigned before the accession of Darius Hystaspes. Hence we conclude, that the Coresh of the Old Testament is certainly to be identified with the illustrious Persian king of secular history, the great Cyrus of Herodotus, Xenophon and Berossus. It follows that Darius the Mede could not have been Darius Hystaspes: and as he was only sixty-two when Cyrus took Babylon, and therefore about the same age as Cyrus, he could not have been Astyages the grandfather of Cyrus. We may perhaps safely conclude, that in Darius the son of Ahasuerus, of the seed of the Medes, we have Cyaxares the son of Astyages, king of the Medes, of whom we read in Xenophon.

VI. There are other passages of Scripture connected with this discussion which must not be passed over in silence, and which may be usefully arranged side by side.

All nations shall serve Nebuchadnezzar, and his son, and his son's son, *until the very time of his land come*; and then many nations and great kings shall serve themselves of him (the son's son).—*JER. XXVII. 7.*

And them (the Jews) that had escaped from the sword, carried he (Nebuchadnezzar) away to Babylon, where they were servants to him and his sons *until the reign of the Kingdom of Persia*; to fulfil the Word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah until the land had enjoyed her Sabbaths, for as long as she lay desolate, she kept Sabbath to fulfil threescore and ten years.—*2 CHRON. XXXVI. 20.*

What are we to understand by the phrase, "the very time of his land?" Surely, the special time in which the Most High had determined to visit judicially, and punish the land of the king of Babylon. Although the prophet speaks of Nebuchadnezzar's son and son's son, he does not forbid us to suppose that Nebuchadnezzar may have been succeeded by more than one son; but both historian and prophet require us to believe that the throne of Babylon continued in Nebuchadnezzar's family until the time of the land came, and Persia became a kingdom, whose sovereign was able to cast down the Chaldean dynasty and conquer the devoted land. We see, also, that while the historian speaks of the time of Jewish subjection to the family of Nebuchadnezzar, the prophet regards the period during

which the nations should serve that dynasty. The subjection of the Jews and the service of the nations to the Chaldean dynasty would cease together with the extinction of that dynasty; but it would not follow that the Jews would be immediately, and without any further delay, restored to their own land. The period of the service of the nations to which the prophet alludes began (of this we may feel almost certain) with Nebuchadnezzar's victory over Egypt and her confederates at Carchemish (Jer. xli. 2). This event occurred, according to the received chronology, cir. 608 B.C. And we might form a reasonable conjecture of the length of this period, during which Nebuchadnezzar, and his son, and his son's son, were to occupy the throne of Babylon. Three generations, according to the ordinary computation of thirty-three years to a generation, amount to about a hundred years. But, as Nebuchadnezzar may not have been less than thirty years of age when he defeated Pharaoh Necho, and as his grandson was to be cast down from his throne before the natural termination of his reign, we might fairly suppose that the period of the nation's service to the Chaldean dynasty might possibly extend from seventy to eighty years.

Again—

Thus saith the Lord, after seventy years be accomplished at Babylon, I will visit you, and perform my good word towards you in causing you to return to this place.—JER. xxix. 10.

And this whole land shall be a desolation and an astonishment, and these nations shall serve the king of Babylon seventy years. And it shall come to pass when seventy years are accomplished, that I will punish *the king of Babylon*, and that *nation*, saith the Lord, for their iniquities, and the land of the Chaldeans, and will make it perpetual desolations. . . . . For many nations and great kings shall serve themselves of them also, and I will recompense them for their deeds, and according to the work of their own hands.—JER. xxv. 12—14.

Here we have, again, the two periods already brought before us—one, that of the subjection of the nations, and the other, of the service of the exiled Jews to the Chaldean dynasty—and each is stated to extend over seventy years. The subjection of the nations we have supposed to commence from the victory at Carchemish, cir. 608 B.C., and, therefore, the time for the punishment of the last king of the Chaldean dynasty and his nation would be cir. 538 B.C. And I wish here to allude to a subject which will again come before us. The prophet seems to teach us *that the king and the nation are both to be punished at the same time*. But, according to Dr. Hale's view, "Belshazzar was slain by conspirators, cir. 553 B.C., the Babylonians soon after made a voluntary tender of the sovereignty to Darius, the Mede, and he took, or accepted, the kingdom with their free and full consent." As the nation, therefore, was not punished at that time, if we accept the view of Dr. H., it would seem that Belshazzar's fate was not noticed by the prophets, and that Jeremiah is speaking of the punishment of another king of Babylon some fifteen years afterwards. It has been said that the seventy years of the Chaldean dynasty, commence with the defeat of Pharaoh Necho, at Carchemish, and we may observe,

that as Necho, according to the Egyptian chronology, died cir. 603 B.C., his defeat by Nebuchadnezzar must have occurred earlier than that year.

Again—

Thus saith the Lord, that after seventy years are accomplished at Babylon, I will visit you, and perform my good word toward you, in causing you to return to this place. Then shall ye call upon me, and ye shall go and pray unto me, and I will hearken unto you, . . . and I will turn away your captivity, and I will bring you again into the place whence I caused you to be carried away captive.—*JER.* xxix. 10—14.

In the first year of Darius, the son of Ahasuerus, of the seed of the Medes, which was made king over the realm of the Chaldeans; in the first year of his reign, I, Daniel, understood by books the number of years whereof the Word of the Lord came to Jeremiah, the prophet, that he would accomplish seventy years in the desolations of Jerusalem. And I set my face unto the Lord God, to seek by prayer and supplication, and said, . . . . Now, therefore (*עַתָּה*), O, our God, hear the prayer of thy servant and his supplications, and cause thy face to shine upon thy sanctuary that is desolate for the Lord's sake, . . . . open thine eyes and behold our desolation, and the city that is called by thy name. . . . O, Lord, hear, O, Lord, forgive, O, Lord, hearken and do; *defer not* (*אַל תְּאַחַר*), for thine own sake, O, my God.—*DAN.* ix. 2, 3, and 17—19.

Whatever may have been Daniel's previous conjectures (and it is next to impossible that he should not have indulged in occasional speculations on the subject) it appears unquestionably from his own words, that he had attained no satisfactory certainty in his mind concerning the true beginning and termination of the seventy years mentioned by Jeremiah, until the first year of Darius the Mede. One great fact had been accomplished—the dynasty of Nebuchadnezzar had ceased to reign, an event which Jeremiah had clearly foretold. Thus were made clearly known to him the termination and commencement of one of Jeremiah's two periods of seventy years each; even that in which the nations were to serve the king of Babylon seventy years (*xxv.* 12). His mind would now turn with yet deeper interest to the seventy years to be accomplished by Judah at Babylon, when the captive exiles were to call on God, and He would hear them and restore them to their own land (*xxix.* 10). The prophet evidently succeeds, by examining the books of which he speaks, in arriving at a satisfactory conclusion in reference to this second period also. And, I think, we cannot study attentively the prophet's prayer on the occasion of his successfully understanding "by books the number of the years, whereof the Word of the Lord came to Jeremiah the prophet, that He would accomplish seventy years in the desolation of Jerusalem," without coming to the conclusion that the termination of this period was, then, very near and, as it were, imminent. Daniel had read that, towards the close of the period, the captives were to pray unto the Lord, and that, in answer to that prayer, He would restore them from Babylon to their own land. The aged servant of the Lord, therefore, seeks Him earnestly, and wrestles, so

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<sup>1</sup> This looks to the yet glorious future; but it is also in its proper measure, true of the return from the Babylonish captivity.



to speak, in supplication for the speedy restoration of the temple and city. Nor may we think that Daniel, unless under a clear conviction that what he had discovered in the word and promises of Jehovah fully justified him in such a course, would have fervently and importunately prayed, "*Now* (*נָעַם*, *nunc*), *cause Thy face to shine on Thy sanctuary*. DEFER NOT, for Thine own sake." Such petitions convince us that signs of the approaching deliverance were already appearing above the horizon, and that scarcely one or two years would elapse before the arrival of the time appointed in the Divine counsel for the promised restoration of Judah. And as the restoration was to be accomplished through Coresh, the language of the prayer which Daniel offered up in the first year of Darius the Mede would almost (if not altogether) justify us in believing that the reign of this Darius did not extend beyond one or two years at the utmost. We may say that, for this to be the case, Daniel must have discovered that these seventy years were to commence with his own captivity in the fourth of Jehoiakim, cir. 606. If not then, it must have begun with the captivity of Jehoiachin, cir. 599. This would have rendered it necessary for about seven years to elapse from the commencement of the reign of Darius the Mede to the close of the seventy years in question—too long a period for Daniel to use with earnest importunity such terms as "*Now*," and "*Defer not*."

But, according to Jeremiah, the king of Babylon and his nation must first be visited and punished before Judah could be restored. The whole tenor of the Scripture narrative warrants us to feel convinced that Coresh peaceably<sup>m</sup> succeeded Darius; and, therefore, this visitation of king and nation must have preceded the accession of Darius the Mede. And we seem constrained to believe that the night on which Belshazzar was slain was a time of fearful judgment on the guilty nation—i. e., that on that night the triumphant Medo-Persian host entered the city, when blood was profusely shed, the city spoiled, and many of its idols demolished.

VII. It is asked, "Where do we learn that Belshazzar was slain at the taking of Babylon by Coresh?" Let us turn to Jeremiah. "God is to prepare the nations with the kings of the Medes against the devoted city; and then the mighty men of Babylon will forbear to fight, and will remain in their strongholds" (li. 28—30). Here we have plainly a siege of Babylon by the Medes and their confederates. Again, the prophet says, "One post shall run to meet another, to shew the king of Babylon that his city is taken at one end." As the city was straitly besieged, we cannot suppose that couriers would be sent to Nabonidus, at some distance from Babylon. The king of whom Jeremiah speaks must be within the walls of Babylon<sup>n</sup> at the time; and therefore, if Berossus and the Babylonian monuments are to be depended upon, this

<sup>m</sup> The language of the handwriting, "Thy kingdom is given to the Medes and Persians" seems to indicate this.

<sup>n</sup> That a king of Babylon was present in the city at the time of the assault and capture seems clear from Jer. l. 4. "The king of Babylon hath heard the report of them, and his hands waxed feeble; anguish took hold of him, and pangs as of a woman in travail."

king could not have been Nabonidus, and therefore must have been Belshazzar (Belshazzar). Jeremiah does not, indeed, say expressly that this king was slain in the tumult, yet he so describes the horrors of the assault as to render such an event almost certain. For he elsewhere says, "Call together the archers against Babylon; camp against it, round about; therefore shall her young men fall in the streets, and all her men of war shall be cut off in that day, saith the Lord" (l. 30). And elsewhere, "Thus saith the Lord, Behold, I will raise up against Babylon a strong wind: spare ye not her young men; destroy ye utterly all her host. Thus, the slain shall fall in the land of the Chaldeans, and they that are thrust through in her streets" (li. 1—4). May we not find described, in still more fearful characters, the spirit of merciless slaughter which should animate the victorious Medes and Persians, as they entered the streets of the doomed metropolis, from the language of prophetic denunciation in Ps. cxxxvii. "O daughter of Babylon, who art to be destroyed, happy shall he be that rewardeth thee as thou hast served us. Happy shall he be that taketh and dasheth thy little ones against the stones." Is it credible that the king of whom Jeremiah speaks should escape with his life in such a scene of ferocity and carnage? Surely He who gave Agag to be hewed in pieces by Samuel, at Gilgal, gave Belshazzar to the sword and spear of the ferocious and victorious host of Coresh, whose blind and cruel rage had been so fearfully described by Isaiah. "Behold, I will stir up the Medes against them (the Chaldeans) which shall not regard silver, and, as for gold, they shall not delight in it, their bows shall dash the young men to pieces, and they shall have no pity on the fruit of the womb; their eye shall not spare children" (xiii. 18). We are not to suppose that these Medes and their confederates would not plunder the city; but their bloodthirsty cruelty would be such that they will accept neither silver nor gold as a ransom to spare the lives of any. Let us look at what has been just advanced. Jeremiah assures us that a king of Babylon was within the walls of the city on that fearful night, and in his palace (for, doubtless, the post or couriers sought him there); and, by comparing together Berossus and the recent decipherments of the Babylonian monuments, we discover that this king must have been Belshazzar, the son of Nabonidus. This wretched king could only have hoped to escape by offering a ransom? and Isaiah forewarns us that the ferocious Medes would not be turned aside from the work of slaughter by any bribes of gold or silver. But with this Belshazzar terminated the Babylonian dynasty of the family of Nebuchadnezzar, and his kingdom was given to the victorious Medes and Persians. And did not this very thing happen at the death of Belshazzar? The hand-writing declared to him, "thy kingdom is given to the Medes and Persians." And what does Daniel immediately add? "In that night was Belshazzar, the king of the Chaldeans, slain; and Darius, the Median, took the kingdom." If we are to believe that this Belshazzar was not identical with the Belshazzar of the Babylonian monuments, and with the king of Babylon in Jeremiah, to whom tidings were brought on the night of the successful assault and capture of the city, then is Belshazzar's fate not even alluded to by the prophets; a silence which we must think to be very improbable.

But this important point calls for a few additional remarks. In the first year of Darius the Mede, Daniel, at length, sufficiently understood, by books, the termination and commencement of the seventy years' desolations of Jerusalem, to encourage him to pray importunately, that the Lord would proceed, without further delay, to restore Judah from exile and to rebuild the city and the temple. We must not exclude from these "books" the prophecies of Isaiah. We have every reason to believe, from Ezra i. 1—3, that Daniel must have shewed to Coresh the predictions of Isaiah, in which this king had been expressly named as the restorer of the city and temple—nay, also as the conqueror and spoiler of Babylon, against whom, in the moment of peril, the gates had not been shut. The book of Isaiah had, therefore, doubtless been in the possession of Daniel; and its predictions concerning the triumphant cruelty of Elam and Media, and the fall of Babylon before those enemies, and the name and deeds of Coresh, would be familiar to such Jews as Daniel, Zerubbabel, and Jeshua, and through them to numbers of the pious exiles. When Coresh advanced, at the head of the forces of Elam and Media, it would be impossible for the Jewish captives not to be struck with emotions of awe and expectation. It would be next to impossible for the citizens of Babylon to remain entirely ignorant of these hopes and expectations of the despised Jews, which would serve as a theme of ridicule and scorn at the palace itself. At length, after the siege had extended over more than a year and a half, the anniversary of a great national religious festival is to be celebrated throughout the vast metropolis—for this is generally supposed to have been the cause of Belshazzar's banquet. Many families from different parts of the Chaldean realm would have fled before the advancing host of Coresh, as he marched against Babylon, in order to take refuge in the metropolis, where they would continue in great numbers during the siege. Thus, Belshazzar would have at hand a thousand lords to summon before him to do honour to their national gods at the royal banquet.

Let the mind dwell for a brief space upon the subject of these unhallowed festivities. Babylon still defies all the attempts of Coresh, who seems as far as ever from success. The monarch's heart is lifted up in him. We may readily believe that the king, or some of his courtiers, introduced scoffingly the subject of Jewish predictions and expectations. The gods of Babylon have apparently triumphed hitherto. Belshazzar, as he drank wine before the thousand lords, commanded to bring the golden and silver vessels which his father, Nebuchadnezzar, had taken out of the temple which was in Jerusalem, that the king, and his lords, his wives and his concubines, might drink therein. As we read this, do we not feel that the very time of this impious king, and his city, and land, is come? Can we doubt that the very hour is at hand for the accomplishment of "the vengeance of the Lord, *the vengeance of His temple*" (Jer. i. 28; li. 11).

The king, his lords, his wives and concubines, not without ribald jesting and mockery, drink wine from the sacred vessels of Jerusalem, and not content with praising the gods of silver and gold, exalt even their idols of wood and stone above the Most High. Here, if ever before or after, was blasphemous and direct defiance of the God of heaven, to exert his

power and take vengeance for his own Holy name, and for his temple. Doubtless the whole vast festal assembly (even if every individual did not profane the sacred vessels by actually drinking from them) encouraged the impiety of their monarch, and were at once abettors of the crime, and accomplices in the guilt. But before this period, "the daughter of Babylon" had already incurred no slight guilt before the Most High, for wicked, though less sacrilegious contempt and derision, towards the captive people of Jehovah, when they were weeping by the streams of Babel as they remembered Sion." For there they that carried us away captive, required of us a song, and they that wasted us, required of us mirth, saying, sing us one of the songs of Sion." And beyond doubt, on the fatal night of Belshazzar's banquet, the whole idolatrous population of the devoted city, would, if the opportunity had been offered, have heartily joined with their king in his profane defiance of the God of Israel. This would seem to have been specially the time when the outraged Majesty of the Lord should bid the triumphant shout be raised—"Babylon is fallen, is fallen." And I cannot but think it most inconsistent both with the letter and the spirit of the divine predictions, to suppose that divine vengeance should proceed no farther, on that memorable night, than merely to give up Belshazzar and some of his favorite lords, as helpless victims to the swords of conspirators, and to permit the murder to be followed by the quiet accession of Darius the Mede to the vacant throne, at the invitation of the citizens of Babylon. They who take this view, consider that Coresh, when he had succeeded Darius, appointed Nabonadius<sup>o</sup> as his viceroy over Babylon, who afterwards rebelled and was conquered, and the city taken by Coresh. We are thus to suppose that the Most High waited some fifteen years, after the impious feast of Belshazzar, before he stirred up Elam and Media, under Coresh; and then, not apparently to take vengeance for his temple, but to punish a rebellion against the sovereign power of Coresh. Jeremiah twice declares that in punishing Babylon by the archers and the Medes, the Lord would take special vengeance for his temple. And what more suitable accomplishment of this denunciation can be conceived, than that the Most High should select the very night on which the sacred vessels of his temple would be outrageously profaned, to let loose his vengeance on the guilty king and city.

VIII. Daniel did not fully know from what event to date the commencement of the seventy years desolation of Jerusalem, until the first year of Darius was come. He would previously have to choose between his own captivity in the fourth of Jehoiakim, the captivity of Jehoiachin some seven years after, and the burning of the temple some nine or ten years after this. And how easily could heavenly light be sent into his mind at the proper time. For which of all these three events was really the most decided commencement of the desolations of Jerusalem? What was the burning of the temple but the destruction of an edifice which the Gentiles had already *twice* polluted and profaned. And when Jehoiachin was

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<sup>o</sup> Colonel Rawlinson's discoveries seem to teach us that Nabonidus was an independent Sovereign of Babylon, and not a vassal king under a Persian lord.

taken to Babylon with some of the sacred vessels, this was not the first but the *second* desecration and captivity. No, the real commencement of the desolations was when Nebuchadnezzar *first* took the Holy City. When Daniel and his three friends and others were carried away captive—and when the Lord gave into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar part of the vessels of the House of God, which he carried into the land of Shinar, *to the house of his god; and he brought the vessels into the treasure-house of his God.* This was the real commencement of the desolations—subsequent Gentile triumphs were not to be compared with this first triumph—they were only the pollution and profanation of that which had been already fearfully polluted and profaned. Daniel would also know that the Lord generally begins to deliver the oppressed by the punishment of the oppressor; and he would thus be prepared to expect that the casting down of Babylon and Belshazzar was but the prelude to the restoration of Judah. The facts that the Chaldeans had been conquered by Coresh at the head of his Medo-Persian host, and that he himself, a Jewish prophet, had been raised by Darius to be one of the three great presidents of his kingdom, would encourage the prophet to expect the speedy fulfilment of the promised deliverance by the hand of Coresh, in whom he would recognise God's shepherd and anointed one.

IX. The question of the correctness or incorrectness of the Asiatic chronology of Herodotus bears upon our present subject. It has been concluded, perhaps without sufficient reason, that the father of history has been mistaken on this point. Dr. E. Hinckes, the able and indefatigable investigator of Assyrian remains, thus writes, in the July Number of *The Journal of Sacred Literature*, (p. 405):—"The annals of the seventh year of Sargon are much mutilated. It is of some interest that a *Dayuktu* is here mentioned; he is called a Mannian, that is, an inhabitant of Lesser Media, and appears to have been an independent chief. There can be little doubt that he is the Dejoces (*Δηϊόκης*) of Herodotus. The year mentioned is five years before the commencement of his reign according to Herodotus, and seven according to Eusebius."

If, as Dr. E. Hinckes states, the seventh of Sargon corresponds to 715 B. C., then as Dejoces reigned 53 years, it is not likely that his reign commenced later than the statement of Herodotus, *i. e.*, cir. 709—710 B. C. If so, we may consider his Asiatic chronology to be probably correct; and thus Cyaxares must have died, cir. 594 B. C., nine years before the eclipse of 585 B. C.

Again, we have seen that Daniel's Coresh (x. 1, and xi. 2), preceded, on the Persian throne, Xerxes and Darius Hystaspes—and that he is therefore to be identified with the Great Cyrus of Herodotus. Assuming, as is almost certain, that Babylon was taken by him cir. 538 B. C., it will follow that Darius the Mede, who was then about sixty-two years old, was born cir. 600 B. C., and we must identify his father Ahasuerus with the Astyages of Herodotus and Xenophon. And it is decidedly more probable on this view, that Astyages, whose son Darius was born cir. 600 B. C., succeeded his father Cyaxares, cir. 594 B. C. (as Herodotus teaches us), than so late as cir. 583 B. C.

Professor Airey has proved that (if we are to understand Herodotus as saying that the Lydo-Median war was terminated by an eclipse which was total at the spot where the armies were engaged), it is impossible that Thales could have intended the eclipse of 610 B. C. But, perhaps, we can scarcely trust the accuracy of Herodotus in the description of an eclipse; at least, if we may rely on the correctness of the following. Dr. Hales tells us "that the time of Xerxes' departure from Susa, is determined by an eclipse of the sun, visible at Susa about eight in the morning, 19th April, 481 B. C." This eclipse is described by Herodotus as total; "for the sun disappeared in a cloudless and clear sky, and day became night." But Dr. Brinkley's computations have proved that this was somewhat less than half an eclipse. Xerxes was alarmed at the phenomenon, and proceeded to consult the Magi. Now, Herodotus is believed to have read his history at the Olympic games, cir. 445 B. C. And if, within thirty-six years, a half eclipse could be exaggerated by tradition into a total one, in which "day became night," how much more easily might a similar exaggeration have happened in the case of an eclipse which had occurred so early as 610 B. C.<sup>p</sup>

In the October Number of *The Journal of Sacred Literature*, (p. 234), is the following statement by Dr. E. Hinckes:—"The date of the capture of Nineveh (625 B. C.) appears to me quite certain; and of course, I hold that Herodotus committed a gross blunder, either in placing the Lydian war before the capture of Nineveh, or in identifying the eclipse which terminated that war, with the eclipse which Thales foretold." To me it appears that the arguments from chronology are of such a character, that if we reject, as we seem bound to do, the eclipse of 610, we cannot allow that it was the eclipse of 585 (whether predicted by Thales or not) which terminated the Lydian war. With regard to Dr. E. Hinckes' view, that Nineveh was finally taken in 625 B. C., some have supposed that the mention of a king of Assyria, in 2 Kings xxiii. 29, must compel us to believe that Nineveh was still the residence of an Assyrian king, when Pharaoh Necho undertook an expedition to the Euphrates, and was encountered by Josiah, cir. 610 B. C. But we must remember that Herodotus calls the realm of that Labynetus who was conquered by Coresh, "the Assyrian dominion;" and Ezra (vi. 22), styles Darius "king of Assyria."

X. It would appear from the Behistun inscriptions, that Herodotus has incorrectly inserted the names of Cambyses, Coresh, and a second Teispes, into the genealogy of Darius (vii. 11). But I am not satisfied that we can feel quite sure, that, if Herodotus has rightly given the pedigree of Coresh, Darius Hystaspes was therefore contemporary (in the usual sense of the term) with Coresh. Herodotus makes Darius Hystaspes about twenty-two years old at the death of Coresh, while Ctesias states that he was seventy at the time of his decease. On this latter view, as he died in 486 B. C., he was born in 556. But let us look at the two genealogies of Coresh, and the son of Hystaspes.

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<sup>p</sup> It is not intended to suggest here that the eclipse of 610 B. C. could have terminated the Lydo-Median war; as Professor Airey has ascertained that the eclipse of 610, September 30, was north even of the sea of Azoff.

*Pedigree of Coresh according to Herodotus.*

Achæmenes.  
Teispea.  
Cambyses I.  
Cyrus I.  
Cambyses II.  
Cyrus the younger II.

*Pedigree of Darius Hystaspes according to the inscription.*

Achæmenes.  
Teispea.  
Ariamnes.  
Arsames.  
Hystaspes.  
Darius.

Let it be granted that Cambyses I. and Ariamnes were brothers; it is quite possible, that Ariamnes may have been from ten to fifteen years younger than Cambyses. Arsames may have been born fifteen or twenty years after Cyrus I., and thus, if sacred and secular history should seem absolutely to require it, both these pedigrees may be perfectly correct, and yet Darius Hystaspes may have been born between thirty and forty years later than Cyrus.

IX. They who consider Coresh to have been a vice-regal satrap in the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, regard the language of his decree (Ezra i. 1, 4), as that of inflated Oriental exaggeration. Yet, as this decree must, in all probability, have become known to his haughty Sovereign, we cannot easily conceive that Coresh would have dared to commit himself by openly arrogating to himself such presumptuous, not to say treasonable, titles. It is not, however, merely from his own decree that we gather his real dignity. Ezra, in a history drawn up for the use of the Jews, always speaks of Coresh as the king of Persia, in the same sense in which he applies that high title to Darius and Artaxerxes. And it is far more likely that Darius (Ezra vi. 1—7), should have deferred to a decree of the Great Coresh, than to that of a Satrap prince. The charge of inflated Oriental exaggeration may, with far more seeming justice, be brought against the proclamation issued by Darius the Mede, when Daniel came forth unharmed from the den of lions. (Dan. vi. 25—27). This Darius, though called by Daniel, the Mede, is nowhere styled king of Media or Persia; nor can we gather from the Scriptural narrative that he was anything more than “king of the realm of the Chaldeans.” Thus we read—“In that night was Belshazzar the king of the Chaldeans slain. And Darius the Median took the kingdom.” What kingdom? that which had belonged to Belshazzar. And in the immediately following verse we read—“It pleased Darius to set over *the kingdom* one hundred and twenty princes, which should be over the whole kingdom, and over these, three presidents, of whom Daniel was first.” Again we ask—over what kingdom? Surely over that same kingdom which Darius had just received, and with whose administration Daniel had been so familiar. But must we not suppose that a kingdom with one hundred and twenty satraps to govern its one hundred and twenty provinces must be rather a vast and mighty empire, than the realm of Belshazzar? Not necessarily; for within the comparatively narrow limits of Great Britain and Ireland, we have about a hundred and seventeen counties. The hundred and twenty-six provinces of Ahasuerus, the husband of Esther, were probably the divisions of a far more extensive and unwieldy empire than ever belonged to Darius the Mede.

Some have asserted that Darius the Mede is to be identified with Darius Hystaspes. But if Daniel (who was fully competent to decide this question) assures us that Darius and his father, Ahasuerus, were Medes, it seems impossible to identify this Mede with Darius Hystaspes, who was certainly a Persian. And Josephus, who had full access to Herodotus, Berossus and the Tyrian annals, tells us that Darius the Mede was known to the Greeks by another name—*i. e.*, when spoken of by any Greek historian, he was not called Darius, and cannot, therefore, (so far as the authority of Josephus is concerned), be identified with the son of Hystaspes, who was known to the Greeks by no other name than that of Darius. If it be then impossible to identify this Mede with any Persian king, we can find no probable place for him much later than the period of the capture of Babylon; and we must utterly reject the authority of Herodotus, Berossus, and Josephus, if we think that Darius the Mede was superior to Coresh, and that the territories which Coresh may have possessed were placed under the administration of Daniel and his fellow presidents. The silence of Herodotus and the compiler of the Canon, (neither of whom mentions Darius the Mede as a predecessor of Coresh on the throne of Babylon) should almost decide us to believe that Coresh graciously permitted his uncle Cyaxares to occupy Belshazzar's throne.

The Behistun inscriptions (if correctly interpreted) clearly teach us that Darius Hystaspes regarded himself as having been one of the subjects of Cambyzes (Kabujiya) and Coresh, and that he would have had no claim to the Persian throne, if any son of Coresh had survived the Magian usurper—that Babylon was a province of the Persian empire at the accession of Darius—and that Media and Babylon had been inherited by Cambyzes, from his father Coresh. Thus these ancient sculptured records confirm (what we could previously have inferred from Herodotus) that the whole Chaldean dynasty of Nebuchadnezzar, his son, and son's son, had passed away, and Babylon had been cast down from imperial greatness before the death of Coresh; and it could have been no other than the Great Cyrus by whom that dynasty was overthrown, and the decree issued for the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem. It must, therefore, have been Darius

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‡ The simple fact that Josephus, who had access, not only to Daniel and Ezra, but also to Herodotus, Ctesias, Berossus, and Menander's Tyrian Annals, should decidedly distinguish between Nebuchadnezzar and the Great Cyrus, should effectually discourage all attempts to identify the latter with the former. I would also observe, that with reference to the names and order of the Persian kings, from Cyrus downwards, the Persian traditions, still extant, cannot be compared with the testimony of Herodotus. From the day that Canada became a British province, are not its provincial records of the names and order of the kings of England, just as authentic and trustworthy as those of London, Edinburgh, or Dublin? And before Coresh took Babylon he had become Sovereign of the Greek States of Asia Minor. Therefore, from that time forward, the records of Halicarnassus (to which Herodotus would have full access), were as authentic and accurate in reference to the names and order of Coresh and his successors, as were the archives of Susa and Ecbatana. Herodotus (who had also access to the historical work of the historian Hecateus), was born *cir.* 484 *b. c.*, his grandfather, therefore was a subject of Cambyzes, and probably, of Coresh also. The Behistun inscriptions have strikingly confirmed the correctness of the order of Herodotus, *viz.* :—Cyrus, Cambyzes, the Magian, Darius Hystaspes, and Xerxes.



Hystaspes (and not Darius Nothus), under whom the second temple was finished. The Behistun inscriptions and Herodotus unite in giving the following names and order—Cyrus, Cambyzes, (or Kabujiya), Smerdis, (or Bartius), Darius Hystaspes. Ezra gives two Persian kings between his Coresh and Darius, viz.,—Ahasuerus and Artaxerxes. Daniel must be considered as positively assuring us, that his Coresh (who is beyond question identical with the Coresh of Ezra), was a predecessor on the Persian (surely on the Medo-Persian)\* throne of Darius Hystaspes and Xerxes. It does not, therefore, seem possible to doubt that the Ahasuerus and Artaxerxes who are placed by Ezra (iv. 5—7 and 23—24), between Coresh and Darius, are to be identified with Cambyzes and Smerdis; and his Darius with the son of Hystaspes. I make no other remark on the fact, that Ezra merely writes, “in the days of Artaxerxes,” than to say, that this indefinite form of expression best suits the case of a king whose reign did not exceed eight months.

XII. There are some who would assign the 19th year of Nebuchadnezzar (and his burning the Jewish temple) to 492 B. C., and his first to 511: others think his 19th to have been 557 B. C., and his first 576 B. C. We are to remember, however, that in this discussion we must take into account the Egyptian chronology. The prophet Jeremiah expressly tells us (xlv. 2), that Nebuchadrezzar (the king in whose 19th year the temple was burned), about the commencement of his reign defeated Pharaoh Necho with great slaughter at Carchemish, near the Euphrates. Now, Egyptian chronology leads us to believe that Necho died cir. 603 B. C.† But the latter of the two views mentioned above would require us to believe that Necho was still living in 576 B. C., and the former, that Necho did not die until after 511 B. C. Again, the Scriptures mention another Egyptian king, Pharaoh-Hophra, who is doubtless to be identified with Apries. We read in Jeremiah xlv. 30, that this Hophra was to be given into the hands of his enemies at some period *after* the punishment of king Zedekiah, and the final capture of Jerusalem. It may be admitted as certain that Hophra was the Sovereign spoken of in the preceding part of this chapter; he was already, therefore, on the throne, when Jerusalem was destroyed by the Chaldeans. According to the Egyptian chronology he is supposed to have died cir. 569 B. C. Hence if this date be correct, the burning of the temple and the nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar must have occurred *before* 570 B. C.

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\* It cannot be doubted (from Dan. xi. 1), that Darius the Mede had ceased to reign in the third year of Coresh—and that the three kings of Dan. xi. 2, whether Cambyzes, Smerdis, and Darius Hystaspes—or Cambyzes, Darius, and Xerxes were kings of Media and Persia. It is, therefore, impossible to doubt that the Coresh of Daniel became king of Media as well as Persia, before his death.

† If the seventy years of the service of the nations began with the victory at Carchemish, the dynasty of Nebuchadnezzar could not have continued longer than cir. 633. But it is plain from Ezra iv. 5, compared with Dan. x. 1 and 13, that attempts to obstruct the building of the temple were made in the third of Coresh; and when it is added, that these attempts were continued *all the days of Coresh*, we may fairly suppose that he reigned at least two or three years longer. Hence, as Coresh died cir. 530, we may infer that the dynasty of Nebuchadnezzar, allowing for the year or two of Darius the Mede, could not have continued later than cir. 533—537 B. C.

We have also other evidence, entirely independent of the sacred narrative, to prove the latter fact. It seems to be generally allowed that two eclipses, which occurred respectively in the 20th and 31st of Darius Hystaspes, happened, the former in 503, and the latter 492 B. C. Each of these dates teaches us that Darius began to reign cir. 523 B. C. This chronological result agrees strikingly with the computation, which shews that another eclipse recorded to have been visible in the seventh of Cambyzes, occurred 523 B. C.—especially when we remember that Herodotus assigns about seven years to the reign of Cambyzes, and seven or eight months to that of the Magian usurper. But, in connexion with these dates obtained by astronomical computation, we have to consider certain statements in Herodotus. This writer tells us that Cambyzes in the fourth or fifth year of his reign, cir. 526—525, invaded Egypt, and that the Egyptian king Amasis died six months before Cambyzes entered Egypt, after a reign of *forty-four* years. If then, Amasis died, cir. 526, he must have ascended the throne at the death of his predecessor Apries, or Pharaoh-Hophra, cir. 570 B. C. And thus we see again, that the burning of the temple at Jerusalem, and the nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar were earlier than cir. 570 B. C.

I would conclude by shewing how Ezra seems to prove that Coresh was Sovereign of Media also. Ezra (vi. 2), may be considered as teaching us that Media was a province of the Persian empire at the accession of Darius Hystaspes. If so, he must have received it through Artaxerxes and Ahasuerus, (Smerdis and Cambyzes), and they from Coresh.

Feb. 21.

G. B.

P.S.—I have already stated in this paper, that the Darius, in the sixth year of whose reign the second temple was finished, is once styled "*the king of Assyria*," (Ezra vi. 22), without, however, pointing out, as should have been done, the argument which suggests itself from this fact, to confirm the view which makes this Darius to have been the son of Hystaspes. A minute's reflection will shew us how very improbable (or rather incredible) it is, that at so late a period as the sixth year of Darius Nothus, cir. 417, when, in consequence of the previous reigns of Darius Hystaspes, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes Longimanus, the title of king of Persia must have obtained a world-wide renown, and that of "*king of Assyria*" become obsolete and forgotten, the Jews should have employed the latter appellation instead of the former. Indeed, whether we suppose Ezra to have lived under Xerxes or Artaxerxes, it is very unlikely that he should have made use of the obsolete title in question; and many students of Scripture are probably not a little surprised when they first read the verse in which Darius is called "*king of Assyria*." We cannot, indeed, suppose this designation to have been selected by Ezra; for, in the very next verse, he passes over several succeeding years, and, entering upon the history of his own times, speaks of *Artaxerxes king of Persia*. The difficulty, however, is very much lessened, if not wholly removed, by supposing that Ezra has transcribed a contemporary record of the dedication of the temple in the sixth year of Darius Hystaspes, cir. 516—515 B. C. All of the Jews then present, above the age of twenty-two years, must have been born under a king of Babylon

—for it was with this title that Darius the Mede became the Sovereign of the exiled Jews; nay it was not until Cyrus became king of Babylon that he issued his decree for the rebuilding of the temple. The unfriendly conduct of his successor, Cambyzes, may have well made the new title of king of Persia unpopular. Thus, when “the children of Israel, which were come out again from the captivity,” celebrated the first passover after the completion of the second temple, we might, perhaps, reasonably expect that in praising the Lord for turning the heart of Darius unto them, they should have used the older and more familiar title of king of Babylon, or even that of king of Assyria, rather than the comparatively recent, and perhaps unpopular, designation of “king of Persia.”

### THE NERONIC DATE OF THE APOCALYPSE.

DEAR SIR,—I beg to send you one argument for the Neronic Date of the Apocalypse, drawn from internal evidence, which you will oblige me by inserting in *The Journal of Sacred Literature* :—

Before any argument in favour of the Neronic date of the Apocalypse can have weight, it must be shewn that sufficient ground exists for questioning, or at any rate for receiving with diminished confidence, the common opinion, that the Revelation was seen by St. John in Patmos in the reign of Domitian. This is a point, on which much has been said, and to little purpose. I can bring no new weapons to this warfare; I can no more deny that Irenæus asserts the Domitianic date, than I can deny that the title of the Syriac version claims the Neronic date. I have no means of testing the exact amount of probability which is to be attached to each; all I can do is, to shew that a difference of opinion, with regard to the date, existed at a very early period, and having done this, I shall have prepared the way for the argument which is to follow.

Eusebius (lib. iii., 18), says, “In this persecution, it is *handed down by tradition*, that the Apostle and Evangelist John, who was yet living, in consequence of his testimony to the Divine Word, was condemned to dwell on the island of Patmos. Irenæus indeed, in his fifth book against the heresies, where he speaks of the calculation formed on the epithet of Antichrist, in the above-mentioned Revelation of John, speaks in the following manner respecting him: “If, however, it were necessary to proclaim his name (*i. e.*, Antichrist) openly at the present time, it would have been declared by him who saw the Revelation, for it is not long since it was seen, but almost in our own times, at the close of Domitian’s reign.”

It will be noticed that Eusebius says, that St. John’s banishment to Patmos in Domitian’s reign, *was handed down by tradition*, and that he quotes the testimony of Irenæus to confirm this tradition.

It seems evident that such a tradition existed, the question is, was such a tradition believed and universally admitted.

Victorinus adds his testimony in support of the Domitianic date, to that

of Irenæus and Eusebius. But he assigns a later date to the Gospel of St John, than to the Apocalypse. On Chap. iv. 14, Victorinus says, "Nam Evangelium *postea* scripsit; cum essent Valentinus, et Cerinthus, et Ebion et cæteri scholæ Sathanæ diffusi per orbem, convenerunt ad illum de finitimis provinciis omnes et compulerunt ut ipse testimonium conscriberet."

"For he (John) wrote the Gospel *afterwards*; when Valentinus, and Cerinthus, and Ebion, and others of the school of Satan, were scattered over the world, all from the neighbouring provinces assembled together to him, and compelled him also to write his Gospel."

But Sir Isaac Newton tells us that Cerinthus "lived so early, that he resisted the apostles, at Jerusalem, in or before the first year of Claudius, twenty-six years before the death of Nero, and died before John;" and a fragment of Hippolytus fixes the date of St. John's Gospel, A.D. 61. For my own part, I have not the slightest doubt that the Gospel of St. John, like the rest of the New Testament Scriptures, was written previous to the destruction of Jerusalem. Independently of the incidental allusion to the city of Jerusalem as still existing, "Now, there is at Jerusalem, by the sheep-market, a pool" (John v. 2); independently of the conversation recorded in chapter xxi., where our Lord, after predicting to St. Peter that his decease should precede his coming, intimates, respecting St. John, not that he should not die, as the disciples wrongly understood, but that he should tarry till he came; independently of this, which appears to fix the date of the Gospel previous to the destruction of Jerusalem, it seems incredible that such stupendous prophecies of our Lord should have received their accomplishment, and yet have been passed over in silence by an *inspired* historian. Not so St. Luke, when recording the famine, "which came to pass in the days of Claudius Cæsar." Not so St. Barnabas (if the passage in question be not an interpolation), "Ἰδοὺ οἱ καθελόντες τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον αὐτοὶ αὐτὸν οἰκοδομήσουσι. Γίνεται διὰ γὰρ τὸ πολεμεῖν αὐτοὺς καθηράθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν." "Behold, they who have destroyed this temple, themselves shall build it up—and so it is—for, through their engaging in war, it hath been destroyed by the enemy" (S. Barnabæ, Epist. xvi.).

Now does any insuperable reason exist, because Eusebius and Victorinus, with others of later date and less importance, follow Irenæus much on the same ground as the Chiliasts followed Papias on the subject of the millenium, ("He was the cause that by far the greater number of Church writers after him held the like doctrine pleading *the antiquity of the man*" Eus., lib. iii.), that the opinion of a single father is to be considered conclusive against equally positive opinions of antiquity to the contrary? I do not see why, in the matter of a date, Irenæus should not have been quite as liable to mistake as Lactantius, who considered that the period of the six thousandth year of the world, at the end of which the millenium was to take place, was, *in his day*, within 200 years of its accomplishment, so that he considered the world, in his time at least, 5800 years old (Lactantius, *Sacred Institutes*, lib. vii.)

It will be observable that there is a vagueness and uncertainty respecting dates even in the Scriptures themselves. We need only notice

the looseness of the expression, "In the days of Herod the king there came, &c." And the questions that have agitated the theological world respecting the precise date of the nativity, or the period of our Lord's ministry upon earth, serve to confirm the idea that, in writings of such remote antiquity, the question of dates cannot always be accurately determined.

On the other hand, is there any direct and positive evidence of antiquity confirming the idea that the tradition of the Domitianic date was not universally admitted?

Epiphanius says the Apocalypse was written in the time of Claudius, A.D. 50. The title of the Syriac version declares it to have been written in Patmos, whither John was banished by Nero the Cæsar. Origen expressly, and in a marked manner, affirms that John says in his Revelation that he was banished by the king of the Romans, *without saying who condemned him*. Tertullian conjoins the banishment of John with the martyrdom of Peter and Paul, at Rome, under Nero. "Felix ecclesia Romana, ubi Petrus passioni dominicæ adæquatur, ubi Paulus Johannis exitu coronatur; ubi Apostolus Johannes posteaquam in oleum igneum demersus, nihil passus est, in insulam relegatur." "Happy Roman Church, where Peter is deemed worthy to share the passion of the Lord, where Paul is crowned by the same death as John (the Baptist), where the Apostle John, after having been plunged in burning oil, escapes unhurt, and is banished."

Andreas, Bishop of Cæsarea, in his comment upon this book (c. vi. 16), says, "John received this revelation under the reign of Vespasian."

Arethas, one of the earliest commentators on the Apocalypse, after mentioning the tradition of Irenæus respecting the Domitianic date (which shews that he considered that tradition unworthy of credit), explains the sixth Seal of the destruction of Jerusalem, and mentions that *former commentators* had explained it of the same event. Numerous false Apocalypses written at a very early period, such as the Apocalypse of Cerinthus, or books of almost an apostolic character, such as the Shepherd of Hermas, evidently an imitation of the Apocalypse, prove that the true Apocalypse must have had a much earlier date than the time of Domitian.

Even supposing that the evidence adduced for the Neronic date is not so conclusive as that for the Domitianic date, (although, if Arethas, the third commentator, whose commentary has descended to us, explains the sixth seal of the destruction of Jerusalem, and, as Sir I. Newton says, declares that former commentators had explained it of the same event, this, to my mind, would outweigh all that Irenæus ever said); yet, still it must be admitted that there is positive external evidence in favour of the Neronic date as well as of the Domitianic date, and all that can be done is to array father against father and testimony against testimony, weighing the probabilities of the truthfulness of each in the balances of our own judgment.

It is plain the question *cannot* be settled by external testimony. What course ought to be taken under such circumstances? what is the fair, and honest, and manly way of bringing this point to a right issue? Let an appeal be made to the *internal evidence* of the book itself. Let the words traced by the Spirit of God teach us that knowledge which we cannot

learn from the surmises of ancient fathers, or from the traditions of the Church. Let the love of "science falsely so called," which would exhaust human wisdom in building up a position drawn from sources from which no solid argument can be drawn, turn from the fables of antiquity to the truth of revelation. This would be, at least, the conduct of men who desired to seek after truth. But I hesitate not to affirm that it is because *some are afraid that the truth might be found*, and that it might militate in some way against previously entertained opinions, that they shrink from the inquiry, and suffer the most glorious disclosure in the whole of the Revealed Word of God to remain as sealed and as unintelligible to them as the Sealed Book of which the Apocalypse treats.

I propose to examine only one argument drawn from this internal evidence. Not that the Book itself admits of only one—there is no Book in the Bible more replete with internal evidence of its object and its date than the Apocalypse. I need only mention the speedy coming of Christ everywhere mentioned throughout the Book, which coming was to be the *"συντελεία τοῦ αἰῶνος,"* of which Professor Lee says, "The context here makes it quite impossible that the end of the world generally can be meant, unless we suppose it was to end with that generation, which is absurd;" and if that coming took place, as St. Mark tells us, *"Ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις μετὰ τὴν θλίψιν ἐκείνην"*—"In those days, after that tribulation," nothing more need be said. That coming, connected with the destruction of a particular land and a particular city, when "the wine-press was trodden *without the city*," "the great city," "the holy city," the city put in opposition to the *πόλεις τῶν ἐθνῶν*, which had dominion over the kings of the earth, *ἡ ἔχουσα βασιλείαν ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλέων τῆς γῆς*, which defines it to mean that city only which claimed separation from the cities of the Gentiles.

This city and temple are described as still existing in the days when the Apocalypse was written, and the bodies of Christian witnesses lying in the street of the city "where their Lord was crucified." The circumstances of great tribulation under which the Book was written closely agree with the circumstances of the Church under Nero's persecution. The exhortations to stand fast, and the promises of reward to them that overcame, are continually repeated throughout the Book, corresponding minutely with the great Apostacy which our Lord said should precede His advent, and to which St. Paul alludes (2 Thes. ii. 2), *"Ἐρωτῶμεν δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀδελφοὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἡμῶν ἐπισυναγωγῆς ἐπ' αὐτὸν, εἰς τὸ μὴ ταχέως σαλευθῆναι ὑμᾶς . . . ὥς ὅτι ἐνέστηκεν ἡ ἡμέρα τοῦ Χριστοῦ,"*—i. e., "We beseech you, by the *παρουσία* of the Lord Jesus, and by our glorious hope of *ἐπισυναγωγή* at that *παρουσία* that ye be not shaken easily from your conviction, by being made to believe that the day of Christ is *actually upon you—is now present*," for such is the force of *ἐνέστηκεν*, as may be easily seen by comparing Rom. viii. 39, with 2 Thes. ii. 2: *"μήτις ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατήσῃ κατὰ μηδὲνα τρόπον ὅτι, εἰ μὴ ἔλθῃ ἡ ἀποστασία πρώτην."* "Let no man deceive you by any means, for that day shall not come, except there come 'The' falling away first;" The well-known apostacy respecting which the Lord had forewarned His Church. These, and many such like internal proofs, which are only in-

telligible when referred to the closing scenes of the Jewish dispensation, make it morally certain that the symbols of the Apocalypse can refer to nothing so harmoniously as to the scenes connected with the completion of the Jewish economy and the coming of the Son of Man.

But to get at once to the argument which I propose to examine. The woes of the Apocalypse (and I presume I may take it for granted that the Book, from the opening of the first Seal to the final consummation of the destruction of Babylon, is one unmixed and uninterrupted series of terrible calamity) are said to fall upon the dwellers in a particular land, upon the princes and lords and merchants of a particular land, and upon a particular city.

These are described as "they that dwell on the earth,"<sup>a</sup> "οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς." "The kings of the earth," "βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς." "The great men of the earth," "μεγιστᾶνες τῆς γῆς." "The merchants of the earth," "ἐμποροὶ τῆς γῆς." "The great city which had dominion over the kings of the earth," "ἡ πόλις ἡ μεγάλη ἣ ἔχουσα βασιλείαν ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλέων τῆς γῆς."

Let us see first of all whether the woes of the Apocalypse are represented as coming upon "them that dwell on the earth," "τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς."

This position can be confirmed by numerous passages.

"Woe, woe, woe, to the inhabitants of the earth," "Τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς" (Rev. viii. 13). "Woe to the inhabitants of the earth and of the sea," "Τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θαλάσσαν" (Rev. xii. 12). "And there fell a noisome and a grievous sore upon the men which had the mark of the beast, and which worshipped his image" (Rev. xvi. 2). Now, the men who had "the mark of the beast and who worshipped his image" are defined as "they that dwell on the earth." "And all that dwell upon the earth, πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, shall worship him,"—i.e., the beast (Rev. xiii. 8). "He . . . causeth the earth and them that dwell therein, τὴν γῆν καὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐν αὐτῇ, to worship the first beast," (Rev. xiii. 12.) "And deceiveth them that dwell on the earth," "τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς." "Saying to them that dwell on the earth, τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, that they should make an image," κ.τ.λ. (Rev. xiii. 14; compare also, Rev. iii. 10; vi. 10; xvii. 2; xvii. 8). I trust, then, it will be admitted as an irrefragable position that the woes of the Apocalypse were to fall upon a particular people, specially marked out and defined as "They that dwell on the earth."

Now, who are they that dwell on the earth?

The words ἡ γῆ are not unfrequently used in the Apocalypse in connexion with other clauses which qualify their meaning, making it evident that no particular land is pointed out, but the earth generally. I would adduce in support of this such passages as the following:—"And no man

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<sup>a</sup> "They that dwell on the earth," ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, in every passage this ought to be translated "on the land"—i. e., the land of Judæa (compare Luke xxi. 23). "Ἔσται γὰρ ἀνάγκη μεγάλη ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ὄργη ἐν τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ," where our translators, driven to the right meaning of the words by the qualifying clause, "this people," have translated ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς "in the land."

in heaven, nor in earth, neither under the earth" (Rev. v. 8). "And every creature which is in heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth, and such as are in the sea" (Rev. v. 13; so also, Rev. xiv. 7; Rev. xx. 11, &c.). In all which passages it is at once evident from the qualifying adjuncts that no particular land can be intended, but the earth generally, as part of creation.

In some other passages, the obscurity of which does not admit of a positive interpretation, it is possible that the earth generally, or a particular land, may be intended. I allude to such texts as, "The seven Spirits of God sent forth into all the earth" (Rev. v. 6). "The stars of heaven fell to the earth" (Rev. vi. 13). "And He set His right foot upon the sea and His left foot on the earth" (Rev. x. 2). Although, if we bring our Lord's prophecies and the prevailing opinions of the Jews into the scale, it will seem most probable that a particular land was intended. But the words in question are sometimes found qualified by governing considerations which define and determine their meaning, and *this is always the case* when they are found in connexion with the governing clause *οἱ κατοικοῦντες*. Then they have and can have, only one meaning, then they refer only to one land and to one people; and this land and this people must be the land and people of Judæa.

This will be reduced to demonstration from a consideration of the passages in which these words occur.

They are found put in opposition and contradistinction to "every tongue and kindred, and people, and nation." *Πᾶσα φυλὴ καὶ γλώσση καὶ λαὸς καὶ ἔθνος*. It is well known that one only land claimed this distinction, one only people asserted this separation from the Gentile world. The Greeks were not more anxious to be held distinct from the Barbarians, than the Jews from the heathen, than the *οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς* from the *φυλαὶ καὶ γλώσσαι καὶ λαοὶ καὶ ἔθνη*.

The first passage which I shall bring forward in proof of this is (Rev. vii. 4) where the 144,000 are said to be sealed "of all the tribes of the children of Israel"—*ἐκ πάσης φυλῆς νιῶν Ἰσραὴλ*. By turning to Rev. xiv. 3, it will be found that the same 144,000 are said to be "redeemed from the earth"—*ῥυπαρισμένοι ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς*. These are contrasted (Rev. vii. 9), with "a great multitude, of all nations and kindreds and people and tongues"—*ἐκ παντὸς ἔθνους καὶ φυλῶν καὶ λαῶν καὶ γλωσσῶν*. Here it is evident that the 144,000 of all the tribes, defined as the "redeemed from the earth," are put in opposition to "the great multitude—of all nations and kindreds, and people, and tongues." The inference is unavoidable, that the writer of the book intended to draw a distinction between Jew and Gentile—between the sealed "of all the tribes of the children of Israel" (and these tribes are enumerated by name, in order to shew that a literal Israel is intended), and the gathered from all nations and kindreds, and people, and tongues—and by comparing Rev. vii. 4, with Rev. xiv. 3, it is made matter of positive certainty, that the "redeemed from the earth," *ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς*, are identical with the sealed from "all the tribes of the children of Israel." This at once gives us the position we contend for, that "the earth" is the land of Judæa.

Rev. xi. 9—10. "And they of the people and kindreds and tongues



and nations, shall see, &c.—and they that dwell upon the earth shall rejoice over them.”

Rev. xiii. 7—8. “And power was given unto him over all kindreds and tongues and nations and all that dwell upon the earth shall worship him.”

Rev. xiv. 6. “And I saw another angel—having the everlasting Gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, and to every nation and kindred and tongue and people.”

Rev. xxi. 26—27. “They shall bring the glory and honor of the nations” *ἐθνη* “into it, and there shall in no wise enter into it any thing that defileth—but they which are written in the Lamb’s book of life.” They who are *not* written in the Lamb’s book of life, are described as *οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὧν οὐ γέγραπται τὰ ὀνόματα*—“they that dwell on the earth whose names were not written” (Rev. xvii. 8).

In all these passages there is a marked antithesis between the Jew and the Gentile—a distinction evident to the simplest comprehension. The Jew is described by that title which belongs to him alone, which he generally occupies in the Apocalypse, and which is never used in this book in any other sense but as defining that peculiar people, who were separate from the Gentile world. The heathen, on the other hand, are appropriately distinguished by the name by which the Jew ever recognized them—the one the *οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*, the other—the *ἔθνη καὶ γλῶσσαι καὶ λαοὶ καὶ φυλαί*.

The same argument may be drawn from the consideration of those texts in which the expression “the kings of the earth,” *οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς*, occurs in contradistinction to other clauses which serve to define and particularize its meaning. And here again I should wish to take it for granted that the woes of the Apocalypse descend upon the *Βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς*, as well as upon the *οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*. This will not require any elaborate proof. Under the sixth seal the kings of the earth, and the great men hide themselves from the approaching vengeance, calling upon the mountains and rocks, almost in the identical language predicted by our Lord, “Fall on us and hide us from the face of him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb” (Rev. vi. 16). At the destruction of great Babylon the kings of the earth “bewail and lament for her when they see the smoke of her burning” (Rev. xviii. 9).

It will then hardly be denied that the woes of the Apocalypse come on princes and lords, who are called kings of the earth, as well as upon the inhabitants of the earth. But who are the kings of the earth? They are not the kings of the Gentile world, or they would be called *οἱ βασιλεῖς τῶν ἐθνῶν*” (Luke xxii. 25), and not *οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς*. They are not *οἱ δέκα βασιλεῖς τοῦ θηρίου* (Rev. xvii. 12), for these are *not* called *οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς*; nay, it is said of these ten kings that they shall hate the whore *ἣ ἔχουσα βασιλείαν ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλέων τῆς γῆς*. It would be impossible for them to hate and destroy the whore which reigneth over the kings of the earth, and be themselves the kings of the earth.

Is there then any clue by which we may discover who are meant by the kings of the earth? In Rev. xvi. 12—14, they are mentioned in opposition to the kings of the East, *Βασιλεῖς τῶν ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν ἡλίου*,

and the kings of the whole world, *Βασιλεῖς τῆς οἰκουμένης ὅλης*. This is a very remarkable distinction. They are the princes of a particular land which maintained a separation from every other country, which held itself aloof from the *οἰκουμένη ὅλη* of imperial Rome—and the *ἀνατολικοὶ τόποι, τοῦτ' ἐστὶν οἱ περὶ τὴν Ἀραβίαν*, (S. Clement, Epist. i. ad Cor. 25) of Eastern nations. This, in the uniform language of history and Scripture, can only be Judæa. We may add to this that Clement, Epist. i., 12, calls the king of Jericho *ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς γῆς*—and that Acts iv. 26, the rulers of Judæa are styled “the kings of the earth.”

The same distinction is observable in Rev. xviii. 3. “For all nations, *ἔθνη*, have drunk of the wine of the wrath of her fornication, and the kings of the earth, *τῆς γῆς*, have committed fornication with her.” So also Rev. xxi. 24, “And the nations, *ἔθνη*, of them that are saved shall walk in the light of it, and the kings of the earth, *τῆς γῆς*, do bring their glory and honour into it.”

It is most evident that the writer of the Apocalypse (a book everywhere abounding with the most forcible and magnificent contradistinctions and appositions) intended by these striking points of contrast to define and to determine the princes of that particular land, which ever vaunted its superiority in point of privilege above the heathen world.

The same argument, which however I shall not now pursue, is applicable to the expression, “the merchants of the earth”—*ἐμποροὶ τῆς γῆς*—as contrasted with “all nations” *πάντα τὰ ἔθνη* (Rev. xviii. 3, 23).

I may now take it for granted, that the woes of the Apocalypse descend upon a particular city, as well as upon the inhabitants and princes of a particular land.

And now comes the *vezata questio*. What is this great city? If the preceding line of argument be correct, one answer only can be given. It is “that great city which reigneth over the kings of the earth,” *ἡ ἔχουσα βασιλείαν ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλέων τῆς γῆς*. If they that dwell on the earth, as opposed to the heathen, can only be the Jewish people—if the kings of the earth, as distinct from the kings of the East, and of the whole world, can only be the princes of Judæa, then the great city which reigneth over the kings of the earth can only be Jerusalem. The limits of this paper will not allow me to explain the apparent difficulty of the seven mountains on which the woman sitteth; that has been elsewhere done. But I revert to the chain of argument hitherto pursued, and maintain that in order to be consistent, no other view can be taken of that great city but the one proposed.

It will be satisfactory to find that the same argument which we have as yet employed, is applicable to our present position, and that the city which is the object of the woes of the Apocalypse, is ever held distinct from the cities of the heathen, Rev. xvi. 19: the city is contrasted with the cities of the nations. “And the great city was divided into three parts, and the cities of the nations, *ἐθνῶν*, fell—and great Babylon came in remembrance before God.”

Nothing can be more evident than that a marked contrast is here intended to be kept up between the great city which came in remembrance before God, and the cities of the nations—*ἔθνη*.

Rev. xii. 2. "The Holy city, shall they (the Gentiles ἔθνη) tread under foot." Τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἁγίαν πατήσουσι—or according to St. Luke xxi. 24. Ἱερουσαλήμ ἔσται πατουμένη ὑπὸ ἐθνῶν. The distinction drawn between the Gentiles who should tread down "the holy city," (compare Matt. iv. 5, 27, 53; Josephus, lib. vii., cap. 8), and that city which alone could claim this unique title of separation is so plain, that there hardly seemed a necessity for the author of the Apocalypse to render his meaning still more intelligible by defining that holy city as "the great city where also our Lord was crucified" (Rev. xi. 8).

The argument then resolves itself into this—*Either the woes of the Apocalypse have fallen upon this particular people, princes, and city, or they have yet to fall upon this particular people, princes, and city.*

For it cannot be too strongly stated, that the terrific symbols of the Apocalypse do not fall upon the dwellers on the whole earth, οἰκουμένη—upon the princes and merchants of the Gentiles, ἔθνη, or upon more than one city, and that not a city of the nations, ἔθνη, but a city having dominion over the "kings of the earth," which is continually brought before us throughout the book as the object of God's terrible vengeance, until at last the winepress of the wrath of God is trodden "*without the city*," and her plagues come in one day, death and mourning, and famine, and she shall be utterly burnt with fire, for strong is the Lord God who judgeth her." From the beginning to the end of this mysterious volume, one only people are the subjects of vengeance, and no vengeance is denounced on any other. One only city comes into remembrance before God; the princes and merchants of one only land experience the vengeance of the Almighty, and these from first to last are put into distinct contrast with the rest of mankind. Let me then repeat, as it seems to me, the inevitable conclusion to which a candid and critical examination of the subject must lead, *either the woes of the Apocalypse have fallen, or have yet to fall upon this race which asserted separation from the whole world besides.*

It will give me no trouble to shew that they have so fallen. I answer at once in the words of St. Barnabas, Epist. xvi., "Γίνεται." "Καὶ ἐγένετο καθ' ὃ ἐλάλησε Κύριος—"So it is," "and it hath come to pass as the Lord hath spoken." This is so certain, that nothing more need be said. It will not be so easy to shew that the woes of the Apocalypse have yet to fall upon the Jewish people.

According to popular theories, the kings of the East, transformed into the people of the Jews, although the Jews never considered or spoke of themselves as the people of the East, are to be gathered into their own land. Jewish millionaires are to repurchase Palestine. Jerusalem is to be rebuilt with a splendour hitherto unequalled. Christ is to come and reign on an earthly throne—Christianity is to go back into Judaism, instead of Judaism being transfused into Christianity. And the Jews, aided, I suppose, by that Society which espouses the cause of their restoration, are to be the authors of the complete conversion of the human race. All I can say is, if that Society should accomplish its ostensible mission of rebuilding the temple and restoring the Holy City, in defiance of the plain and positive statements of God's Holy Word to the contrary, I should consider it as likely that Exeter Hall would be destroyed by heaven-sent combus-

tion as that fire should have burst from the earth, destroying those who endeavoured to carry Julian's unholy project into execution. But supposing their object gained, and Palestine restored—*what becomes of the woes of the Apocalypse.* In that case, we must suppose that the language of this book, not one word of which was to be taken from, or added to, was ironical. We must reverse the dirge of this book of blood, into the *Te Deum* of thrilling victory—we must say Peace, peace, peace, and not “Woe, woe, woe, to the inhabitants of the earth.” True, some commentators would have us shift the burden of these sorrows—would have us believe that volcanic agency exists in the Italian peninsula for the sole purpose of the desolation of the Seven-hilled City. I wonder for what purpose volcanoes exist in Sicily, Hecla, South America, and elsewhere. But unfortunately for their system, not one woe of the Apocalypse is said to descend upon the kindreds and tongues, and people and nations, but only upon them that dwell on the earth, the princes of the earth, and the great city “which reigneth over the kings of the earth,” and the mother of the “abominations of the earth.” It will require the logic of a Whately to shew that Rome is the city distinct from the cities of the Gentiles—or that Roman Catholics, generally, are “they that dwell on the earth,” as contrasted with the rest of mankind.

But not to pursue this chain of thought further, although it opens an almost boundless field for exposing the difficulties which beset modern systems of Apocalyptic interpretation, I sum up in a few words the one argument for the Neronic date, as gathered from the internal evidence of the book itself, which I have endeavoured to establish. I shall hope that it may be considered proved, that the woes of the Apocalypse descend upon a particular people, princes, and city, that this particular people, princes, and city, are contrasted with heathen nations, heathen princes, and heathen cities. That one only people, rulers, and city, claimed this isolated and peculiar position, and this people, dynasty, and city, were the people, dynasty, and city of Judæa.

That the whole argument may fairly be resolved into this—that either the woes of the Apocalypse have fallen, or have yet to fall upon this particular people, princes, and city. That there is evidence, complete and satisfactory, that the woes of the Apocalypse have fallen upon this land, princes, and city—that there is not evidence to justify the expectation that they have yet to fall upon this particular people, princes, and city—inasmuch as the people are no more a people, and the city no more the Holy City of God; and that even on the supposition that the Holy City and people should be once more restored, the whole foundation of such restoration proceeds on the principle, *not* of their being subject to such woes as are predicted in the Apocalypse, but of their being once more the favoured people of God, their city once more the joy of the whole earth. and the Saviour whom they once rejected in their obstinacy, proclaiming from Zion his universal law, and the throne of the new and earthly Jerusalem, filled by him who is “King of Kings, and Lord of Lords.”

Believe me, dear Sir, yours faithfully,

*Wolverhampton, Feb. 22.*

P. S. D.

## NOTICES OF BOOKS.

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*The Greek Testament; with a Critically Revised Text; a Digest of various Readings; Marginal References to Verbal and Idiomatic Usage; Prolegomena; and a Critical and Exegetical Commentary.* For the use of Theological Students and Ministers. By HENRY ALFORD, B.D. In three Volumes. Vol. II., containing the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles to the Romans and Corinthians. Second Edition. London: Rivingtons, 1855. 8vo. Pp. 694.

It is a very promising circumstance that an elaborate and expensive work like this should be so received as that a second edition should be asked for. The reprint of the first volume has been published some time, and that of the second has just appeared. We have before expressed our opinion of the whole work, as far as completed, and cannot, therefore, be expected to enter on the subject at any length. But, since our former notices appeared, we have used Mr. Alford's Greek Testament in our daily reading, and have found reason more and more to admire it. There is a freshness about it, and a freedom from mere class prejudices which we love to meet with, and which ought to characterize all theological students. We know that these qualities will form no recommendation to some minds, but this will not shake our deep conviction of their real value.

But there is one feature of the work which, as far as we remember, has not received attention from the critical reviewers—we mean the “Marginal References to Verbal and Idiomatic Usage.” The references in the margin are very numerous, but we doubt whether their true purpose has been understood. They have probably been looked upon as similar to the references by which most editions of the Bible are more or less accompanied, and thus passed over with but little notice. But, in the case of Mr. Alford, this portion of his undertaking is exceedingly valuable, and is the result of a vast amount of labour. Every reference relates to the Greek text, and is really illustrative of style and construction. We trust this part of the work will not be neglected, and, on this account, draw the attention of our readers to it.

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*The Apocalypse Fulfilled; or, an Answer to “Apocalyptic Sketches” by Dr. Cumming.* By the Rev. P. S. DESPREZ, B.D., Evening Lecturer of the Collegiate Church, Wolverhampton. London: Longmans, 1854. 12mo. Pp. 528.

UNHEALTHY action leads to counter-action, both in physics and in morals, and by this law of nature some degree of healthfulness is maintained in both spheres. But, in the latter, there is danger of going to

extremes, and, while avoiding a morbid and sluggish state of things, to run into wildness and excess. In no department is this so likely to take place as in that to which the work before us refers, since in no other, probably, has such egregious folly been committed. Leaving the beaten paths of Christian doctrine and duty, men have occupied themselves and their readers and congregations in reveries respecting the future. This would be bad enough if such themes rested only on mere opinion, but, unfortunately, they are based by those who give utterance to them on the Word of God. There is reason to fear that thousands of persons are deluded into the idea that they are being edified and advanced in their Christian career, who are listening to mere fables; and those whom the certainty of death and judgment cannot arouse to religious zeal, are quickened into an artificial life (like a corpse subjected to Voltaic action) by expositions of the Apocalypse.

Mr. Desprez has been aroused by this unhealthy state of things to pour contempt on Apocalyptic conjectures, and to endeavour to establish a theory which, if true, must dissipate them at once. As a tangible object of attack he has chosen to break a lance with Dr. Cumming, and perhaps, in all the circumstances, he could have done no better. That popular divine has uttered as many crudities, both on the Revelation and other parts of Scripture, as, perhaps, any one man ever did, and yet continues (doubtless on that account) to enjoy popular favour. We confess we should not like to write many pages to expose Dr. Cumming's fallacies, because we think them far below any serious critical notice, and we could only be led to such a course in the hope of enlightening the public mind to his doctrinal and interpretative errors. But Mr. Desprez has thought differently, and attacks his selected opponent with an energy which makes us wish he had a more weighty adversary. We had intended to discuss his volume at greater length than we find it at all possible to give to it; but our regret at this is lessened by the fact that, in the Correspondence of this number of the Journal, the author enters at large on the subject which is the turning-point of his book, "the Neronian Date of the Apocalypse." We hope that paper may call forth some useful controversy. We will give a long extract from Mr. Desprez's preface, which will afford a better view of his object than any observations of our own.

"In the course of pastoral teaching I fixed upon the subject of the latter chapters of the Revelation of St. John. I had never previously studied the Book; I had read it through a hundred times, and put it down again in despair. With a view of mastering its difficulties, I obtained the *Horæ Apocalyptice* of Mr. Elliott, and the *Apocalyptic Sketches* of Dr. Cumming. After a careful perusal of these volumes, I found I had not made much progress in the science of Hermeneutics, and that these names, great as they are, 'in conference added nothing unto me.'

"The Book was unintelligible enough before; now it became a mystery of enigmatical confusion. Interpretations far more wonderful than the problems they attempted to solve, and expositions of a more marvellous character than the symbols of the sacred text, presented themselves in every page. I read, to my unlimited astonishment, of tails of scorpions converted into horse-tail standards of Turkish Pachas, and fire out of horses' mouths metamorphosed into cannon battering down the walls of Constantinople. I read of the dragon, whom St. John defines as 'that old serpent

called the Devil and Satan,' transmuted into heathen Rome, and of his casting out of his mouth an eruption of Visigoths, Vandals, and Huns, into Italy, *all of whom were Arians!!!*

"I learnt, to my amazement, that the earth opening her mouth and swallowing up the flood emitted by the dragon, prefigured the swallowing up of these heterodox Arians into the orthodox Trinitarian population of Italy.

"I stood aghast at the omnipotence of the magic wand, which could with a touch change a mighty angel into our Lord Jesus Christ, and then with another touch could transform the Saviour into Pope Leo X. I felt the subject to be wholly out of the reach of my limited perception, which could resolve the mighty voice of the angel into the roaring of Pope Leo X. against Luther, and the seven thunders into the thunders of the Vatican. I found, to my great surprise, that the image of the beast meant general councils; and the power to give life to the image of the beast prefigured the right of the clergy to vote at those councils. I found,—what did I not find that did not savour of the apocryphal and the marvellous?—I found that no limit would be put to my credulity, and that at last I was required to believe that a certain hail-storm which injured *parts of France*, on Sunday, July 13, 1788, was foretold in the Apocalypse, and that a little frog called the Tractarian heresy had been heard by St. John to croak all the way from the church of St. Barnabas to Patmos, at a distance of nearly 2000 years!

"Now this was really too much. It would require an opening of the earth, such as that which swallowed up the heterodox Arians into the Trinitarian population of Italy, to believe it all; and it occurred to me (and I hope I may say so without presumption, although Dr. Cumming affirms he has never yet read anything to make him dissatisfied with the correctness of his interpretations), that the exposition of the Apocalypse might not be finally settled, and that there might be room for another attempt.

"Accordingly I resolved to use my Protestant privilege of searching the Scriptures for myself, and with the help of the Commentary of the learned American expositor Moses Stuart, and the aid of those Jewish, Heathen, and Christian writers who lived nearest to those days, I plunged into the Book, of which Dr. South said, "It either finds a man mad or makes him so."

"The principle upon which I have conducted this investigation is founded on that most clear, universally expressed, and Scriptural truth, that our Lord came, *as he said*, to destroy Jerusalem, and to close the dispensation. No doctrine of Christianity stands on more ample evidence, and none is capable of more complete and definite proof. The reason why it is not more generally insisted upon, is, that we are accustomed to look at the destruction of Jerusalem, and the close of the Jewish dispensation, in the same light as the destruction of any other city and people. This is a false point of view. That awful consummation was the grandest event, both in its nature and in its consequences, which has rolled along the stream of time. It was the breaking up, not of a dynasty, but of a dispensation; not of a city and nation, but of a religion—a religion established by God himself, and which for 2000 years was the only religion vouchsafed to man.

"As a sequence to this indisputable fact follows the gathering of the elect at the same period. The two events are inseparably connected together in Holy Scripture. If our Lord came, *as he said*, before that generation had passed away,—if he came, *as he said*, to destroy that city and people, and to close the age,—if he came, *as he said*, before his disciples had gone through the cities of Israel, and if some who heard his words did not taste of death till they saw the 'Son of Man coming in his kingdom,'—then he also gathered his elect at the same time. There is no alternative; this must either be true, or the Bible must be false. That he did so come is proved to a demonstration by his effecting the objects for which he came: that he also gathered his elect (although the subject is necessarily incapable of the same kind of proof) is the natural consequence, and the deducible corollary from the coming of the Son of Man."

*The History of the Papacy, to the Period of the Reformation.* By the Rev. J. E. RIDDLE, M.A., Minister of St. Philip and St. James, Leckhampton. In two Volumes. London: Bentley, 1854. 8vo. Pp. 848.

It is an important feature in the writing of Church history at the present day, that authors do not aim at completeness in the sense of discussing the whole subject. That plan may do for a mere outline of facts and principles, but is incompatible, generally, with an enlarged and philosophical view. In no department of thought is the division of labour more needed than in this, and the more its necessity is recognized the greater and more rapid will be our advance in our historical knowledge of the Church. Let us apply this observation to the work before us. Popularly, the Papacy is the whole of Christianity, a few centuries at each end of the Christian era excepted. The Primitive Church, Popery, and Protestantism, form in ordinary minds the external divisions of Christianity. Yet, nothing can be more untrue than this, and nothing more fatal to anything like a correct idea of what Christianity has been and now is. Mr. Riddle has taken the Papacy from the vast area of the ecclesiastical domain and subjected it to a separate and independent discussion. Apart from the interest which may attach to the way in which his task is executed, there is this collateral benefit derivable from it, that it gives some conception of the totality of Christianity, and shews that Popery has not overshadowed the whole. Dean Milman has conferred the like service in the volumes we recently reviewed in the Journal, but his plan is far more diffuse than Mr. Riddle's. The latter gentleman has consulted more the wants of students, and provided a useful manual for their use. To use his own words:—

“It has been my design to furnish a history, not of the Church or of Christianity at large, but simply of the Church of Rome considered as aspiring to and obtaining pre-eminence and power,—not of the doctrines or corruptions of that Church, but of its political constitution and position, and of its tenets only so far as employed in obtaining or preserving social influence. In one word, I have endeavoured to give a plain, but sufficient, account of those events and circumstances which, under Divine permission, contributed to place or maintain ecclesiastical Rome in the position which she occupied with relation to European society and governments, during the growth of her power, and at the period of its height.

“For this purpose I have availed myself chiefly of the labours of two German historians,—Schröck (J. M. Schröck, *Christliche Kirchengeschichte*, 45 vols., 8vo.), and Planck (G. J. Planck, *Geschichte der Christlich-Kirchlichen Gesellschafts-Verfassung; Geschichte Papstthums*, 6 vols., 12mo.),—whose histories, so far as they relate to the subject in hand, I have condensed and transfused into the following pages. Distinguished by learning and laborious research no less than by acumen and candour, these valuable works, although well known to ecclesiastical scholars, are beyond the reach of ordinary English readers, partly on account of their voluminous bulk, and partly because they have not been translated into our language. A mere translation of these books would have been an unpromising task, if not altogether useless; but I trust that by the use to which I have applied them,—and by the occasional employment of the sources to which the writers of these works have referred, together with the incorporation of new and additional matter,—I have made at least some effectual contribution to a branch of historical knowledge which, at all times of high value, possesses in the present day a peculiar importance, and demands our most earnest attention.”



The task thus set has been calmly and judiciously performed. Mr. Riddle's mind has fitted him to provide a work which will enable the reader to grasp the subject, and without being unduly biased, to form his own conclusions. We should like to see these volumes adopted as a text-book on the subject in colleges and theological schools, since they would give a far better view of the principal facts of Church history in Europe, than the works which embrace the whole of the Christian field. The character of the author's style and of his opinions may be gathered from the following passages, extracted from the close of the second volume :—

"The temporal princes felt it to be to their interest that the power of the Pope should not be brought too low, since they had often found it useful to deal with the Church in their several countries through its sovereign head; as when the Pope granted them tenths of the whole ecclesiastical revenues of their realms, which otherwise they would not have been able so easily to levy. And many of them, especially the lesser princes of Germany and Italy, had also found it more easy to obtain bishoprics and abbeys for their younger sons and other members of their families as a grant from Popes than by way of election from the chapters. There is no room for doubt that the princes of that age were influenced by considerations such as these.

"Besides this, it is to be remembered that all these abuses were, either in fact or in appearance, connected with some real or fancied good, and that they often appeared in the light of necessary evils, or as the lesser of two evils. Thus, annates were supposed to be necessary, in order to maintain the necessarily large expenses of the papal court. If judicial proceedings at Rome were troublesome and expensive, still it was considered a good thing that such an ultimate court of appeal should exist; and the courts of law in the several countries of Europe were also expensive and corrupt, especially the ecclesiastical courts of bishops and metropolitans. Even the system of papal provisions and reservations was not unattended with its own advantages. Often, perhaps for the most part, benefices did not fall into worse hands in the Roman market, than those into which they would have come if this patronage had been more regularly exercised at home; and sometimes the court of Rome made use of its power to reward merit, and to promote suitable and worthy men. The chapters, it should be borne in mind, were close corporations, usually in the hands of the aristocracy; and all their ecclesiastical patronage, if undisturbed, would soon have come to be regarded as the patrimony of a few great families: but by the strangers introduced from Rome this bond of family aristocracy was, in a great measure, broken,—men of talent and reputation were brought into these select circles, who would otherwise never have found their way into them,—and thus an aristocracy of learning was at all events made to mingle with the aristocracy of rank. So that the papal interference was thus felt to serve in many cases as a valuable corrective.

"Hence it was not so much against the papal supremacy itself as against the abuses connected with the administration of that supremacy that the efforts of reformers in this age were directed. But, as long as this supremacy was conceded, the Popes could always find means of administering it according to their will; and therefore it was found possible on their part even to annul the whole work of the Council of Basle. It was necessary that reform should be effected in quite another way.

"The dawn of a real reformation, however, had begun. Wycliffe and Hus, although themselves not fully aware of the worst grievances of the Church and the way to procure redress, were yet the forerunners of Luther. Respect to the rights of individual conscience, and regard to the supreme authority of the word of God in matters of Christian faith and practice, soon led to an extensive discovery and explosion of the gross superstitions and errors upon which the papacy had been founded; and, by God's blessing, the Church was, in great measure, rescued from the bondage of Rome and restored to the liberty of the Gospel."

*Psychology and Theology: or, Psychology applied to the Investigation of Questions relating to Religion, Natural Theology, and Revelation.*  
By RICHARD ALLIOTT, LL.D., Professor of Theology and Mental Philosophy, Western College, Plymouth. London: Jackson and Walford, 1855. 8vo. Pp. 364.

THIS work is the "Congregational Lecture" for 1854—the last published of a series which will always remain a monument of the piety and learning of the Nonconformists of the nineteenth century. Fifteen volumes have appeared before, and they lose nothing of their excellent character as they accumulate. With few exceptions they are Catholic productions, aiming more at the benefit of Christianity than the influence of a particular society, and, on this account, among others, we are pleased to speak well of them.

The design of Dr. Alliott is to point out the relation of Psychology, the science of mind, to investigations respecting religion, natural theology, and revelation. Questions relating to religion are first discussed, two being selected, viz., Whether religion is the offspring of a distinct mental faculty? and, Whether the will be a self-determining power? In natural theology the author enquires, What is our idea of God, how it is gained, and what proof we have of the objective reality of His existence? In reference to Christianity, the author says:—"I have asked whether supernatural communications from God are possible; whether such communications are necessarily restricted, either as to their subject-matter, or the mode in which they may be made; what evidence will suffice to prove that a supernatural communication is from God, and therefore authoritative; and whether we have such evidence of the Divine origin of Christianity." After this, the questions are investigated, whether, on the supposition that Christianity is of God, the New Testament gives us a fallible or an infallible representation of it; and whether, if infallible, it is necessarily without any admixture of what is merely human? It will be seen that these are noble and important subjects of thought, and Dr. Alliott has brought a competent mind to their elucidation. We hope our readers will study the work for themselves, and they will find it highly profitable. We turned with great interest to the last question discussed, and will conclude our notice by giving an extract in reference to it:—

"I cannot leave the topic of verbal inspiration without noticing the phraseology used to designate it by those who hold that inspiration consists in the elevation of the intuitional power. The theory of verbal inspiration they call '*Mechanical*,' because it reduces, they say, the writers to mere tools or instruments; and they name their own theory '*Dynamical*,' because it supposes inspiration to give to the mind extraordinary power and susceptibility.

"But let me ask whether, when the term '*Mechanical*' is used, in distinction from '*Dynamical*,' it is meant to denote that no communication was made to the understanding of the party, and that his mind was therefore necessarily unbenefitted; for if so, the term '*Mechanical*' is not necessarily applicable to the theory of verbal inspiration. Verbal inspiration is possible, even if all inspiration is supposed impossible in which no intelligible communication is made to the mind of the prophet, and therefore no communication but what would have some dynamical influence on his mind. Hence,

verbal inspiration appears to me to be incorrectly regarded as *in its own nature* mechanical and non-dynamical. I admit that there may be cases in which verbal inspiration may convey a message which the prophet does not understand. It is said, indeed, that such verbal inspiration is no inspiration at all; but this is merely said on the authority of a definition, which, as we have shewn, erroneously confines inspiration to the elevation of the intuitional faculty. That instances have actually occurred, is evident from the history of prophetic inspiration. Thus Daniel had a communication, of which he himself testifies, 'I heard, but I understood not:' and the Old Testament prophets generally had communications, of the meaning of which they had but a very imperfect notion. 'They searched,' we are told, 'what and what manner of time the Spirit of Christ which was in them did signify, when it testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ, and the glory that should follow; but to them it was revealed that *not unto themselves*, but unto us (*who live in New Testament times*), they did minister the things which are now reported unto us by them that have preached the gospel unto us, with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven.' In all cases such as these, it is evident that either verbal inspiration, or the symbolical language of vision, is essentially necessary. At the same time, there may be cases of verbal inspiration when the prophet does understand, and if so, the term '*Mechanical*' is inappropriately applied to the theory which makes *all* inspiration verbal, provided at least the term is meant to denote a species of inspiration which does not reach the intelligence of the party.

"I have another objection. The advocates of what is called 'The Dynamical Theory' use phraseology which implies that the *Mechanical and Dynamical* include every theory of inspiration. If, however, the term '*Dynamical*' is confined, as the parties referred to confine it, to the inspiration which elevates the intuitional faculty, and the term '*Mechanical*' to verbal inspiration, every conceivable mode of inspiration is not included, for we have shewn an inspiration to be possible which makes a communication to the intellect, independently both of intuition and of language, and such an inspiration would come under neither category. If, indeed, every supernatural communication made in any way except through the medium of intuition is called '*mechanical*,' without it being intended to be implied that the prophet is necessarily an unintelligent instrument, we should, in such a case, whilst we might regard the word '*mechanical*' as ill-chosen, have no dispute, except about the name. But if by the term '*mechanical*,' when applied to the inspiration of a prophet, is meant that he is used as a mere machine, I deny that these are the only two modes of inspiration: the prophets are not treated as machines, but as intelligent beings, if they are commissioned to make known to others truths which have been first imparted to their own intelligence, although the communications may have been made to them in some other way than by a presentation to their intuitional faculty. Especially is it untrue that they are treated as mere machines if, the communication having been made to their intelligence, they are left to impart it to others in their own language.

"We come, then, to the following conclusions with regard to the apostolic writings of the New Testament:—First, that they are written by inspired men, that is, men who have received supernatural communications from God in regard to Christ and Christianity.—Secondly, that the men by whom they were written have not corrupted the communications so received by any additions, inventions, or conjectures of their own.—Thirdly, that this does not imply that they have written nothing of their own, provided that it is extraneous to Christian teaching, therefore out of the limit of their claim to inspiration, and hence could not be mistaken for the teaching of God without wilful inattention; nor does it imply that they have not clothed Divine revelations in their own language, and divinely-suggested arguments in their own forms of reasoning."

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*The Ethics of the Sabbath* By DAVID PIRRET. Edinburgh: Constable and Co., 1855. 12mo. Pp. 250.

THIS is a novel treatment of an old subject. What the author attempts is best stated in the terms of the contents prefixed to the volume:—The

worship of God demands the *appropriation of time*; it demands the appropriation of a *set time*; it demands the appropriation of a *whole day*; it demands *from us* the appropriation of a *seventh day*; it demands the appropriation of the *first day of the week*. This seems a very artificial arrangement, and how all the positions are to be proved "from the dictates of conscience, and not from the statements of Scripture, or the results of experience," will puzzle our readers. We will not explain the mystery, but merely say, that the book is the production of a very thoughtful mind, and that the author says, in the preface, "The position that Government has no *right* to open on the Sabbath such places of recreation as the Crystal Palace, I hold to be conclusively established."

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*Question of the Supposed Lost Tribes of Israel. A Paper read before Section E. of the British Association, at Liverpool, the 26th Sept. 1854. To which are added Two Appendices, I. On the Six Days of the Creation. II. On the Chronology of the World.* By JAMES KENNEDY, Esq., LL.B., late Her Majesty's Judge in the Mixed Court at Havana. London: Arthur Hall, Virtue & Co., 1855. 8vo. Pp. 60.

THE side of the question maintained by Mr Kennedy will appear best from his own words:—

"For an illusion commonly received without any reason or authority in its favour, and to which I am not aware of any direct answer having been given, namely, the supposed loss of the Ten Tribes of Israel, consequent upon their subjugation by the Assyrians, I now venture to request your attention.

"The variety of theories which have been promulgated on the supposition of the loss of those ten tribes, and the numerous works which have been published on the subject, and continue to be published even up to the present time, shew how great has been the interest felt regarding their fate, such as to warrant a fuller consideration of it than has been hitherto given; while in the diversity of opinions held respecting it, we cannot but perceive the advisability of passing by all those opinions as mere assumptions, and of endeavouring to ascertain at their original sources the elucidation of their true history."

He first gives a comprehensive and historical account of this opinion both in ancient and modern times. He then says that the whole groundwork and authority for this theory is found in 2 Esdras, chapter xiii. This authority he shews to be not trustworthy, even if more than a vision is recorded by the apochryphal writer. He then examines and explains the passages of Scripture opposed to the view that the ten tribes were lost and still exist. After a great deal of very learned and close discussion, the writer arrives at the following conclusions, which we leave in the hands of our readers, presuming that they will wish to read the whole treatise. If its positions are true and could be generally believed, they would put to flight a host of unpro-

fitable fancies which have much influence in many quarters of the religious world—

“The conclusions deducible from the foregoing considerations may finally be summed up in the following recapitulation :—

“I. That the numbers of those taken away in the different captivities have been much over-estimated; for that only the principal people were taken as hostages, with the men of war and others most available as slaves.

“II. That the main body of the ten tribes cannot be supposed to have been taken away, but left in their ancient possessions, when they became subjected again to the kings of Judah.

“III. That the only tribes that can be supposed to have been taken away in any considerable body with regard to their relative numbers, were the Reubenites, the Gadites, and the half-tribe of Manasseh, and that of Naphthali, who being located in the open plains on the north and on the east side of the Jordan, were the first and most exposed to the attacks of their enemies; while the other tribes, living in a more hilly country, were not so easily overpowered. The above-named tribes also having lived more contiguous to the heathen, probably yielded most to their customs, and thus when taken away among their conquerors, have become most absorbed amongst them.

“IV. That the greater part of those who had been taken away to Babylon, or their descendants, and the greater part of the descendants of those taken away by the Assyrians returned to their ancient habitations, as it was their advantage to do so, to become free rather than remain bondsmen in a foreign country; though as it is probable that the proportion of males carried away far exceeded that of the females, the descendants of the Assyrian captives might not have amounted to so great a number as that of the captives originally.

“V. That while in Babylonia, Assyria, and other countries of their conquerors, they cannot be supposed to have lived apart by their tribes, as in their native land; so that in the course of the 200 years and upwards which elapsed between their captivity and the first year of Cyrus, those taken away by the Assyrians must have lost all distinction of tribes, and become prepared to form part of that restored nation which obtained the name of Jews from the principal tribe among them.

“VI. That the tribe of Judah having been the most numerous, and their city of Jerusalem the centre round which the Israelites congregated, it follows as a natural consequence, that their name became the prevailing one for their nation, though composed of different tribes; the same as the English and other nations have obtained a national appellation from that of the principal people among them, though in fact originally composed of different races.

“VII. That the amalgamation, or union into one people, of all the Israelites, was in strict accordance with the predictions of the prophets, declared by Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and others; which predictions, all their subsequent history shews to have been then fulfilled.

“VIII. That the remnant of the Israelites left in Babylonia and

Assyria, though smaller in number than that portion of them gathered together in Judæa under the favour of Cyrus and his successors, might yet have increased to an immense multitude in the 6000 years which elapsed between the first restoration and the time of Josephus, as their fathers did in the 430 years of their sojourning in Egypt. But that the descendants of that remnant left beyond the Euphrates cannot properly be considered as representing the ten tribes, and much less to have been the entire body of the ten tribes, as Josephus calls them, *inasmuch* as the principal portion of them had returned to Judæa and become united with that still greater portion of all the tribes which had all along remained in Judæa and the neighbouring districts."

"IX. That in the time of Josephus all distinctions of the other tribes having become lost, except those of Judah, Benjamin, and Levi, he erroneously supposed that they were the only tribes that had returned, and that the other ten tribes all still remained beyond the Euphrates; for that even if the authority of Josephus were higher than it is, and unquestioned in this part of his book, still we have other weightier evidence to the contrary, and the unexceptionable testimony of Scripture.

"X. That in any case the dream of Esdras respecting the ten tribes "having taken counsel among themselves and having gone into a further country where never mankind dwelt," was a mere dream, unsubstantiated by any corroborative consideration whatever, and in fact, as Prideaux says of the eleventh book of Josephus, "contrary to Scripture, to history, and to common sense," with which dream therefore all the theories founded upon it must be classed.

"If the above conclusions, and the arguments upon which they are founded, be correct, it follows that the supposition of their being any people now existing as a separate people representing the ten tribes is a groundless hallucination, unworthy of the times in which it has obtained so extensive a credence."

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*Our Friends in Heaven; or, the Mutual Recognition of the Redeemed in Glory Demonstrated.* By the Rev. J. M. KILLEN, M.A., Comber. Edinburgh: John Shepherd, 1854. 8vo. Pp. 286.

THIS is a work which it would be harsh to criticize unfavourably, even if it might deserve such treatment. But its execution is as good as its design is excellent. The whole subject admits of many philosophic doubts and difficulties, but they are quite insufficient to counterbalance the arguments which convince us that we shall meet again, conscious of our identity and former history, if we die in the Lord. Even the wild Indian is represented by one of our poets as entertaining this view as a principle of natural religion—

"He thinks, admitted to that equal sky,  
His faithful dog shall bear him company."

Much more may such a conviction take possession of hearts full of the hallowed social principles of our holy faith.

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*Ladies of the Reformation. Memoirs of Distinguished Female Characters belonging to the Period of the Reformation in the Sixteenth Century.* By the Rev. JAMES ANDERSON, Author of the "Ladies of the Covenant." Illustrated by J. Goodwin, J. W. Archer, &c. London: Blackie and Son. Small 4to. Pp. 732.

THE events of the Reformation are here grouped around interesting female characters, and will thus have a charm of novelty for those who are well acquainted with their grand outlines. But we have no doubt this volume will, for the first time, bring the facts and characters of that wonderful epoch before a large class of readers. In this point of view we feel it our duty to recommend the volume; although its attractive external form, and the number and value of its illustrations will, no doubt, ensure for it a large circulation.

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*The Editor begs to inform the readers of the Journal, that his removal from Blackburn to London, and severe domestic affliction, have prevented his making the Notices of Books so full as he desired. He hopes in the next number to discharge all arrears in this department. The Index to the last volume will be given at the same time.*

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## INTELLIGENCE,

## BIBLICAL, EDUCATIONAL, LITERARY, AND MISCELLANEOUS.

*Ancient Babylon.*—At the Asiatic Society, on December 2, the Assistant Secretary read a letter which he had just received from Col. Rawlinson, who, at the date of writing, was encamped under the ruins of Ancient Babylon, where he had been engaged in tracing the course of the old river through the ruins, and had succeeded by the aid of bricks and slabs with inscriptions,—all found where they were originally deposited,—in identifying most of the buildings of the city, and in tracing the ancient wall, which gave a circumference pretty nearly agreeing with what we have received from Greek information. The terrific heat (110° in the tent) had, however, stopped all out door work, and the Colonel had passed the time in his tent in making a literal translation of the great slab found on the Euphrates, brought home by Sir Harford Jones in 1807, and deposited in the East India House. He promised to send this translation as soon as completed; and, in the mean time, he transmits an abstract of it,—recording in succession the repairs to the Temple of Bel, repairs to minor temples, the rebuilding of the walls, the introduction of water into the city, the erection of fortifications and outer walls, the adorning of the gates, the building of the new palace (the Kasr), the statement that the work was begun on the new moon of Shalamut, and completed on the 15th day (query, in a subsequent year?) and the formation of the hanging gardens, with *stones like mountains* (not themselves like mountains). The close adherence of Berosus to this statement satisfies Col. Rawlinson that the Chaldean historian must have had this document before him when he drew up the notice of Nebuchadnezzar's works in Babylon, which is handed down to us by Josephus. This is, in fact, an epitome of the inscription in the East India House. In one passage—that of the admission of water from outside into the city, the slab agrees exactly with the ancient Armenian version of the passage published at Venice, the Greek original in that part being hopelessly corrupt. The incredible statement that Nebuchadnezzar completed his palace in fifteen days is justified by the inscription, though it may be understood diversely. The only part of the statement transmitted by Josephus not found in the inscription is that in which Nebuchadnezzar is stated to have made the celebrated hanging gardens for the purpose of pleasing his Median queen, which the Colonel is of opinion Josephus might have mentioned as a probable inference, or with a view to connect Nebuchadnezzar with the Medes. The examination of this document has raised Berosus greatly in the Colonel's opinion as an accurate compiler, and he is consequently induced to accept his chronology without hesitation. The excavations at Birs-i-Nimrūd, which have been on a grand scale, have resulted in nothing of consequence; no inscription—not a cylinder has been found. At Koyunjik fine sculptures are still found, but nothing new in inscriptions. The tablets met with are merely contracts, benefactions or mythological formulæ.—A letter was read from Dr. Hincks, replying to a critique of Col. Rawlinson on some readings of his. The Doctor states that he saw and read a tablet at the British Museum, fully justifying his reading of the name he has attributed to Assur-Nadin, the son of Sennacherib, to which the Colonel objects; but as this is a matter of little moment, he passes on to the remarks of Col. Rawlinson on his attribution to Nabopolassar of another royal name found on tablets and bricks at Babylon,—a name which the Colonel declared to be read Nabonitus, who began to reign 555 B.C. Dr. Hincks, in support of his own opinion, states that the bricks containing the name in question were found at the river side, and that the great in-



scription deposited in the East India House distinctly mentions the works by the river side, completed by himself, as having been begun by his father Nabopolassar. He also says that the final character in the disputed name is interchangeable with one which is also interchangeable with the final character of the name of Nabopolassar, read by him *Yuchur*. On these grounds, he maintains his opinion that the name in question is that of Nabopolassar.

On Jan. 13, the Assistant Secretary read part of a memoir, by Col. Rawlinson, "On the celebrated Mound of Birs-i-Nimrūd, near Babylon." This paper has been sent by the Colonel to the British Museum, and was obligingly communicated by the authorities of that institution to the society. It will be remembered that the Birs-i-Nimrūd is an immense, shapeless mound, nearly 300 feet high, and, where it reaches the plain, from 200 to 400 feet in width—apparently made up of crumbling rubbish, except the summit, which stands out like the fragment of a ruined tower. It has excited much attention on the part of Eastern tourists; and several sketches, taken from various points of view, have been published. The Colonel commences his memoir with a graphic account of the discovery of the purport of this vast mound,—a discovery sought for on a predetermined plan, without which it is probable that his attempt, like the many which have preceded it, would have been fruitless. The plan followed in the research is described in the memoir with minute details. The experience gained in former excavations enabled him to lay down a positive rule to the gentleman who skilfully superintended the work in his absence. He was directed to sink a perpendicular shaft at a point marked, until something should be reached indicating a wall or terrace; and, on reaching such indication, to follow it up horizontally, right and left, until it ended in the angle which he inferred would be found leading off to the other side of the mound. After two months' excavation, the Colonel was summoned to the work by the information that such a wall had been found, and laid bare to the length of near 190 feet; and that it turned off in right angles at each end, to be apparently carried all round the mound, forming a square of about twenty-seven feet in height, surmounted by a platform. He immediately rode to the excavation, examined the spot, where he found the workmen quite discouraged and hopeless, having laboured long and found nothing. He was now, however, well aware of these facts, and at once pointed out the spot near the corner where the bricks should be removed. In half an hour a small hollow was found, from which he immediately directed the head workman to "bring out the commemorative cylinder,"—a command which, to the wonder and bewilderment of the people, was obeyed; and a cylinder, covered with inscriptions, was drawn out from its hiding-place of twenty-four centuries, as fresh as when deposited there by the hands, probably, of Nebuchadnezzar himself! The Colonel added in a note, that the fame of his magical power had flown to Baghdad, and that he was besieged with applications for the loan of his wonderful instrument to be used in the discovery of hidden treasures. At the other exposed corner of the terrace, or wall, another cylinder was found, a duplicate of the former; but the discovery was not made quite so readily, nor, naturally, did it excite so much interest.—The paper was too long to be read entirely; and the whole of the description of the building was reserved for another meeting. It will be sufficient to say now, that it was composed of a series of several square platforms, one over the other, diminishing in diameter as they rose from the ground, each dedicated to one of the planets, and coloured externally with the colours attributed to the seven planets in the works of the Sabæan astrologers, and traditionally handed down from the Chaldeans. The translation of the inscriptions on the cylinders was read. It begins with the name and usual titles of Nebuchadnezzar, and proceeded with a summary of the buildings of Babylon which the king had repaired or erected. It then says that the "Temple of the Planets of the Seven Spheres," which had been built by an early king, 504 years previously (about 1100 B.C.) having become ruinous, owing to a neglect of the drainage, which allowed the rain to penetrate, and the sun-dried bricks causing the outer covering to bulge out, and fall down, the God Merodack had put it into his heart to restore it; that he did

not, however, rebuild the platform, which was unimpaired, but that all the rest was restored by his commands. The inscriptions ends with the usual expression of his aspirations for the eternal duration of his work, and the continuation of his family on the throne for ever.

*Egyptian Inscriptions at Beirût.*—At the Royal Society of Literature, on December 13, the Earl of Carlisle, President, in the chair; Mr. Hogg read a paper, in which he called attention to the assertion of M. de Saulcy, in his recent travels in the Holy Land, to the effect that the celebrated Egyptian inscriptions, at the Nahr-el-Kelb, near Beirût, were forgeries. Mr. Hogg stated that this assertion had been completely contradicted, by another well-known French traveller, the Comte de Bertou, and that, in consequence, M. de Saulcy had addressed a letter to the editor of the *Athenæum Français*, in which he admits the existence of the inscriptions in question, and regrets his previous statement. M. de Bertou mentions the discovery, by himself, at Adloun, of a stèle, which he considers to be one of those referred to by Herodotus (ii., c. 106) commemorative of the march of Sesostris. Mr. Vaux called attention to a discovery, by Mr. Isidore von Löwenstern, of the tomb of the last of the Palæologi, Constantine XIII., in the ruins of the monastery of Pantocrator. Mr. Löwenstern will, at some future period, forward full particulars of this interesting discovery.

*Age of Trees.*—At the Horticultural Society, on February 6, on the walls of the room, were suspended some drawings of the *Wellingtoniana gigantea*, from Mr. Bateman. In one of these, the "great tree" is compared with the west fronts of the Cathedrals of Salisbury (406 feet), St. Paul's (365 feet), St. Peter's at Rome (457 feet), and the Great Pyramid of Egypt (476 feet); and it is shewn that the *Wellingtoniana*, which is 450 feet in height, is nearly as high as the Great Pyramid itself. One immense diagram represented the natural size of the trunk of a young *Wellingtoniana*, cut off at 3 feet above the ground. Another shewed a portion of the wood and bark, with the supposed age of tree, as ascertained by annual rings in its semi-diameter. It is thus set down by the Americans at 3,000 years old; but it was stated that this was doubtless arrived at by erroneous computation, and that 1,120 years (as ascertained by Dr. Torrey, who visited the spot, and took much pains to ascertain the age of the tree) was much nearer the truth.

*Epistle of Baruch.* At the Syro-Egyptian Society, on December 12, the chairman made some remarks upon a paper by Mr. Wedgewood, being "Traces of an Egyptian Origin in the Alphabets of Greece and Rome." Dr. Jolowicz read a translation of the so-called "First Epistle of Baruch" from the Syriac. This is an addition to the so-called pseudo epigraphic or apocryphal books of the Old Testament, and is admitted in the Syrian original and the Parisian and old London polyglotts.

*Bible Pictures.*—We draw the attention of our country readers to an inexpensive series of *Bible Pictures* that seems to be but little known beyond the metropolis. They are drawn on wood by the celebrated German artist, Schnorr, and are far superior to any English series that we know of. The size of each engraving is 10 inches by 8½ inches, and the English price is exactly three-halfpence each; seven parts, each containing 8 plates, are now published, and may be had of Messrs Williams and Norgate.

*Preparing for Publication.*—*Geology; its Facts, and its Fictions, or the Theories of modern Geologists contrasted with the Mosaic record of the Creation and the Flood.* By W. Elfe Tayler, author of *Hippolytus and the Christian Church*, &c., *The Dead Sea*, and *Popery and its Crimes*. Illustrated by many engravings.

Messrs. Sangster and Fletcher propose to issue Professor Pick's *Bible*

*Student's Concordance*, at a cheaper rate. The publication was originally issued by Messrs. Hamilton, Adams, and Co., at £1 15s.; it is now offered at the reduced price of 15s. (carriage free), in one large royal 8vo. volume, most beautifully printed, and bound in cloth; and as there are but few copies remaining, an early application will be necessary, to prevent disappointment.

*Hebrew Art.*—From Lectures on Painting, by Professor Hart, R.A.—Whatever arts the Israelites may have originally possessed, it was obviously the policy of Assyrian and Roman conquests to annihilate. To the pages of Holy Writ we must refer for information on this subject,—although the scattered and incidental notices which they contain only make the task of realization more difficult. Those illustrations which have been furnished by learned Fathers of the Romish Church must be accepted with the reservation due to mere assumption.

It must, however, be recollected, in considering Hebrew art, that the great incentive to art-study was wanting to the Israelite. Forbidden, by Divine command, from employing it on the noblest objects and for the highest purposes, Religion, which in other countries enlisted and almost engrossed the artist's assistance, in Judæa rejected his aid; and thus deprived of its patronage, and excluded from its service, it is not surprising that no school of art should have been formed worthy of a nation which, by its poetry and its music, has established a character for all time.

The knowledge necessary for the production of the tabernacle and its furniture (entrusted to Bezaleel and Aholiab) may be partly ascribed to the influence of types suggested by the court of which they had so long been subjects. Of painting we hear nothing. The embroidered works which are described to us suggest an hypothesis of no great extravagance. Their execution implies a previous design,—the possibility of supplying which is established by the present existence of such pictorial examples as I have already alluded to as having been produced in Egypt three centuries before this time. It is then not too much to assume that they may have called into requisition for their embroidery such coloured designs as were necessary to furnish the worker in blue, purple, scarlet, and fine linen with the patterns for his occupation. Embroidery was an early form of the pictorial expression. Tyre and Babylonia were celebrated for their works of this kind; and although Homer, so explicit in his descriptions of sculptured shields, is silent on painting, he particularly describes the productions of the needle. That early display of chromatic art was, by a curious coincidence, among the latest suggestions and incentives to the production of some of the noblest creations of one of the greatest minds the world ever saw:—you will recollect that the Cartoons of Raphael were designs to be elaborated through the instrumentality of the embroiderer's skill.

That the adequate amount of native talent did not exist when, in the height of Jewish prosperity, it was sought to execute a most important work involving multiform considerations of fine-art character, is made apparent when King Solomon, in seeking to realize the plans which his father transmitted to him for the construction of the temple, found himself necessitated to apply for assistance to a neighbouring monarch. The solicitation itself is an admission made by the Hebrew king, that his native resources, either in material or skill, were inadequate to the importance of his task,—while the reply of Hiram is eloquent of the great degree of refinement to which the several arts had attained among the Phœnicians. The extent of their maritime and commercial enterprise is strikingly made known in that chapter of Ezekiel which predicts the fall of their capital. The Phœnicians are known also to us through the page of more modern history, and could our own coast speak, it would be eloquent of their frequent visits. With their arts, we have no more specific acquaintance.

*Syro-Egyptian.*—February 13th.—John Lee, Esq., LL.D., in the chair. Mr. Ainsworth "On the Izedia, or Devil Worshippers." The author referred to the information collected regarding these peculiar people by different travellers. He

detailed the geographical distribution of the tribes, and remarked that the residence of their spiritual head, as also their chief place of worship and of pilgrimage, and their chief place of burial, are in the neighbourhood of Nineveh. Their villages are distinguished by tombs built in the form of a fluted cone or pyramid, elevated upon a quadrangular base, which rises in steps, like the Assyrian and Babylonian temples. Their walls are sometimes hung with the horns of sheep slain in sacrifice. They venerate and sacrifice at certain springs, like the Assyrians of old, the chief being at Shaikh Adi, close to the holy well of the Assyrians at Bavian. The features of the Izedis have generally a manifest resemblance to those of the Assyrians on the monuments, and, like them, they wear their hair in ringlets. They reverence the Evil Spirit, and invoke Satan, as the chief of the archangels, by the name of Lord. Satan is not, however, with the Izedis, as with the Parsis, a personification of the evil principle, as in Ahriman; nor have they Ormuzd, or the good principle, in opposition. They pay particular homage to the figure of a cock, called Malik Taus, or King Cock. This sacred bird, which resembles the Jynges, or demon-birds of the Assyrians, is supported on a pedestal, like the analogous symbols of a bull's head, ram's head, and cone—the sacred and royal symbols of the Assyrians—sculptured upon the rocks of Bavian, close to where the Malik Taus is so religiously preserved. They also reverence the serpent, the symbol of Hera and Rhea; the lion, a common Assyrian myth; and the axe, the attribute of Baal. They have a temple dedicated to Shaikh Sherus, or "the Sun," to whom, like the Assyrians, they sacrifice oxen or bulls. They bow in adoration before the rising sun, and kiss his first rays when they strike on an object near them. When the holy lamps are lit at their festivals, they pass their hands through the flames, and anoint their eyebrows, or those of their children, or devoutly carry the purified member to their lips. Haji Khalfah describes Shaikh Adi as one of the Mirwanian Khalifs, and says the Yezids were originally Suftis. Assemanni traces the origin of their name to the Persian Yezid—God. Others identify it with Ized, the Evil Spirit; and others again with Ized Ferfer, one of the attendants, according to the Parsis, upon the Evil Spirit. A more commonly received opinion is, that they are descendants of Yezid, the son of Mu'awiyah, and the destroyer of the house of Ali. Colonel Rawlinson and Mr. Layard both observe that the name must be sought for elsewhere, as it was used long before the introduction of Muhammadanism. A date of their own—1550—would countenance an identity between Shaikh Adi and Adde, one of the teachers of the Manichean doctrines. Mr. Layard traces their origin to the Chaldeans of the Lower Euphrates. Dr. Grant believed them to be descendants of the lost ten tribes. Baron Haxthausen thinks that they are Gnostic Christians. Mr. Ainsworth argued that the discovery by Mr. Rouet of the remarkable sculptures at Bavian, close to Shaikh Adi, and of holy symbols analogous to the Malik Taus, as well as the reverence paid to the same demon-bird by the ancient Assyrians, with the other analogies of the reverence of holy springs, in the same neighbourhood; the worship of the sun and fire—the latter introduced among the Assyrians after the time of Zoroaster—the practice of sacrifices; the reverence paid to other Assyrian symbolic animals and objects; and the physical aspect of the people—the men wearing ringlets, the women adorning themselves with the engraved stones and cylinders of the Assyrians of old—and their preserving their chief place of residence close to Nineveh, their most holy place being in actual juxtaposition to the great national sanctuary of the Assyrians; would tend to establish strong presumptive evidence in favour of an Assyrian origin to these remarkable people.

*Period of Human Life.*—M. Flourens, the distinguished French physiologist, and Perpetual Secretary of the Paris Academy of Sciences, has just published a book, in which he announces that the normal period of the life of man is *one hundred years*. The grounds on which he comes to this new philosophic conclusion may be briefly stated. It is, we believe, a fact in natural history, that the length of each animal's life is in exact proportion to the period he is in growing. Buffon was aware of this truth, and his observations led him to con-

clude that the life in different species of animals is six or seven times as long as the period of growth. M. Flourens, from his own observations and those of his predecessors, is of opinion that it may be more safely taken at five times. When Buffon wrote, the precise period at which animals leave off growing, or to speak more correctly, the precise circumstance which indicates that the growth has ceased, was not known. M. Flourens has ascertained that period, and thereon lies his present theory: "It consists," says he, "in the union of the bones to their epiphyses. As long as the bones are not united to their epiphyses the animal grows; as soon as the bones are united to their epiphyses the animal ceases to grow." Now, in man, the union of the bones and the epiphyses takes place, according to M. Flourens, at the age of twenty: and consequently he proclaims that the natural duration of life is five times twenty years. "It is now fifteen years ago," he says, "since I commenced researches into the physiological law of the duration of life, both in man and in some of our domestic animals, and I have arrived at the result that the normal duration of man's life is one century. Yes, a century's life is what Providence meant to give us." Applied to domestic animals M. Flourens' theory has, he tells us, been proved correct. "The union of the bones with the epiphyses," he says, "takes place in the camel at eight years of age, and he lives forty years; in the horse at five years, and he lives twenty-five years; in the ox at four years, and he lives from fifteen to twenty years; in the dog at two years, and he lives from ten to twelve years; and in the lion at four years, and he lives twenty." As a necessary consequence of the prolongation of life to which M. Flourens assures man he is entitled, he modifies very considerably his different ages. "I prolong the duration of infancy," he says, "up to ten years, because it is from nine to ten that the second dentition is terminated. I prolong adolescence up to twenty years, because it is at that age that the development of the bones ceases, and consequently the increase of the body in length. I prolong youth up to the age of forty, because it is only at that age that the increase of the body in bulk terminates. After forty the body does not grow, properly speaking; the augmentation of its volume, which then takes place, is not a veritable organic development, but a simple accumulation of fat. After the growth, or more exactly speaking, the development in length and bulk, has terminated, man enters into what I call the period of invigoration, that is—when all our parts become more complete and firmer, our functions more assured, and the whole organism more perfect. This period lasts to sixty-five or seventy years; and then begins old age, which lasts for thirty years." But though M. Flourens thus lengthens man's days, he warns him, more than once, that the prolongation of them can only be obtained on one rigorous condition, "that of good conduct, of existence always occupied, of labour, of study, of moderation, of sobriety in all things." To those who may be disposed to ask, why it is, that of men destined to live a hundred years so few do so, M. Flourens answers triumphantly—"With our manners, our passions, our torments, man does not die, he kills himself!" and he speaks at great length of Cornaro, of Lessius, and mentions Parr and others, to shew that, by prudence and, above all, *sobriety*, life can easily be extended to a century or more. Such is an outline of M. Flourens' singular argument, and knowing the author's scientific eminence, we doubt not it will be received with respect.

At the *Numismatic Society*, on January 25th, Mr. Evans exhibited a third brass coin of Constantine the Great, bearing a Cufic inscription, which has been stamped across the face of it. Mr. Roach Smith exhibited a denarius of Domitia, which is probably unique. The type is, on the reverse, a temple with no inscription. Mr. J. G. Pfister read a paper on an unedited and unique silver coin (Denarius) of Odoacer, king of Italy, A.D. 476—493, which was struck at Ravenna. The coin was exhibited. At the conclusion of his paper, Mr. Pfister observed that this remarkable coin of Odoacer may be properly regarded as the first in the series of Mediæval coins. Odoacer, having put to death Orestes, and having taken the Emperor Romulus Augustus prisoner, really terminated the Empire of the West A.D. 476, and from this event, the period usually called

the Middle Ages properly begins. Mr. Vaux read a paper communicated by Dr. Bell, giving an interesting account of the discovery, near Lengerich, of a considerable number of Roman gold and silver imperial coins, together with some fibulæ, rings, and armillæ, probably of early German workmanship.

*Mexican Antiquities.*—The Collection of Mexican Antiquities remains still open. Theorists, with knitted brows, walk round the rows of idols and vases, and, to their own satisfaction, trace a clear connexion between the nation of Montezuma and the races of Egypt, India, China, and even Etruria. The last dogmatist has swept all old arguments aside, and boldly asserts, that the original Toltecs were neither Tartars nor the Lost Tribes, but Tyrians, who fled to a new world when Alexander conquered the old. This fancy, ingenious as it is, seems fashioned in imitation of the imaginative philologist, who supposed Cecrops and Cadmus were Philistine chieftains, who, flying from the blows of the followers of Joshua, never ceased running till they passed the Hellespont, and blundered, very much out of breath, into Greece. Certain it is that some of these vases have an Indian, and some an Egyptian character. They shew the existence of that universal snake worship, seen in the attributes of *Æsculapius*, the emblems of *Siva*, the Scandinavian Child of *Loki*, the Roman *Lares*, and, in fact, in the legends of every mythology. The eagle was the national emblem of the Aztec, and the snake of the Toltec, just as the raven of the Dane, and the white horse of the Saxon. To our eyes, these antiquities present no traces of various eras of civilization. All have the same ornament of snakes and turtles, and rude, coarse ribbings, stamped or moulded by hand. The design of the vases, occasionally fanciful, shews generally extreme want of elegance, with one exception, in which the shape is almost Etruscan. There is also one steatite ornament, ornamented with royal portraits, which almost approach the truth and finish of early Greek gems. The only metal tools found are a bronze axe and a copper needle. The sacrificial knives, the arrow-heads, and the blades of the war-axes, were all of black volcanic glass, bound to the shafts and handles. The looking-glasses were round discs of polished metal, wrought with singular care and finish. One of the most interesting objects in the collection is a terra-cotta model of a *Teocalli*, or ancient pyramidal temple,—flat at the top, and divided into several stories, each having its terrace—the lowest story being ascended by a flight of twenty steps. On these huge altars the priests tore out the hearts of Cortez's men, and offered them reeking to their war-god—a dreadful idol, crowned with skulls, humming-birds' feathers and gold ornaments. On these terraces fought, step by step, the white-robed, dusky-visaged Aztecs with the stern harquebussiers that followed Bernal Diaz. Mexico will be a Nineveh to a second Layard, for, we are told, that the whole foundation of the cathedral was formed of broken idols.

*Mariolatry.*—The Pope is about to erect a colossal statue of the Virgin Mary at Rome, in celebration of the triumph of the Immaculate Conception dogma. Three hundred medals are to be struck of virgin Australian gold.

*The New Education Bill.*—Of Lord John Russell's new bill "To promote Education in England," the following is a brief abstract:—The Councils of English boroughs are empowered to submit schemes for the promotion of education in such boroughs (by means either of new or existing schools) to the Education Committee of the Privy Council, with an estimate of the expense thereof. Two-thirds of the members of such Town Councils must be present at the meeting, to be specially summoned for the purpose fourteen days previously. If the scheme be approved by the Education Committee, it may be carried into effect, with or without alterations. The expenses are to be defrayed out of the borough funds, the rate not to exceed 6d. in the pound annually. The act may also be adopted by parishes situate without boroughs, if two-thirds of the rate-payers vote at a public meeting in favour of such adoption. If the scheme be rejected by the rate-payers, it may not be again proposed for the space of three years. Where parishes adopt the act, the scheme may be submitted for approval

to the Education Committee in the same way as by the councils of boroughs; the expenses to be defrayed from the poor-rates. In all schools established under this act, the Holy Scriptures are required "to be read therein," but not so as to be used as a "school lesson book;" and no Roman Catholic or Jewish children will be obliged to be present at the reading of the Holy Scriptures. Another clause provides that the children of Dissenting, Roman Catholic, and Jewish parents, shall not be taught any catechism, nor required to use any liturgy, nor obliged to attend at church, or other religious observances. The management of schools is to be vested in the councils of boroughs and the vestries of parishes, subject to Government inspection, and the rights of trustees or visitors. The Education Committee may at any time revoke any order approving any scheme under this act, and so shut up the school disapproved. The Committee must, at the same time, state its reasons for so doing.

*Universities of Aberdeen.*—An attempt is being made to unite the Two Universities of Aberdeen—King's College and University and Marischal College and University—and on condition that the union shall include the Colleges as well as Universities, Government proposes to introduce or support a bill through Parliament. The two Universities are among the oldest of the educational institutions of Scotland. King's College and University was founded in the year 1500, and opened in 1505; Marischal College and University was founded in 1593. The affairs of the older College are conducted by the *Senatus Academicus*, which consists of the Principal and Professors. From the decisions of this body appeal is competent to the Rectorial Court, which is composed of the Rector and his four assessors, and thence to the Chancellor—the Earl of Aberdeen. The government is of the most exclusive character, and the private endowments are of a very valuable description. Hitherto there has been great difficulty found in getting at a full knowledge of the resources of the College and University, notwithstanding that several Royal Commissions have made this a special subject of inquiry; but enough has been ascertained to warrant the presumption that under an improved system of management they might be greatly enlarged. The foundations of the College are very valuable, and also under the care of the Principal and Professors. There are in all one hundred and thirty-four foundations, or bursaries, whose aggregate annual value is £1,770; eighty-four of the foundations are open to public competition by students from any part of the world. In the University there are nine chairs, five of which are in the Curriculum of Arts, the other four being for Divinity, Medicine, Civil Law, and Oriental Languages. The patrons are the Rector, the Procurator Gentium, and *Senatus Academicus*, with the exception of the Divinity chair, the patronage of which is vested in the Synod of Aberdeen, in the Church of Scotland. The Students in Arts number about two hundred and forty. The College buildings are situate in Old Aberdeen, and about a mile from the Marischal College. The affairs of the younger institution are managed by the *Senatus Academicus*, which consists of the Chancellor, the Rector, the Dean of Faculty, the Principal, and the nine Professors, from whose decision appeal may be taken to the Rectorial Court, which consists of the Rector and four assessors, who are elected annually, on the 1st of March. There is a chair of Natural History in this College, under the patronage of Crown. The chairs of Moral Philosophy and Logic, of Natural Philosophy, Greek, Humanity, in the Curriculum Arts, are also in the gift of the Crown; while the Town Council presents to the Mathematical chair, and the College to most of the others. There are one hundred and fourteen foundations of the annual value of £1,150, seventy of which are open to public competition. The ancient buildings of the University having fallen into decay, a new building has been erected at a cost of nearly £30,000, of which sum, Parliament voted £15,000. In this building there is accommodation for a much larger number of students than attend the College; but the attendance has been increasing, and is larger this season than it has ever been before. Improvements have also been introduced in various departments, and the University has gained a high character of late, which it promises to maintain; there are no students resident in the College, but here, as at Old Aberdeen, the fees

are so low that most students can afford to board with private families in the city. Union of the two bodies would increase the means of education, give a higher value to the degrees, and enrich the Professorial chairs. These latter are at present poor; and one reason strongly urged for the union is, the hope that Parliament will be induced to increase its grants in aid of the Scotch Universities.

*Literature of Piedmont.*—A Milan paper gives a few particulars of the Piedmontese literary and political organs which have their head-quarters at Turin. From this account we learn that there are four regular reviews published in that capital:—*La Ravista Contemporanea*, a journal edited by Signor Chiala, and numbering among its contributors Signors Rosmini, Tommaseo, and Rovere—*La Ravista Enciclopedia Italiana*, though founded by M. Predari and sustained by some of the best writers of Italy, Signors Amari, La Farina, Montanelli, and Mazzoni, has not, we are told, attained the success which its friends expected—*Il Cemento*, a paper devoted to the cause of Italian nationality in the spheres of literature and philosophy, is the organ of the more ardent patriots, and numbers among its editors Signors Spaventa, a disciple of Hegel, Antonio Gallenga, a writer well known in England under his *nom de plume* "L. Marriotti," and Constantino Nigro, a young Italian poet—and *La Ragione*, founded by Signor Antonio Franchi, an organ exclusively devoted to the discussion of high and abstract questions of philosophy. Of these, *La Ravista Contemporanea* alone reaches a sale of 2,000. The other journals amount to eleven. *Il Piemonte* the ministerial organ, which has replaced *Il Parlamento*, sells 2,000. *La Gazzetta del Popolo*, the republican organ, sells 7,000, about double the circulation of all the other journals put together. *L'Opinione*, organ of the moderates, sells 800; the circulation of *L'Armonia*, a clerical paper, is not known; nor is that of *L'Unione*, the journal of Signor Giovini. In neither case is it large. *La Voce della Libertà* is edited by Signors Brofferio and La Cicilia, and has 500 subscribers. *L'Espero* sells 500 copies—*Goffredo Mameli*, 300. Turin has two satirical journals:—*Il Fischietto*, with a sale of 850, and *Il Campanone*, a sort of 'Punch,' supported by and supporting the *parti prête*. *Il Diritto* is written by young men unconnected with the old parties, and has a sale of 500 copies.

*American Students at Oxford.*—It is interesting to inquire how the recent reforms in the English Universities affect the position of students from the United States. A gentleman who has recently been in Oxford, has acquainted us with the result of his inquiries upon the subject. The information which he gives was obtained from an official source of high authority, and may therefore be considered as perfectly reliable. The following are its most important points:—"Henceforward, a student from the United States may matriculate in the University of Oxford without taking any oath whatever, or signing any religious articles. He may also take the degree of Bachelor of Arts, without oaths, subscription, or declaration of any kind, but not the degree of Master of Arts, nor any higher degree. He may take 'Honours' at the several University examinations. All prizes and public scholarships would be open to him, and, in a very few cases, scholarships in particular colleges. Degrees conferred by American Colleges are not recognized at Oxford, the only universities which are recognized at present being Cambridge (England) and Dublin. A Bachelor of Arts from the United States cannot, therefore, be admitted in Oxford *ad eundem*. Cambridge (England) is believed to be identical with Oxford in all these regulations." While we rejoice at the triumph of the liberal party in England, in gaining these and other concessions which are of the highest importance to Dissenters in that country, we do not consider that the recent reforms are likely to affect many students in this country. We believe that those who thoroughly pursue the course marked out in our only two complete Universities at Cambridge and New Haven, and in some of our other institutions, will be as thorough scholars, and have a better education than most of the graduates at Oxford or Cambridge, in England. If an American student goes abroad at all,



he will usually find far more advantages in Germany than in England.—*American Literary Gazette*.

From Cambridge we learn that the Rev. Harvey Goodwin, M.A. of Caius College, has been elected Hulsean lecturer for the year ensuing. The salary is £300 per annum, and the lecturer has to preach and print eight sermons. The office is an annual one, but may be held by the same person six times. The Hulsean prize of £100, for an essay on the Influence of Christianity upon International Law, has been adjudged to Mr. C. M. Kennedy, of Caius College; and the dissertation is to be printed. The Maitland prize of £1,000, bequeathed by Sir Peregrine Maitland, for an essay on some subject connected with the propagation of the Gospel in India and other parts of the heathen world, is this year offered for the best treatise on the Religious History of the Sikhs, considered with especial reference to the Prospects of Christianity in North-western India. Candidates must send in their productions, under certain defined conditions, to the Vice-Chancellor before the division of the Easter Term, 1855. The Rev. Theodore Preston, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, has been appointed Lord Almoner's Professor of Arabic, in the room of the Ven. Archdeacon Robinson, who has resigned the appointment. The stipend attached to it is miserably small—only £40 10s. per annum.

*Religious Statistics.*—At the Statistical Society, December 18th, a paper was read "On the Statistical Position of Religious Bodies in England and Wales," by Horace Mann, Esq. The author founded his observations on the Census Returns of religious worship and education, the substantial correctness of which was maintained in the course of a brief review of the objections which, in some quarters, had been urged against them, on the ground of prejudices hostile to the Church, supposed to have been entertained by the census authorities, and on the ground of exaggeration in their returns, supposed to have been made by the dissenters. Assuming the general accuracy of the Census Tables, the author proceeded to give, as a basis for an estimate of the strength of the different communions statements of the number of churches, chapels, and sittings provided by each body, and of the number of persons who attended the various services on the 30th March, 1851. It was supposed that the total number of individuals who attended once on that Sunday was 7,261,032; of which number 3,773,474 belonged to the Church of England, and 3,487,558 to other communions. But this number, it was argued, applying only to one particular Sunday, could not be taken to represent the total number of persons who were in the habit of attending more or less constantly at public worship; and of any addition to be made on this account, it was considered that the Church should receive the larger portion, inasmuch, as from whatever cause, her adherents were undoubtedly less regular in their attendance than dissenters. Of the considerable number who are constantly absent from public worship, it was thought that no distribution among the different bodies could be properly made by referring to any other signs of their connexion with particular communities. Alluding to the educational returns, it was pointed out that, while the Church of England had fewer Sunday scholars by 497,255 than the dissenters, she had 671,224 more day scholars; and the idea was suggested that it was mainly through the influence of the dissenting Sunday-school that so many of those who passed through Church day-schools were not retained in her communion. It was shewn, however, that the Church was rapidly increasing the number of her Sunday-schools; and that during the last twenty years upwards of 4,700 had been established. A continuance of such efforts, or of others with similar objects, would, it was imagined, when combined with the virtual monopoly of popular day-school education, produce in future years very striking changes in the aspect of religious bodies. The author then referred to the position of the various bodies in different localities, shewing that in fourteen counties (chiefly in Wales) the accommodation furnished by dissenters exceeded that furnished by the Church to the number of 773,352 sittings; but in all the other counties

the Church had a majority, amounting in the aggregate to 1,196,619 sittings. The author concluded by a reference to the rate at which the Church of England was progressing in the matter of church building, and shewed that since 1801 she had built about 2,700 churches, containing about a million of sittings, of which no fewer than 2,194 churches and 836,024 sittings were provided since 1831. During the same interval the dissenters also made a large addition to their accommodation, but the data, it was thought, was not in their case sufficiently certain to determine the precise rate of increase. The paper was illustrated by a large diagram shewing for each of the religious bodies the number of sittings; the attendance morning, afternoon, and evening; the estimated attendance at one or other of the services; the number of Sunday scholars and the number of day scholars. The paper led to a long discussion.

*Expedition to Central Africa.*—It affords no small gratification to announce that, after five years' unceasing and determined efforts, the grand attempt for discovering and laying open Inner Africa, known as the "Expedition to Central Africa," has been crowned with a fresh success—more important than all previous ones—by the return of the exploring steamer *Pleiad*, after a most successful voyage up the River Chadda.

It is not a slight tribute of justice to that noble-minded and distinguished traveller, Dr. Barth—who, we fear, is now no more—to premise that the Chadda Expedition has fully confirmed the importance of his discoveries in 1851, which led to the despatch of the *Pleiad*: and it is interesting at the present juncture, to quote the identical words, in which he announced at the time his discovery in the official despatch addressed to the British Government:—"The most important day, however, in all my African journeys was the 18th of June (1851), when we reached the River Benueh, at a point called Taëpe, where it is joined by the River Faro. Since leaving Europe, I had not seen so large and imposing a river. The Benueh, or 'Mother of Waters,' which is by far the larger one of the two, is half a mile broad and 9½ feet deep in the channel where we crossed it," &c., &c.

This discovery was considered by all competent persons as one of great importance; and the Geographical Society of Paris gave Dr. Barth their large medal on account of that discovery. Being struck by the immense advantages that might accrue by following up this discovery, I first suggested the idea of the despatch of a steam-boat to ascend the Chadda-Benueh (see *Athenæum*, No. 1809), as it was my humble opinion that this river would "eventually form the natural and most important line from the west for spreading commerce and civilization into the very heart of Inner Africa, and extinguishing the slave trade by extending European influence to the sources of the slave supply." This suggestion was adopted, and the Chadda Expedition determined upon and sanctioned by Her Majesty's Government.

The *Pleiad* left England in the latter end of May last under the most favourable auspices (see *Athenæum*, Nos. 1887, 1888, and 1889), and reached Fernando Po on the 28th of June. Here she was to receive an augmentation to her force in the person of Mr. Consul Becroft as Commander; but owing to the lamented death of this experienced African traveller, Dr. W. B. Baikie, R.N., was appointed as the temporary leader of the Expedition,—and subsequently assumed the entire charge, when, in the beginning of the voyage, the sailing-master, in consequence of incapacity and apathy, was displaced.

The *Pleiad* steamed up the Niger Delta in the beginning of July,—ascended the Chadda 250 miles above Allen and Oldfield's furthest point,—and reached to within about 50 miles of the confluence of the Benueh and Faro, the furthest ever reached by a European vessel on an African river. Thus, it has been proved that the Chadda and Benueh are one and the same river, and that this river is navigable up to Yola, the capital of Adamaua, visited by Dr. Barth. The longitude of the positions assigned by the latter to that region is upwards of one degree too far to the east, which corresponds with the difference found by Dr. Vogel in the countries round Lake Tsad.

The river was in high flood and plenty of water, and the goodwill and friend-

ship of the natives were universally secured. On the 7th of November last the Pleiad had returned to Fernando Po.

But the most important point, and which marks a new era in African geographical discoveries, is, that very little sickness was experienced and—what has never occurred before—that not a single life was lost, white or black,—thus proving the possibility of leading a party of Europeans into the interior by these rivers, and bringing them back again in safety. The party was a mixed one, some of the whites had never been in a tropical climate, the majority had never been in Africa—Dr. Baikie himself included. Altogether, the party numbered sixty-six, including Kroomen and native interpreters, and they were 118 days in the river,—twice as long as the great Expedition of 1842, which ended in so fearful a loss of life. It must be interesting to learn that the safety of the members of the Chadda Expedition is attributed—

First, To having entered the river at the proper season, viz., on the rising water.

Second, To having induced all the Europeans to take quinine daily.

Third. To carrying the green wood, used for fuel, in the iron canoes, and not stowing it in the bunkers.

Fourth, To passing all the water used for cooking and drinking through the boiler of the Expedition,—scraping decks instead of washing them,—using Sir Wm. Burnett's solution of zinc freely,—and pumping out the bilge-water daily.

And last,—though not least,—To keeping up the spirits of the men by music, &c., &c.

"Here then, at last, the problem is solved, and Central Africa can be explored in *safety* by Europeans, through her natural channels, at a cost of a few thousand pounds per annum." Thus writes Mr. Macgregor Laird,—a gentleman who has so large a share in the success of this Expedition and in all previous efforts to navigate those African rivers, for it will be remembered that he personally took part in the first Expedition that ascended the Kowara (in 1832), and has ever since continued earnestly to promote that object.

To Dr. William Balfour Baikie, R.N., too much credit cannot be given, as to his energy and talents—displayed under trying circumstances—the success of the Expedition is greatly to be attributed.

It is much to be regretted that the Expedition has not met with Dr. Barth or Dr. Vogel, nor brought any news of them beyond what is already known. Dr. Baikie heard of them, and shewed the natives their likenesses, contained in the work published by me last year, when they recognized Dr. Vogel. Probably, by not taking the direct route to Yola, but a circuitous one, in order to traverse unexplored regions, and to add to the amount of his researches, the latter traveller was delayed, and thus prevented meeting the Chadda Expedition. May God grant his safe return!—for the great devotion and zeal in their mission, which caused them cheerfully to sacrifice everything, life itself, for the accomplishment of their objects, have been the sole cause of the death of his unfortunate predecessors. But, however deplorable a loss their untimely end has been to their own country and to England, it must be gratifying to both to reflect that the reputation and credit gained by Hornemann, Burckhardt, Schomburgk, Leichhardt, and other German gentlemen who have had the honour of being employed in the English service, have been amply sustained by the three German travellers in Central Africa.

*The Athenæum.*

AUGUSTUS PETERMANN.

*German Christmas Eve.*—Dresden, 15th January, 1855.—In speaking in my last letter of the lighting up of trees on Christmas Eve, which is now so prevalent in Germany, I omitted to mention that until very lately it has been considered quite a Protestant custom, and was practised almost exclusively in the northern and more Protestant parts of Germany; indeed I have been informed that it was introduced not more than ten or fifteen years ago into Vienna by a celebrated tragic actor. In the Catholic parts of Germany, especially in the provinces of the Lower Rhine, a representation of the Nativity of Christ is erected, not only in the churches, but in the houses of private people. This

consists generally of a little wooden cow-shed, to represent the stall of Bethlehem, with a cradle, in which is placed the figure of a little child, whilst wooden cows, donkeys, &c., stand round; this was called the "krippe," or manger, and the common people in that part of the country always designate puppet shows by the name of "krippchen." In some families you see the Protestant and Catholic customs combined, and the "krippe," with its attendant beasts, reposing under the illuminated branches of the Christmas-tree. In the middle ages, the churches in every town and village were brilliantly lighted up on Christmas Eve, and the service began exactly at midnight. The whole scene of the birth of Christ was represented in the church. No one thought of going to bed: people wandered from church to church, and finished the night by visits to each other's houses, and festive songs.—*Literary Gazette.*

*Knowledge of the Early Fathers.*—Penrith, January 23.—The recent number of the *Edinburgh Review* contains an article on the great linguist Mezzofanti, which is prefaced by a cursory notice of other persons famous for the same gift. The remarks there made on the linguistic attainments of several of the early Fathers of the Church, appear to me exaggerated. The remarks I refer to are these:—"St. Jerome, besides the classic languages and his native Illyrian, is known to have been familiar with several of the Eastern tongues; and it is far from improbable that the commentators and expositors of the Bible, such as Origen, Didymus, St. Augustin (who besides Greek, Latin, Coptic, and Hebrew, may, from his Manichean associations, be presumed to have known other Eastern languages), Theodore of Mopsuestia, and even the more modern St. Ephrem the Syrian, may be taken as amongst the most favourable specimens of the linguists of the classic times." Now although Jerome possessed such a sound knowledge of Hebrew as to make his works far more valuable to us in a philological point of view than those of all the other Fathers put together, yet we have not this exalted notion of his attainments. It is the absolute uniqueness of his Hebrew philology among the early interpreters of the Old Testament, and the fact that he represents so old a phasis of Jewish tradition concerning that tongue, and by no means the extent or grammatical accuracy of his Oriental scholarship, as judged by our much higher standards, that constitute his chief merits in our eyes. A certain knowledge of Hebrew and Chaldee is readily conceded to him; but Von Coelln and Gesenius reasonably deny him any acquaintance with other Semitic languages. As for Origen, his editor, Huet, and Clericus absolutely deny his acquaintance with the Hebrew alphabet; and Gesenius and Von Coelln only modify this so far as to say that "he perhaps possessed such a superficial knowledge of Hebrew as a few weeks' instruction could give," or that "his writings lead to the conclusion that, at the utmost, he could read the Hebrew character, and knew the traditional, and often ungrammatical, interpretation of proper names." Of Didymus, who was quite blind from his fourth year, Von Coelln says,—"He betrays a general knowledge of Hebrew in his work on the Trinity." Augustin more than once distinctly avows his ignorance of Hebrew; and the elder Rosenmüller does not allow him sufficient acquaintance with Greek to be able to use the Greek text. Coptic is possibly a mistake for *Punic*; the native, and not then extinct tongue, of his race, of which his writings shew him to have had some knowledge. Rosenmüller speaks of Theodorus as having no knowledge of Hebrew at all, or only a very slight and ungrammatical one. Sozomen and Theodoret flatly declare that Ephrem was ignorant of Greek, and Zengerke extends that assertion to the Hebrew language also.

*The Athenæum.*

I am, &c.,

JOHN NICHOLSON.

A collection of autographs (brought together by Dr. Strahl, of Berlin) was sold the other day at Cologne. There were many valuable lots, the greatest part of which were sold at moderate prices. Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, f. i., brought 11 thalers 10 silbergroschen,—Charles XII., 8 th.,—Frederick the Great 8 th. 10 s.g.,—James I. of England, 4 th. 2 s.g.,—Francis I. of France, 3 th. 2 s.g.,—Catharina de Medici, 3 th. 2 s.g.,—Philippus Melancthon, 7 th. 5 s.g.,—

Conrad Peutinger, 7 th.,—Hugo Grotius, 4 th.,—Simon Dach, 5 th. 21 s.g.,—Linnée, 8 th.,—Emanuel Kant, 7 th.,—Lessing, 10 th.,—Klopstock, 4 th. 15 s.g.,—Schiller, 10 th.,—Theodore Körner, 4 th. 5 s.g.,—Blücher, 3 th. 16 s.g.,—Beethoven, 6. th. 5 s.g. An autograph letter of Luther's (for which there were bidders up to a 100 thalers) was withdrawn from the sale, on account of Herr Heberle not being quite certain of its authenticity.

*The late Dr. Kitto.*—We are glad to learn that arrangements have been made with Messrs. Oliphant and Sons, of Edinburgh, for the early publication of the Memoir and Journals of Dr. John Kitto, whose remarkable career, notwithstanding the accident by which in early life he was totally deprived of hearing, affords materials for one of the most eventful and interesting biographies of modern times. The editing of the work has been entrusted to J. E. Ryland, Esq., of Northampton, author of the "Life of John Foster." To be published in the first instance by subscription, for the benefit of Dr. Kitto's family. Since our last number appeared, the Queen has granted a pension of £50 a year to Mrs. Kitto.

Lord Carlisle has resigned the Presidency of the Royal Society of Literature, on going to Ireland as Lord Lieutenant.

Mr. Beardsley, a paper-maker at Albany in the United States, has discovered that the shavings of bass-wood can be reduced to a pulp which is an excellent substitute for rag pulp. The "*Albany Evening Journal*" has been printed on a paper made of this new material. The shavings of other American trees, it is said, can be treated in an equally satisfactory manner.

The library of the late Dr. Gieseler, the eminent Church historian, is now offered for sale. It is not, indeed, so large as might at first have been expected. Yet the position of the Professor, as librarian of the University of Göttingen, made it unnecessary for him to purchase extensive works, such as the writings of the Fathers and the Schoolmen; and other circumstances also doubtless prevented his spending more money for books, as he enjoyed in full measure the felicity spoken of by the Psalmist (Ps. cxxvii. 4, 5), lacking but ten to rival the celebrated Count Abensberg, who, during Henry the Second's progress through Germany, while other courtiers brought their treasures to the king, presented his thirty-two children to his sovereign, as the most valuable offering he had to bestow. Nevertheless, the collection numbers from three to four thousand volumes, it contains valuable books in the departments of Church History, Biography, the History of Doctrines, Dogmatics, &c., and the deficiency of the older works in theology is supplied by those of the very latest times. As the libraries of Neander and Thilo are now in our country, it is to be hoped that this of their abler contemporary will follow them. The price asked for the collection is 1250 thalers, (not quite 1000 dollars), which cannot be thought dear, inasmuch as 1000 thalers have been already offered by an antiquarian bookseller in Leipzig. A catalogue of the library may be obtained from Henry Linnekogel, at the "Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses," in Halle on the Saale, who can be confidently recommended as agent for the purchase and transportation of the same.—*American Christian Examiner.*

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## OBITUARY.

*John Kitto, D.D., F.S.A.*—The eminent services rendered by Dr. Kitto to Biblical Literature demand from us more than a mere obituary notice. He was, in private life, an ornament and devoted friend of the Church of England. From some cause, to us incomprehensible, he has generally been placed on the side of the Dissenters, and, more often than not, treated as a Dissenting minister. He was a layman, incapacitated by natural infirmity for any public duty, and throughout his whole life, as far as we are aware, belonged, with his family, to the communion of the Episcopal Church.

In early life Dr. Kitto fell from the roof of a house, while assisting his father as a mason. When recovering from this nearly fatal accident, it was discovered that he had entirely lost the sense of hearing, and being then, if we remember

rightly, under twelve years old, his remembrance of the intonations of human speech gradually faded, and left him, except to intimate friends, practically dumb. The death of his father soon after rendered it necessary for him to become an inmate in Plymouth workhouse, and there he first attracted notice by the publication, in a local paper, of some essays, which were afterwards printed in a separate volume, and sold for his benefit. He afterwards travelled in the East, especially in Persia, with Sir John McNeil, and there acquired that familiarity with Oriental life which proved eminently useful to himself and others. On his return to England he devoted himself to literary occupations, and succeeded, for the remainder of his life, in attracting the public eye by publications generally directed to the illustration of the Scriptures. His work on *The Lost Senses*, as far as deafness is concerned, is autobiographical, and contains some most curious information, conveyed in a very engaging style. He wrote the notes of the *Pictorial Bible*, edited the *Biblical Cyclopædia*, and originated and edited for some years the *Journal of Sacred Literature*. His works are very numerous; and we can only glance at the principal of them. His usefulness, and perhaps his fame, will permanently rest on his *Daily Bible Readings*, completed just before his death, in eight small 8vo. volumes. They contain an immense body of information on Biblical subjects, historical, archaeological, and physical, and are particularly serviceable to the clergy, as containing illustrations which may be appropriately introduced into their discourses. To young persons they have been found of extraordinary attraction; while persons of all ages rise from their perusal refreshed and charmed with the light they throw upon the Scriptures.

With the completion of this extensive work, the labours of Dr. Kitto ended. At the early age of fifty, protracted and undue mental occupation, rendered necessary by the claims of a very large family, brought on an attack of paralysis, or apoplexy, we are not certain which. He left home, by the advice of medical men, and retired with his family to Cannstadt, near Stuttgart; but there the fatal disease again attacked him, and proved fatal, shortly after his exile had been embittered by the deaths of two of his children, the oldest and the youngest. He has left his family unprovided for, except so far as £50 per annum, half his pension, has been continued to his widow by her Majesty, and a subscription, which is still going on, has been raised by private benevolence, as a testimonial deserved by his services in the cause of religion and virtue. It is proposed shortly to publish a memoir, for which there are ample materials; and it is hoped that, from these different sources, the loss of their head may in some measure be supplied to those left behind. To accomplish this object, however, very strenuous exertions will be necessary on the part of all who value his writings.

Dr. Kitto exerted a powerful literary influence on the treatment of the Holy Scriptures, for nearly a quarter of a century. From the idea of the *Pictorial Bible* many works originated, not only from the mode of illustration by suitable engravings, but from the character of the notes. He shewed the possibility of throwing great light on the substance of Holy Writ, by the means of existing materials, without the discussion of its doctrinal portions. By the *Biblical Cyclopædia*, and the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, he did much to raise the character of Hermeneutical science in this country. His entire seclusion from public religious life, and his consequent ignorance of the state of parties among us, made him perhaps more careless of doctrine in the writers he engaged as his coadjutors than we could wish him to have been. Hence these works have in many quarters been undervalued, and the *Journal of Sacred Literature* has received far less encouragement than its character, as the only organ of Biblical science in this country, claims for it.

In private life Dr. Kitto was exceedingly amiable, and he was much loved by the few who had the privilege of his acquaintance. He was devotedly fond of flowers and gardening, and has been heard to say that the sight of trees was necessary to his happiness. Hence his study was always chosen where the majestic waving and stately beauty of those natural objects could meet his eye. —*Clerical Journal*.

*The Rev. M. J. Routh, D.D.*—Martin Joseph Routh, the son of the Rev. Peter Routh, Rector of St. Michael's, Beccles, Suffolk, was born at South Elmham, near Beccles, on the 15th, and baptized on the 18th of September, 1755. On the 31st of May, 1770, he matriculated as a Bachelor at Queen's College, Oxford. In July following he was elected Demy of Magdalen; and in July, 1776, actual Fellow. He held various college offices in the succeeding years; and was Senior Proctor of the University on the occasion of the visit of George III. and Queen Charlotte to Oxford. The President, in giving his impressions of the King, observed on the restlessness of eye and manner, which was in truth the forerunner of the unfortunate malady that afterwards assailed him. In 1789 he was elected Bursar of the College. In 1786 he took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity; and on the 11th of April, 1791, succeeded Bishop Horne, the well-known commentator on the Psalms, as President of Magdalen. He was an intimate friend of Dr. Samuel Parr, who was a frequent guest at Magdalen. Porson was also a guest at the President's lodgings. Dr. Routh had known Dr. Theophilus Leigh, Master of Balliol, the contemporary of Addison—had seen Dr. Johnson, in his brown wig, scrambling up the steps of University College—had been told by a lady of her aunt who had seen Charles II. walking in the parks with his dogs when the Parliament was held at Oxford during the plague of London, and crossing over to the other side when he saw the Heads of Houses coming. The American War, and the Siege of Gibraltar, were probably vivid in the President's memory. He was Head of the College before the commencement of the French Revolution; and, says the *Times*, "he had passed the age of fifty when Sir Arthur Wellesley sailed for Portugal." The favourite historical topic with the President was the Stuart times. He must have had a clear recollection of many of the stirring events of those days, the Pretender being still alive when young Martin Routh was ten years old.

The present Bishop of Exeter must have found Dr. Routh President of Magdalen when he matriculated at Corpus, and have been by him admitted Fellow of Magdalen. But it was not only the marvel of his longevity, and the deep interest necessarily excited by the above facts, that earned for the lamented President his wide-spread fame,—he possessed the love and reverence of all whom their relative positions threw into immediate contact with him. There was an irresistible charm in his society. "His very appearance," says the *Chronicle*, in announcing his death, "was instructive, and an interview with the President of Magdalen was an event to even the most distinguished man of letters. That grave and solemn presence, that austere and refined courtesy, the invariable pomp of full academical costume, the inexhaustible library, the copiousness of quotation and illustration, the immense range of knowledge—all recalled the presence of the past. It seemed rather the impersonation of learning, human and divine, than a morning's talk with a living man. His personal appearance, which none can forget, his bright intelligent eye, his spare and stooping form, those grey and massive temples, the white and shaggy eyebrows, the bending frame alive with intelligence, the weighty folios which he scarcely ever quitted," must ever live in the memory of all who had the high privilege of access to him. His advice and opinion upon theological matters were invaluable, and here both the Church and University have sustained an irreparable loss.

Dr. Routh was author of several works of great value and interest. The *Enthydemus* and *Gorgias* of Plato (8vo., 1784) was his first publication. Subsequently he gave to the world the *Reliquiæ Sacræ: sive Auctorum jam perditorum secundi tertique sæculi post Christum natum quæ supersunt*, &c.; this work is in four volumes. He next edited *Bishop Burnet's History of his own Life and Times*; and, in 1832, he published the first edition of the *Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Opuscula*, and the second in 1840; in 1848 he added a fifth volume to the *Reliquiæ*; in 1852 he edited *Burnet's Reign of James II.*; and within the last two years he printed for private circulation a few theological papers, containing extracts from early fathers.

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**THE BOOK OF JASHAR.\***

**TWICE** in the English version of the Old Testament do we meet with references to the Book of Jasher or Jashar (Josh. x. 13; 2 Sam. i. 18). In some of the older versions the rendering is different. The first reference is wholly absent from the Septuagint: it is rendered "praises" by the translators of the Peshito; and the Vulgate has "in the Book of the Just" (*in libro justorum*). The second is contained in the Septuagint, and translated "Book of the Upright" (*εὐθύος*); in the Peshito, "Book of Asher;" and in the Vulgate the same as before. Admitting, however, that these variations are of no importance, and that the text of the Hebrew is not corrupt, the question arises, What was the Book of *Jashar*, or of the *upright*, or of *uprightness*? The answer generally given to this is that it was an anthology or selection of sacred poems, and one which was made at an early period. Dr. Donaldson believes it to have been a volume of sacred Hebrew poems compiled, and it would seem mostly composed, in the reign of Solomon. He believes that to confirm the faith of the worshippers of God this book was published, as

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\* *Jashar. Fragmenta Archetypa Carminum Hebraicorum in Masorethico Veteris Testamenti Textu passim tessellata collegit, ordinavit, restituit, in unum corpus redegit, Latine exhibuit, commentario instruxit.* J. G. Donaldson. 1854. London: Williams and Norgate. Berlin: Hertz. 8vo. pp. 420.



the *Liber Probitatis* or *Book of Uprightness*, which taught that man in the beginning was upright; that by carnal wisdom he fell from the spiritual law; that the Israelites were elected to conserve and hand down the law of uprightness; that David was made king for his practice of this uprightness, and, after many victories, committed the kingdom which he had established to Solomon, who, when he had consecrated the temple and had this anthology of old and recent poems published, seemed to have attained the summit of Jasharean felicity. The work may have been executed by Nathan with the aid of Gad, and was the first fruit of the schools of the prophets (Pref. p. viii.).

There is not much in this to complain of, but when we come to hear our author's interpretations, and his account of the *concoction* of various parts of the Old Testament, we shall feel constrained to express our dissent *toto cælo*. Indeed, we think it will appear, as we advance in the account we propose to give of this book, that the principles of criticism which have been adopted by Dr. Donaldson are not only unsafe, but dangerous; and that the work itself is the most extraordinary in many respects, which any member of the English Church, at least, has had courage to send forth to the world. We say courage, because we believe no timid man would have made such an experiment. At the same time we find a variety of things which we approve of, and we think some passages of Scripture are really elucidated.

The volume is written in Latin; it consists of about 28 pages of preliminary matter, 350 pages of text, and 40 pages of excerpts from the Hebrew Bible. The reason given for writing in Latin and publishing in Germany is, in particular, the certainty of securing a better and more patient hearing abroad than at home. Indeed, we are told that "such is the present condition of biblical criticism and hermeneutics among the British, that few attend to these things, and fewer are capable of conferring any advantage upon them." But in "Germany the knowledge of the Hebrew tongue flourishes; every kind of provision for biblical study flourishes; an incorrupted love of truth flourishes; and, in fine, that true and fearless faith flourishes, which invites to candid and ingenious discussion, and dreads not the light of truth." All this is very fine, but very exaggerated. The state of biblical science in this country is not what we could wish it; that is, it is not so general as it should be. Individuals, and not a large class, devote themselves extensively to the higher branches of Bible studies. But still we have as fine specimens of Christian students and scholars as the world can boast. As respects Germany, we may and do

own that there are more authors there than here: there are (in number) more laborious investigators and skilful theorists; but we believe there is no purer love of truth, no more fearless faith, no more fondness for light, than in our own land. Why, what is the fame of much of the theology of Germany the world over, but that there is more love of novelty than of truth, more blind confidence than intelligent faith, and more disposition to mystify than to make plain? Surely our author cannot mean what he says upon this matter. We could not allow it to pass, because it involves a grave accusation, and a gross misrepresentation—an accusation of Englishmen, and a misrepresentation of Germans. Whether the moral and intellectual and spiritual standard of our countrymen be so low, there are many witnesses to tell. And whether the Germans are in all these things so much ahead of us, is a question easily answered.

We come now to the book itself. The author lays down as a principle at the outset that the true theory of inspiration is not that advocated by Gaussen and his party; that the inspiration of Holy Scripture is not in individual words and phrases, but in the consent and harmony with which God's will is declared. The word of God exists, and is to be sought for in the Scripture, but he would not call the whole of the Scripture the word of God. There are two elements,—one human, and the other divine,—which exist side by side; the one is the letter which killeth, the other the spirit which giveth life. In support of his views he quotes, among others, Phileleutheros Anglicanus.<sup>b</sup> The chapter devoted to this subject is one of much importance, because out of it is derived the reason for giving the Book of Jashar the form which it here has. The author has selected from those books to which we may apply the term *Ante-Solomonean*, all those passages which he supposes have been extracted by the compilers from the Book of Jashar. This last statement reveals the grand mistake into which we think Dr. Donaldson has fallen,—that of doing his work backwards. He fancies that the Book of Jashar was not compiled from the books of the Old Testament which are generally believed to have been written before the time of Solomon; but that the writers of these books quoted from the Book of Jashar. Thus, to use his own similitude, there was an ancient edifice called Jashar, which was prior to the one which now exists in, say, the first twenty of the books of the Old Testament. The builders of the latter took down the former and inserted its bricks and stones here and there in their walls; as in Greece and other old countries you will find fragments of temples

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<sup>b</sup> *Vindication of Protestant Principles*. London, 1847. pp. 48, &c.

theatres and baths, built into the walls of modern dwellings; and the work of Dr. Donaldson has been to pick out the old materials, strip them of what is adventitious, and re-arrange them. According to his view Moses did not write the Pentateuch, nor Joshua the book which bears his name; and so of the rest,—they were not written until after the reign of Solomon a long time. They are consequently regular *stromata*—patchwork, including the literal and the mythical, the exact and the exaggerated, the true and the fabulous, the old and the new. In fact it would seem that the only parts of the portion of the Old Testament under notice, which claim our especial reverence, are those which the clairvoyance of Dr. Donaldson has enabled him to select and arrange as the Book of Jashar.

Now we think the Doctor has read the Scriptures backwards. The Book of Jashar was compiled from previously existing books, and not those books by help of it. But why is it quoted in the Book of Joshua, if that book were first written? The answer is threefold. 1. The Book of Jashar was a compilation which received successive additions from perhaps the days of Moses to the time of Solomon. 2. Or the allusion in Joshua was inserted (perhaps from the margin) by some later transcriber. 3. Or the book was actually made before the time of Joshua's death. As it respects our own opinion it is that the reference was brought into the text after the translation of the Septuagint. With regard to the other allusion to the Book of Jashar, we are disposed to think it genuine, whenever the Second Book of Samuel was written.

It will no doubt be asked what we have offered to us as the Book of Jashar? The passages quoted are ranged under seven heads, and each is accompanied by a considerable commentary. We now proceed to give a brief account of them in order.

PART I. *Man is made upright, but by carnal wisdom falls into sin.*

This includes two fragments; the first is entitled a shorter ode by an Elohist. The passages of Scripture contained in it are Gen. i. 27, 28; vi. 1, 2, 4, 5; viii. 21; vi. 6, 3; and are ranged in the order here given. The second fragment is 'the longer and poetical description of a Jehovist,' which contains Gen. ii. 7—9, 15—18, 25; iii. 1—19, 21, 23, 24. It will be scarcely needful to say that the Elohist and the Jehovist respectively are intended to denote that the one writer designates the Divine Being by the word Elohim, while the other terms him Jehovah.

These fragments have much the same meaning, and declare that man was at first created upright, but by concupiscence and unholy ambition invented many things to his own destruction.

Now man is composed of flesh and spirit, the former of which has in it the seeds of sin and death. By the tree of life are denoted the joys of the spirit here and hereafter; by the tree of the knowledge of good and evil are meant the pleasures of the flesh. Man preferred the latter to the former, and fell into all kinds of abominable lusts and sin. The whole narrative of the fall is explained in an obscene sense, and the serpent is said to have been neither a serpent nor the devil, who has no personal existence in the creed of our author, but (*proh pudor!*) membrum virile! We feel, however, that it would be uncomely to give all the explanations which are offered of the circumstances of the temptation, &c. In the elucidation and confirmation of his view he combats the notion that our Lord was tempted by the devil, who has no personal existence; but he was tempted only by those motives to sin which of their own accord flow from the human flesh. In other words, his triumph was a triumph over lust. He therefore denies the sinlessness of the human nature of Christ. Demoniactal possession, and all external solicitations to sin are disposed of in the same summary manner. The loss of Eden was the loss of immortality. The cherubim were stormy winds, and angels are nothing but winds and lightnings, as are seraphim. Expulsion from paradise was therefore a change of state, but not of place.

**PART II.** *The descendants of Abraham as upright, are adopted as sons of God; and the neighbouring nations are rejected; and thus the Jasharan church is defined by new limitations.*

Of this there are four fragments,—

1. The Hamites and Canaanites are rejected, and by its first limitation the Jasharan church is constituted in the Shemitic stock. This fragment includes Gen. ix. 18—27.

2. The Cainites and other nations of the Shemitic stock are rejected, and by its second limitation the Jasharan church is constituted in the descendants of Abraham. This fragment includes Genesis iv. 2—7; xxii. 15; xv. 7; xxvii. 29; iv. 7—16.

3. The Hagarenes and other Arabians are rejected, and by its third limitation the Jasharan church is constituted in the family of Isaac's descendants. This includes Gen. xvi. 1—4, 15, 16; xvii. 1—8; xv. 6; xvii. 9—16, 18—26; xxi. 1—14, 20, 21.

4. The Edomites are rejected, and by its last limitation the Jasharan church is constituted in the house of Jacob or of Israel, among whose sons, however, the fourth is raised to the chief honour. This fragment includes Gen. xxv. 21—25, 27—34; xxvii. 1—10, 14, 18—20, 25—40; iv. 18, 19; xxvi. 34; xxxvi. 2; iv. 23, 24; xxxvi. 8; xxviii. 9; xxvi. 35; xxvii. 46; xxviii.

1—4, 11—19; xxix. 1, 24, 29; xxxv. 22—26; xxxv. 22; xxxiv. 25—29; xxxv. 9—13, 15; xxxii. 31.

Upon this formidable array of passages we may observe, briefly, that they are ranged with no regard to the order in which they stand in our Bibles, and that they are cut and squared and altered at the convenience of our author to make them suit his purpose. Thus in the passage Gen. ix. 18, we are told that "Adam, (*i. e.*, man) after he went out of Eden, had three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japhet." Again, ver. 20, "And Adam (*i. e.*, man) began to be a husbandman, and planted a vineyard." And again, Gen. iv. 2, "And Shem begat two sons, Cain the elder, and Abel his brother." Still again, Gen. xvi. 1, "And Abraham the son of Abel married Sarah his kinswoman, but Sarah the wife of Abraham bare him no children." And once more we are informed that "Esau was made a Cainite (*i. e.*, a spearman), and was called, not as before, Esau the son of Isaac, but Lamech the son of Methusaleh; he, therefore, when he had forsaken the ways of his father, married wives, Adah the daughter of Elon the Hittite, who is also called Judith, and Zillah the daughter of Anah the Hivite, whom they also call Aholibamah." By such bold strokes of his pen does Dr. Donaldson deprive our Bible of its character as a consecutive historical narrative. And all this is justified by the assertion that he has but restored to their proper places and sense what the Masoretic compiler disarranged and misunderstood. We are, therefore, not to suppose that Noah came after Adam, nor that Abel is other than Abraham.<sup>c</sup> The genealogies, moreover, are fictitious, or rather symbolical, and are plainly artificial. At p. 100, we are again told that "the fall of Adam not obscurely refers to the obscene idolatry of Baal-Peor, or of Priapus, which was united with fornication." The sin of Ham and of Canaan was an endeavour to induce the races of Japhet and of Shem to join in the horrid rites just named. He believes that the passage relating to Cain and Abel has been tampered with since the first century after Christ. While Abel and Abraham are the same, they denote not an individual, but a family. In a similar way the name of Hagar is figurative of the origin of a race, and not the mere name of a woman. The history of Abraham is mixed up with that of Isaac; the narrative, therefore, is rather dramatic than historical, and must be dealt with accordingly. The name of Esau is misexplained in the Hebrew text, and Esau himself is rather a region than a person: at any rate Esau has been erroneously distinguished from Lamech.

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<sup>c</sup> He has just called Abraham the son of Abel.

**PART III.** *The upright Israelites, having left Egypt, after forty years consumed in the desert, and after many other vicissitudes of changing fortune, consecrate a temple to Jehovah in the land of quiet, under the peaceful king Solomon.*

This part is very brief, and is made to include the following:—Gen. vi. 5—14 (abridged); Gen. vii. 6, 11, 12; viii. 6—12, 11; v. 29; viii. 4; 1 Kings vi. (in sum); 1 Kings viii. 43; Deut. vi. 18; Ps. v. 8; cf. Ps. xlviii. 9. The remarks made about the arrangement and alteration of texts might be repeated here; but we proceed to observe that we are told that the history of the flood is made up of materials from three sources. 1. There was some real inundation of water, by which many were drowned. 2. It denotes the advent of Israel into Palestine, through the Red Sea and the desert, and the happy establishment of the Jasharan religion under Solomon. 3. It has regard to Christian baptism. Of these three significations, the writer of the Book of Jashar only contemplates the second. He uses the tradition of the real inundation (which was but partial) as the basis of his argument. The name of Noah is feigned and symbolical. Hence Gen. vii. 6 is rendered, "Now Israel was six hundred years old when (ver. 11) he entered into the ark," because it was about six hundred years from the patriarch to the Exodus. The dove and the raven describe periods in Jewish history, and the resting of the ark on the mountain is the depositing of the ark of the covenant by Solomon in its quiet resting place.

**PART IV.** *Divine laws to be observed by the upright people.*

This includes three fragments:—

1. The ten precepts of uprightness (Deut. v. 1—22).
2. The "marrow" of the divine law (Deut. vi. 1—5; Lev. xix. 18; Deut. x. 12—21; xi. 1—5, 7—9).
3. The inculcation of obedience (Deut. viii. 1—3; vi. 6—18, 20—25).

In the second fragment, Deut. xi. 6 is omitted, because mention is made in it of Dathan and Abiram; and in the third, Deut. vi. 19, because it alludes to the casting out of the enemies of Israel. By such means it would be easy to dispose of many passages, or of any which do not exactly square with our preconceived notions.

Our author believes that the Book of Deuteronomy contains the oldest and purest remains of divine laws, and is in great part made up of fragments of the Book of Jashar. He supposes that the only religious book which Micah the prophet had was this of Jashar, or of Deuteronomy, which was the only one preserved in the temple (2 Kings xxii. 8). From the Book of

Deuteronomy alone are we to seek for the precepts of piety, as is proved by the example of our Lord himself, who only appealed to this book of the law. He probably knew the others, but considered that they should be unattended to (*eos negligendos duxit!* p. 164). The Book of Deuteronomy is not a second or repeated publication of the law. The precept in chap. xvii. 18, was probably added not before the time of Josiah. Hilkiah probably compiled the book as we now have it, for, says he (!) in the person of Moses, "Ye shall not add unto the word which I command you," &c. The copy of the decalogue given in Exodus has been corrupted and interpolated by Masoretic and Levitical scribes: the inconsistency of it is seen on a comparison of it with that in Deuteronomy. At pp. 170, 171, we have another attack upon Satan; and again we are assured that Deuteronomy contains the true and only edition of the decalogue, and that the compiler of Exodus was either mistaken or forgetful, as is proved by the jumble he makes.

The passage quoted by our Lord from Lev. xix. 18, has probably strayed from its place, and should follow Deut. vi. 5. The Masoretic transcriber who omitted it confused everything by so doing. Similarly the last part of Deuteronomy. Chap. x. has been misplaced, and should come after Lev. xix. 18, in Deuteronomy, chap. vi. The temptation in the wilderness was the same as the incredulity and obduracy of the later Jews who beheld the wonderful works of Christ, and so committed the sin against the Holy Ghost.

The first four parts of Jashar teach how man fell from his uprightness, how the Israelites were chosen and brought into a land of peace, and by what laws they were to retain their felicity.

PART V. *Blessings of the upright, and admonitions.*

1. The song of Jacob (In four strophes,—Gen. xlix. 3—12; 13—15; 16—21, and 22—27).
2. The song of Balaam (In four parts, Num. xxiii. 7—10; 18—24; xxiv. 3—9, and 15—21).
3. The song of Moses (Deut. xxxii. 1—43; xxxiii. 2—5, 26—29).

The last three parts of Jashar will be found to consist of single odes, which may be divided into three classes.

Jacob is the name of the Jasharan people, not of one man; and we are not to suppose in any case that such a prophetic ode as this (would be) could be composed and uttered by a dying man. Therefore we must believe that it is historical, or at least written by some one who wished to describe the actual condition of the twelve tribes at the time he wrote. It refers to the song of Deborah and the history of Samson, it imitates the

18th Psalm, and was probably written in the time of Solomon. In illustrating their statements, we are told that the Levites were a sort of wandering beggars (or vagabonds like the Greek *ἀγύρται*), who joined themselves to robbers, and, under the name of religion, robbed and plundered (p. 195). The writer uses a Greek word (in xlix. 5, which we believe to have been no Greek word at all) in allusion to the arms of foreign troops employed under David. The poet also wished to indicate the all but continual seclusion of Simeon and Levi among the Israelites, and therefore in the person of a patriarch declares that these brothers, twins in wickedness, would have no stated abode among the other tribes, but be dispersed. Now Gen. xlix. 7 cannot have been written after Levi was raised to the priesthood. But when was this done? In Deuteronomy we find no difference between priests and other Levites. But in the later (!) Book of Numbers the scribe explains Levi (xviii. 2) to mean the companions and assistants of the priests. In the historical books we meet with no traces of a separate order of priests. Even after the temple was built, Solomon acted as priest, and the Levites were only called in to aid. Gradually, however, they attained the chief dignity, especially in the kingdom of Judah. But this spiritual dominance reached its maturity only after the Babylonian exile, under the auspices of Ezra and other priests. Hence their tithes and prerogatives, pharisaic rites and ceremonies, and the augmented and altered edition of the Pentateuch, *et cætera*.

"Judah is a lion's whelp" is explained thus,—The lion's whelp exhibits to us the youthful power of David, who went into the caves of the mountains and bore thence so many spoils in triumph. But when he obtained the supreme dignity he is compared to an old lion. The lioness and her whelps aptly depict Solomon in possession of the peace acquired by his father's victories. Shiloh is Solomon, and not the Messiah; and in Solomon's reign the poem was composed. In Gen. xlix. 23, a reference to the song of Deborah is detected. In the blessing of Joseph that tribe is flattered, because at that time it had obtained (under Solomon) a distinguished position.

As it respects the so called song of Balaam, he says there was an old tradition that some such person lived in the extreme east. We are, however, to understand the name Balaam to be a general term for a magician, and not a proper name of a person; and we must believe that the song of Balaam was written in the time of Solomon; not before, which was impossible, not after, for the same reason. The overthrow of Edom and the Moabites by David is commemorated as a recent event. The poetry was



written when the attendant narrative did not exist. Mention is made in it of Agag, who was overcome by Saul; but is not Agag (like Pharaoh, Ptolemy, Caesar, &c.) a name which was common to the kings of the Amalekites? The star out of Jacob and the sceptre out of Israel is David, who was still, of course, well remembered. In fine, this is no prophecy, but a commemoration of things which had happened.

The song of Moses (Deut. xxxii. and xxxiii.) was not uttered by him, but written for the book of Jashar in the reign of Solomon. The song of Hannah also was written mainly by David. In Deut. xxxiii. the verses between the 6th and the 26th are interpolated, and are a mere imitation of the song of Jacob. These additions were probably made after the reign of Hezekiah. Indeed, they seem to have been written after the captivity, by the author of the 90th Psalm.

We now come to

PART VI. *The wonderful victories and deliverances of the upright people.*

This includes,

1. The triumph of Moses and Miriam (Exod. xv. 1—13; 21; 14—18; 21).

2. The triumph of Joshua (Ps. cxxxvi. 1; cxxxv. 5—7; Exod. ix. 24; Ps. cxxxvi. 7—9, 11, 16, 21, 17—20; cxxxv. 11; cxxxvi. 1; Josh. x. 5—11 (in substance); 12, 13; Exod. xv. 11, 13; Ps. cxxxvi. 1).

3. The triumph of Deborah (Jud. v. 12; ii. 8, 12; ix. 11, 12, 13; xviii. 12, 19—31).

Our author believes that he now enters upon more solid ground, and that we have the best evidence for believing that the contents of this portion of his book formed part of the Book of Jashar. He does not deny the general truth of the Jewish history of the Exodus, the passage of the Red Sea and the desert, Joshua's defeat of five Amorite kings, and the similar victory of Deborah and Barak. The passage of the Sea and these two victories he believes to have been attended by miraculous interposition. As it respects the date of the songs of triumph connected with these narratives, he supposes that the song of Moses, in Exod. xv., was composed in the time of David, except ver. 1, which was coeval with the event celebrated; it is, however, possible that the whole was written in the desert, or afterwards by Deborah. The 19th verse, he remarks, does not belong to the poem, because it "has neither rhyme nor reason"—*nec numeros nec sensum habet poeticum*.

In the triumph of Joshua there is no indication of any miracle except a storm of stony hail which smote the enemies.

Joshua prayed that the sun might not set till he had gained a complete victory, i.e., that he might gain the victory before sunset; and it was so! Now if the sun had stood still, God would have wrought two miracles in aid of one victory, which cannot be, for it is without precedent, and would be without profit. He infers from Is. xxviii. 21, that the sun and moon did not stand still, because the prophet could not have so spoken if this strange and unheard of event had occurred in the history of Joshua. A fair specimen of criticism this! Take another: Josh. x. 8 is not to be retained, *because* in Ju. iv. 14, Deborah exhorts Barak in a similar manner! (p. 255.) And again; no one who compares Josh. x. with ch. xi. of the same book will doubt that the unlearned compiler (*indoctus ille compiler*) who reduced to form these different traditions of the conquest of Canaan, ascribed to Joshua the victory of Taanach at Megiddo, which was gained long after by Barak. The Masoretic scribe, who after the Babylonian captivity condensed into one body the scattered fragments of old poems, ascribed to Joshua, the chief conqueror of the Canaanites, all the northern and southern victories, which was far from correct. The *Genealogies of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*, by Lord Arthur Hervey, is here quoted with approval, as when he says that the period between Joshua and Samuel was much shorter than is stated in the common chronology. We recommend him to explain 1 Ki. vi. 1 compared with Acts xiii. 20. He ascribes 240 years to the period from the encampment at Gilgal (Josh. iv. 19) to the reign of Saul, and thinks after Lord Hervey's disputation no one will deny the conclusions he has reached. Dr. Donaldson claims for himself and the author he quotes a vast deal of discernment, and embraces every opportunity to load his imaginary "Masoretic scribes" with obloquy; in reference to this very matter, he tells us they could neither arrange nor sufficiently understand the abundant materials which they possessed.

But we pass on to the Song of Deborah. Upon this our author has already appeared in print,<sup>d</sup> and here does not give very much that is new. He gives us his revised history of part of the period embraced by the Book of Judges. The name Jabin is supposed to be a general name for Canaanitish kings; and so also the name of Deborah was rather an appellative than a proper name (p. 266). The song of Deborah he supposes to have been written by her in order to be sung at the public triumph of Barak. Into the interpretations and emendations of the text we

<sup>d</sup> *Prælectio Philologica in Scholis Cantab. habita de Debora Cantico Triumphati.* Cantabr. 1848.

cannot enter, as the mere record of the erratic propensities of Dr. D. more than suffices to fill up our space. Let it be enough to say that any liberty which can be thought adapted to answer his purpose may be taken, and words altered, added, or thrown out to suit the convenience of the critic uncritical.

PART VII. Various odes concerning the empire and happiness of the upright in the reigns of David and of Solomon.

Ode 1.—1 Sam. ii. 1—10. David rendered illustrious by his triumph over the giant.

Ode 2.—2 Sam. i. 19—27. 1 Sam. iii. 33, 34. David laments and celebrates the death of Saul, Jonathan, and Abner, who were his relatives, but enemies.

Ode 3.—Psalm xviii. 2 Sam. xxii. David, when made king and victorious over the Philistines, reverently gives thanks to God.

Ode 4.—David commemorates his own victory over the Syrians, and that of Joab and Abishai over the Edomites. Psalm lx. 3—14.

Ode 5.—David predicts, at the point of death, the kingdom of the coming Messiah. 2 Sam. xxiii. 1—7.

Ode 6.—Solomon's epithalamium. Ps. xlv.

Ode 7.—Entrance and dedication of Solomon's temple. Psalm lxviii.

We have already observed that Dr. D. supposes that the Song of Hannah was composed by David to commemorate his victory over Goliath. He accounts for such occurrences by intimating the existence of false narratives, which were worked up with the poetry into a somewhat consistent form at later periods. Thus Psalm lvii. 5 (4), has been elaborated into the story of Daniel in the lion's den, and the three Hebrews in the furnace! Indeed, we are to believe that there is much of the fabulous in the so-called historical books of Scripture; see for example 2 Sam. xxi. 20. The compiler of the Books of Samuel was probably Nathan, as also of the Book of Jashar. To him, moreover, we probably owe the first collection of Psalms, perhaps xlii.—lxxii., the next added being i.—xli., and these seventy-two Psalms were afterwards amplified by three other collections. The author of the last blessings of Jacob has plainly borrowed from the sixtieth Psalm (ver. 7), because the expression in each case is singular and similar. Now we are to bear in mind that the Book of Jashar is more ancient than the oldest collection of the Psalms of David; that the Books of Samuel have been altered; that the exodus took place 1300 years before Christ, and 300 years before the temple was built; that the Septuagint was translated a little time before Christ; that the Masoretic text is merely

traditional, and even the New Testament has been corrupted. These and many more things are to be found in this book, which, amid all its eccentric and apparently reckless statements, contains much that is good: the difficulty is to select the chaff from the wheat. And yet the author tells us very complacently that he has not forgotten that he is a Doctor and a priest of the English Church (p. 347), and has endeavoured to keep within the limits assigned to him at his ordination, and in nothing to go contrary to the Thirty-Nine Articles. Whether Dr. Donaldson be right in this we will not now decide; but we venture to say that the statements contained in this book, which we have given mostly in his own words, will not contribute to his honourable fame, and that the reasons upon which they are based will not bear the test of an honest and righteous criticism. Our space forbids us entering upon the task of refutation, but we doubt not there are many yet among the ministry and people of England, who will see and follow that which they have received on the faith of an amount of evidence before which that of our author and his German friends is nothing but a shadow. Sincerely we speak when we say that our hope is, Dr. Donaldson may live to build again that which he has endeavoured to destroy.

As might be expected, a great deal of public attention has been directed to this extraordinary publication; but the attacks made upon it have been hitherto more of the character of skirmishes, than of a serious and pitched battle. We cannot doubt that the subject will find an adequate expositor,—that the result of Dr. Donaldson's destructive labours will be to place the integrity of the Hebrew text in a position of yet greater stability. There is much room for honourable and learned exertions having this end in view, and nothing would more tend to secure it than our giving some of the careful scholarship now expended on the Greek text of the New Testament, to the just criticism of the Hebrew of the Old. What is the cause that no one would now think of writing of the Gospels and Epistles, as Dr. Donaldson has of the Pentateuch, but that criticism has placed the former out of the reach of such a rough analysis? It is the want of our age to have done all that is yet practicable to restore the venerable Hebrew Scriptures to their pristine state, and when that is accomplished they will ever after be less liable to such rude attacks as those we have felt it our duty to bring before our readers.

The only work in opposition to Dr. Donaldson's *Jashar*, which is not ephemeral, is a pamphlet by the Rev. John J. S. Perowne, M.A., Lecturer in Hebrew and Divinity in King's Col-

lege, London.\* From this we will give an extract or two, referring to the book itself for further information :—

“ Dr. Donaldson assures us that in piecing together the book which he calls *Jashar*, his object has been to get at ‘ the very marrow of Divine truth,’ (‘ ipsam Divinæ veritatis medullam,’ p. 35.) In this he flatters himself, and would fain persuade others, that he has succeeded. He has made a discovery invaluable to all those who, bold enough to neglect the husk, are anxious to find the kernel of the Old Testament Scriptures. And what is his method? The idea is not a novel one, but I am bound to say he shews some novelty in carrying it out. He informs us that it is quite a mistake to suppose that the Books of the Old Testament possess any unity of plan, or that they were composed by the authors to whom by the voice of the Church they have for ages been assigned. Modern criticism has triumphantly established the absurdity of such a notion. We have absolutely nothing of an earlier date than the time of Solomon, and even of that period only a few imperfect remains. These disjointed fragments were at a subsequent period put together by the unskilful hands of Masoretic scribes, who, ignorant of the true principle of connexion, interwove them at random with their own later productions. From this motley mass he professes to have picked out the few genuine relics of antiquity. These choice remains of an earlier and purer taste have fared, indeed, like many a fragment of some princely pile of elder days: the goodly stones have first been cast down, and then taken at random to help to form a new building. And hence a sad jumble of modern masonry, clumsy and out of taste, and ill-assorted, with stones that have been chiselled by the master’s hand. The careless eye might, perhaps, never detect these precious relics, hidden and incrustated over as they are by the hand of time. And even when discovered, so hopeless would be their disarrangement that it might baffle ordinary skill to tell how they subserved the original design. But it is no less a task than this which Dr. Donaldson has undertaken. He has discovered the original fragments; he has hit upon the *callida junctura* of their arrangement; he has reconstructed the edifice which had been thrown down.

“ It is very difficult to persuade oneself that Dr. Donaldson is serious in the expression of his belief, that this work will contribute to a truer understanding of the inner sense of the Scriptures than that which has hitherto been attained. Is he serious, too, when he declares his astonishment that Welcker, Hermann, and others, should have given so much attention to the Fragments of Æschylus; that Meineke should have edited the Remains of the Comœdians; and that others should have collected the *disiecta membra* of Alcæus and the Lyric poets, and no one have thought it worth while to bestow the same pains on the very ancient monuments of Sacred Scripture? He knows perfectly well that there is no analogy whatever between the two cases. The Fragments to which he refers have come down to us as fragments, and nothing more. They have

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\* *Remarks on Dr. Donaldson’s Book entitled “Jashar.”* London: Bell and Daldy, 1855.

not been culled by editorial skill out of the midst of works already existing as a whole, published as a whole, and bearing internal evidences of order and unity of design. To have made out a case really parallel, he should have adduced the original fragments of such a work, for instance, as Homer's *Iliad*, and shewn how these had been distinguished from the later accretions of rhapsodists and editors. There would have been, at least, some analogy in such a comparison as this; there is none whatever in that which he has thought proper to institute."—Pp. 4—6.

It is but justice to say that Dr. Donaldson has replied to this, but in a manner more personal than argumentative. He complains, with some justice, that his opponent has not used all the blandness which might have been conjoined to the reasoning, especially in a younger man. We will allow him to plead his own cause, and merely say in conclusion, that we hope that in this, as in all theological contentions, we and others may exhibit more of the mind of Christ, and less of the asperity of mere worldly combatants.

"It was my object, in writing this book, to strengthen the connexion and harmony between the Old and New Testaments, by bringing out in strong relief those features of the Jewish and Christian systems, which, being both divine, they must have had in common, and thus to find an indestructible basis for the doctrines of the English Church. And I humbly conceive that in this I am acting in strict accordance with the teaching of our Lord Himself. I have never withdrawn my attention from the subject during the time which has elapsed since I first sent my manuscript to Berlin in December, 1853; and while I have collected much additional matter which tends to confirm the results of my investigations, I have found nothing which I desire to retract, and little to correct except errors of the press. A full exposition of my views is already prepared in English, and shall be published whenever I think proper, and not before. When I wish to have a detailed controversy on this or any other important subject, I will select a worthy opponent; and he shall not be an unfledged pamphleteer, who does not know the rules of literary warfare, or a sixth-rate scholar, who despises the distinctions of voice in his Greek verbs, or a bungling teacher of theology, who in bringing a charge of heresy falls into flagrant heresy himself. If I should ever be ambitious of imitating Bentley's *Phalaris* in a theological argument, I will not take Mr. Perowne for my *Boyle* or my *foil*. The criticisms with which he has favoured me, on certain details, are quite beneath contempt, and I can very well afford to leave my book to defend itself on the score of Hebrew from a grammarian who seeking to disparage the scholarship of another man merely shews that he does not himself know the difference between '*heth-melek*'

and 'heth-ham-melek, or rather, perhaps, that he cannot distinguish between a preposition and a definite article (p. 11)."—Pp. 7, 8.

"For myself, I leave my cause to 'him that judgeth righteously;' but on behalf of Christianity and the Church I will never consent to take up a position which I cannot honestly and conscientiously defend. It has been remarked by Lord Arthur Hervey, in his able work on the *Genealogies*, which I recommend to the attention of all those who require to be weaned from the dangerous hypothesis of an infallible text, that 'the only danger is, where rotten buttresses are set to prop up a solid building, lest, when the buttress falls, inconsiderate and short-sighted people should imagine that the building is falling too.' (pp. 348, 349.) Mr. Perowne, indeed, professes to 'court investigation;' but his conduct, and that of the party to which he belongs, must be received as conclusive evidence that they have no real confidence in the goodness of their cause. Otherwise we should not see in their writings such acrimony of invective, and such eagerness to damage the personal interest of their opponents. Whether the conclusions of my book are right or wrong, it is not the less an honest attempt to elucidate great difficulties and to establish on a firm basis both Christian verity and Anglican orthodoxy. If I have succeeded, I deserve such credit as is due to a long and laborious search after the truth. If I have failed, this ought to be shewn by calm and learned argument; and then the book may be allowed to sink into oblivion, a result which might be obtained by a small amount of neglect in the case of a treatise written in Latin, and addressed to a limited circle of readers. But attempts at persecution will fail to produce any effect beyond exciting curiosity, and increasing the circulation of the work which is the object of attack. Free and Protestant England will sympathise with the theologian, who does his duty as a fearless and honest expositor of Scripture in the original languages, no less than with the poor Italian, who is visited with the frowns of authority for reading the Bible in his native tongue."—p. 16.

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## THREE MONTHS IN THE HOLY LAND.

(Continued from Former Series, Vol. VII., p. 331.)

CHAP. IV.—*Damascus—The Mound of St. Paul—The House of Judas—Bazaars—Departure—Selghair—Arrival at Baalbek.*

WE entered the gate of Damascus at dusk, and after being jostled through narrow streets and endless bazaars, empty at this time of day, we came at last to the door of our khan (for one cannot talk of 'an hotel' in this city). There was, happily, no signboard; it was only known as a house kept by a native where strangers lodged. We alighted, and, having entered at the low and narrow door, we found ourselves in a court paved with marble, in the centre of which played a fountain surrounded by orange-trees covered with fruit and flowers; and from that court we were ushered into a room, also laid with mosaic, and fitted up in true eastern style, where we lay down and rested on a soft and spacious divan. What a contrast to our hut and wretched fare at the village of Qabb Elyas!

With all this apparent splendour below, my bedroom above was literally bare. Not an article of furniture in it, but what I brought myself. Such is the East, splendid and shabby; or rather, to do it justice, it follows the exigencies of its climate, and neither requires nor knows some of our luxurious habits of comfort.

To sleep in my cloak for the fourth night was out of the question: I must now enjoy the relief of undressing, and getting into a bed, of whatever sort it might be. A bed was accordingly contrived with a wide board put upon two empty boxes, over which two or three carpets were spread double, then a pair of sheets, and a coverlid with my saddle-bags for a pillow. Although not particularly soft, it proved most welcome, and I was soon sound asleep. But as my room looked into the street, I was suddenly roused at midnight, by the glare of torch-lights and the sound of voices, accompanied by musical instruments. I jumped out of bed, and, peeping through the trellis of my window, I saw a marriage procession of the bridegroom going to the house of the bride, with lighted lamps and torches. I watched them as they defiled and disappeared in the windings of the street below, while I stood wishing I could have heard the shout, "Behold, the bridegroom cometh, go ye forth to meet him." And,



as the voices grew fainter, and altogether died in the distance, I soon fell asleep again, and awoke in the morning much refreshed by a good night's rest. My friend's time being limited, we only had one day to "do" Damascus. But my intention being to visit it a second time, I bore with more equanimity than I should otherwise have done, the being obliged to spend only one day in this famous town of Benhadad. After breakfast, therefore, our first enquiry of our host was, for "the street called Straight," and the house of Judas, in which Saul dwelt.

"First turning to the left, gentlemen, then straight on, and there you are. But you must first go to St. Paul's Mound, and then to his house. Ibrahim! shew these gentlemen the way."

And the servant led us to the Bab es-sharky, or eastern gate; outside of which, not a quarter of a mile from the walls of the town, a mound covered with the graves of Christians was shewn to us, as the spot on which the Lord appeared unto Saul while on his way to Damascus. From thence, also, the window at which Saul was let down in a basket, and escaped under king Aretas, was pointed out to us in the wall. Then, retracing our steps through the gate into the city, we came to "the street called Straight," and there knocked at the house said to have been that of Judas. We entered, and were then led down a flight of steps into a room underground, said to have been once occupied by St. Paul, and where the very spot is shewn on which they say he received his sight from Ananias,—all complete. I left it—happy to think that my faith in the words and doctrine of the holy apostle rested on stronger proofs than these—and, passing through a succession of narrow streets and dirty lanes, we came at last to the Bazaars, which, for their extent and riches, are celebrated in the East as second only to those of Constantinople.

It was an amusing scene, and very characteristic of the country. Each side of this covered building, which assumes the appearance of a narrow street, was lined with a row of stalls, on each of which the owner sat, among his wares, which were hung or spread above and around him. The space between was thronged with buyers and sellers, busily occupied; with lookers-on, idling away their time; with women muffled up to their eyes; screaming children; and with loathsome beggars, in every possible form of dirt and disease, and clad in tatters, which contrasted strangely with the display of wealth around them. Worse off even than Hindebâd, they crept among this profusion of riches from all lands, imploring, in the name of the prophet, the pity of the rich traders; but none of these thought of imitating the liberal sailor of Baghddad; they had no gold to bestow, not even a copper; all they gave was a nod, a blessing, and "roohh!"

“get away!” Every now and then, above the noise and bustle of the crowd, was heard the loud voice of a man, who walked up and down, holding an embroidered cloak, which he was selling to the highest bidder. Presently his own voice was drowned, and he himself retreated from before the warning cry of porters, carrying on their backs huge burdens and long unwieldy beams, which all but battered down a stall or two, much to the dismay of their affrighted tenants. Then a loud snorting was heard, and a string of camels appeared, overtopping the heads of the crowd, and heavily stalking down the bazaar in an opposite direction. The camels and the porters met. The first porter, bowed under his burden, struck against the first camel’s chest, on which the camel uttered a deep grunt, and this was followed by a volley of abuse from its driver. Meanwhile, the beams carried by the porters behind got entangled among the cloaks and carpets of the neighbouring stall. And this brought down upon the porters the loud imprecations of the grave owners of those valuables. Yet, amidst all this confusion, no serious accident happened. The crowd closely packed in this narrow passage yielded, somehow or other, with wonderful elasticity. The porters went on; and the intelligent camels walked stately among the crowd without treading on anybody’s toes.

I knew not which to admire most, the enormous amount of wealth displayed in gorgeous textures of gold and silver, costly dresses, cloth of the finest wool, and other precious wares of the East, or the native taste shewn in the patterns and colours of soft carpets, rich brocaded silks, and damasks of all hues. And anon my attention was drawn to a collection of all sorts of weapons, among which I could not but notice the keen edge and the clever inlaying of metals on the waved blade of swords, equal to those of Toledo; while the warehouses overflowed with the choicest produce of the East,—finest wheat, grains of all sorts, white rice of Salcah, dates from the Hadjaz, and skins of the luscious wine of Helbon. All these were exposed for sale to the motley throng of merchants from the four corners of the eastern world—Aleppo, Mecca, Baghdad, or Constantinople, who came to trade in this mart of nations, with the wild and swarthy son of the desert, the dreaded inhabitants of Tadmor.

“Have you got any ‘Malbâs el’afiya?’” asked I of a portly silk merchant, who was reclining on a cushion of purple velvet, and holding to his lips the amber mouth-piece of his pipe.

A gentle toss of the chin, which meant “No!” was his only reply.

“Taâl! Come with me,” said a man, patting me on the

shoulder. He was one of those agents, mostly Jews, who ply the bazaars, and get their living by bringing purchasers to the different merchants into whose hands they play, to the loss of the victim's purse. "Come with me, I'll shew you where you can get some."

"Much obliged," said I, "I do not require your services."

He smiled, and went on.

I then proceeded to the next stall, and renewed my enquiry for the particular kind of silk I wanted.

"La! Mafish! No! I have not got any," replied the owner, without moving a muscle of his fair countenance.

"Where then can I get some?"

He said nothing, but leant forward on one side of the counter, looking down the bazaar, which meant, "Try that way." I followed his gesture, and at last came to a silk merchant, who answered, "Fih! I have some!" with a nod, and as much as to say, "And fine too!" He immediately jumped upon his counter, and taking down a pile of silks, he undid a piece, and said, looking archly at me, "This?"

"No! that wont do."

Then taking another, "That?"

"Nor that either!" I replied; for they always shew you the worst first.

"Osbor!" said he, "Wait a bit. Now, will this one do?"

"It will! How much do you ask for it?"

"Two hundred piastres."

"Two hundred piastres! Don't you know the proverb, 'Truth is a man's safeguard?'"

"But don't you know too that 'a man's wits are his wealth?'"

"I do: but I also know that 'the wary do well.' So, now come! 'Tell the truth, and never mind.' You know that, don't you?"

"Well now," said he, joining his thumb and forefinger together, with his little finger up in the air, and a very significant gesture of the hand, "Well now, the very lowest price, because you are my friend, will be a hundred and ninety piastres." He said this with a sly side look, which I noticed.

I turned round, and recognized the man who had before offered me his services, and who had been dodging me all the while, and I said to the merchant, "Thank you; one hundred and ninety piastres is too much: good bye."

"Khawājāh! sir," cried the owner of the next stall, who had been looking on, "Come here, look at mine."

"How much do you want for yours?"

"My lowest price, for I see its no use quoting any other, is a hundred and eighty piastres for this piece."

"Let's look at it. I dare say! With that stain in it into the bargain?"

"Istaghfar Allāh! God forbid, I made a mistake. Wallāh! Here is another."

"This one is a good piece. Well now, hark ye. I give you a hundred and ten piastres for it."

"Abaddan:" and a determined nod, meaning "never."

"Farewell, then!" But, ere I had proceeded a few yards, the first merchant called me back, shouting, "One hundred and fifty piastres!"

I nodded, "No."

The last man added, "Mine for one hundred and forty-five."

"No; I give you one hundred and twenty piastres: will that do?"

"Not a para less than one hundred and forty."

"Well, my last offer is one hundred and thirty piastres, and no more."

"Well, then, take it—at a gift:" and, while folding it up, he added, in an under tone, "Do you want any more pieces at the same price? I have some splendid ones."

"No, thank you, one will do. Farewell." And he added, "Ma salame! in peace."

After having lingered the greater part of the day in this amusing scene, making, of course, a few purchases in the above style, we visited some of the principal khans in the town, and late in the day returned to our quarters, intending, after dinner, to sally forth again, in order to see a little more of the place. But, as we were kept waiting some considerable time for our meal, night fell ere we could visit the famous mosque of the Omniades, and pay our respects at the tomb of Salaheddin.

There is not much architectural beauty in the outside of the public or private dwellings of Damascus, which I was allowed to inspect. The houses of the inhabitants present a bare wall to the street, often with no other opening than the door. Windows, trellises, and verandahs, all open into the court, which is generally paved with marbles of various colours, and has in the centre a fountain containing fish, and surrounded with flowers and orange-trees, in bloom all the year round. On the shaded side of the court is an open recess, lined with a divan, on which the members of the family generally sit during the day, and sometimes sleep at night. Around the court are distributed the apartments of the various members of the house-

hold. Their rooms are, more or less, gaily decorated, and tastefully inlaid with china, mother-o'-pearl, and bits of looking glass, according to the rank and wealth of the owner of the house. Damascus, as far as I could see it, is, for an eastern town, well built. Some of its public buildings are shaded by tall and stately plane trees; and it is watered by the river Barada, which flows through the city, and carries with it into the plain, as in the days of Naaman the Syrian, freshness and life. But of the ancient city nothing remains: no traces are left of the palace of Benhadad, or of the stronghold of Rezin, nor of the "house of Rimmon;" famous in the days when Damascus traded in wine and wool for the purple of Tyre: and the place is not known where Elisha stood when Hazael came to him in the name of the king of Syria. For the burdens of the prophets rest heavily on this city: Damascus is "waxed feeble;" "fire has devoured the palaces of Benhadad, and her inhabitants have gone into captivity." "She shall be a ruinous heap; the kingdom shall cease from it, and the inhabitants shall be cut off from the plain of Aven. For the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it." Still Damascus is yet beautiful, and her soil is yet fertile and rich. But all that is but as a dream of the past, and a very faint vision of the future.

Early the next day (April 2nd), our horses being ready at the door, we paid our host, and left. We crossed the bridge, and by the side of running streams, and among gardens and orchards, and greeted at every step by country people coming into market, we soon reached the naked hills of the Wady-Barata, on our way to Baalbek. I was loth to turn my back so soon upon this earthly paradise, on which, at the winding of the road, I cast one last, lingering look, and saw it no more.

There was much, however, in the surrounding scenery to beguile us on our way. The air was mild and fresh; and the trees on either side of the stream Barada or Pharpar, along which our path lay, were just clad in their early spring leaf. The country, chequered with fields, with green pastures and flocks, was sheltered between the hills that rose on either side, looked at peace and happy, at the foot of the heights of Amana, covered with snow: and the road, now high above the head of the river, and then low in the deep valley beneath, brought us in the afternoon to a village, embosomed in walnut-trees, not yet in leaf, called Souk-el-wady-Barata, the site of ancient Abila, situate at the extremity of the valley. Here the stream falls in cataracts, in its narrow bed, between the steep sides of high rocks, which at one time closed the valley. On the left side of the river there are ancient sepulchres, high in the rock,

with carved figures of men and animals of a large size. I regretted being obliged to pass by without a nearer look at them. But the day was already on the wane; and we continued our route, down this narrow pass, over the picturesque bridge of Dummar, which spans the ravine, and joins together the opposite sides of the valley.

We had now left the Wady-Barata, and entered the vale of Zebedany, open among the hills, and at this time of the year partly covered with water, in its lowest level, and partly with rich pastures, through which runs the stream of Pharpar. At the northern extremity of this valley stands the small town of Zebedany, from whence we had a beautiful view of the vale, clad in early grass, and of the snows of Mount Hermon, reflected in the blue waters of the pool below. But the lengthening shadows of the mountains warned us of the decline of day, and on we went, up the road above Zebedany, and then along the mountain plain, which here opens to the north, in sight of the snows of Amana. At this height there were, as yet, few signs of spring. Here and there, the bright blue flowers of a small veronica, white violets, with a few scarlet anemones scattered among the grass, alone cheered our approach to the village of Selghair, where we stopped for the night.

We were received at this place by an elderly man, who, like our host of Qabb Elyas, offered us also, what he had, shelter under his roof. Although not very inviting, there was no choice; for with snow on the ground, and no tent, we could not sleep out of doors: so we accepted his offer, not, however, without wishing the night over, and that it were morning. For his house looked much like another Hivite abode, and its interior reminded us of our quarters at Qabb Elyas, with this difference however, that instead of two children, as at that place, our good host of Selghair rejoiced in the perfect number seven; seven, who, with their father and mother, and may be an uncle and aunt or two, were to give us what they could spare of room, and of sleep in it.

While the wretched fowl that was anon to feed us was being hunted, killed, and dressed, I sauntered about to see what there was to be seen. To the north, very little; to the south, nothing at all; behind us, fallow fields, partly covered with snow; and in front, high and barren hills. Such is the spot chosen by the luckless inhabitants of Selghair for their abode: add to this a long winter, a short summer, and frequent inroads of marauding men—what for, I know not, for there is nothing to take—and you will have some idea of this charming place. While thus musing on Selghairian topics, I observed near the house,

under a shed, a picturesque group of women at work. I drew near, and found them employed in baking bread. Their oven was very simple: it resembled a large stone jar, with a wide mouth, embedded in the ground; this was heated by means of a fire of wood, grass, or brambles, lighted in the inside until it were sufficiently hot. The dough, which was only flour of millet and maize, mixed with water, was then made into balls, then flattened on a board into loaves the size of a bun, and stuck against the sides of the oven. When full, they closed the lid, and heaped ashes over it, and left it thus for a few minutes until the bread was baked. At my approach, all work was, for a moment, suspended. The astonishment of the women knew no bounds at the sight of my gloves. "What!" said a young one among them, "a skin that takes off like that? *Ma shallāh!*" Another woman, older and bolder too, took and tried them on, when the whole company raised a shout of laughter; and she returned them to me indignantly, saying, "I could not work in such things."

Meanwhile the poor hen had been caught, killed, and consigned to the boiling pot, where it was still as if struggling for mastery over fire and water. In due time, it was taken out, stiff and distorted, with its beak open, as if it had died in the process of boiling; and, it will readily be imagined, sufficiently tough. We ate of it what we could; and the rest went to feasting the children of our host, who had never before tasted of their own hens. And at last the evening closed in; and while we were endeavouring to stretch ourselves on the small corner allotted to us, our host, who was a bit of a poet, began to recite some of his own lines, in a drawling, sing-song manner, which, in a short time, sent us fast asleep, despite the heat, the close atmosphere of the house, the crying of the children, one of which was a baby only six months old, and other living things much worse.

The next day we rose, of course, early. We were told of robbers in these parts, and our hosts offered many vows for our safe arrival at Baalbek. For this once the villagers seemed to believe in earnest in some kind of danger, for no one offered to escort us, so we started alone. We followed the narrow valley to the north, along the bed of the stream; and passing by the foundation of an ancient building, with remains of columns scattered about, we continued to ascend, till we reached the end of the valley. Then, crossing the brow of a hill to the left, which was covered with bushes, at the foot of a large and conspicuous rock, we found ourselves surrounded by snow, through which, here and there, bright scarlet anemones, like large drops

of blood, opened their full-blown petals to the morning sun. Following, in a northerly direction, over a kind of table land, we soon left the snow, and we gradually descended the hills, across green meadows, and rich pasture land, covered with bright spring flowers, the white alyssum, the scarlet adonis, the purple and yellow crocusses, and others, till at last we reached, safe and sound, the famous city of the sun, Baalbek, about the middle of the day.

The inhabitants of this place were by no means so hospitable as those of Selghair; for we knocked at several doors without success. No one would have us! In this dilemma, we betook ourselves to the house of the emir, and being ushered into his presence, we made our wants known to him. We begged, at the same time, that he would use no violence in forcing our society on any of his people. He promised he would not; and while he conversed with us and treated us to a cup of coffee, and to a whiff of his pipe, one of his emissaries was going about the place to find us a lodging. He soon returned, saying he had got one ready. At this intelligence, we thanked the emir for his assistance, and bowing to the officers by whom he was surrounded, we left the room. No sooner were we installed in a house only one step better than our last abode at Selghair, than I left my friend to make what preparation he could for our dinner, and since our hours at Baalbek were numbered, I ran at once to view the famous ruins. I climbed at a breach in the outer wall, and making my way among broken shafts of columns and fragments of cornices beautifully carved, which lay scattered in grand confusion on the ground, I sat down in wonder and delight under the peristyle of the temple of the sun, lost in astonishment at the stupendous remains now standing before me. These ruins are the largest and the most remarkable in Syria. Within the precincts of the outer wall, there are two principal relics of the former splendour of this famous city of the sun, Heliopolis. One is the temple of the sun, and the other the remains of a much older building, of which only a few columns are now standing. The temple of the sun, under which I was now sitting, has been partly destroyed and defaced by the Saracens, who turned it into a citadel. It is square, with an outward row of columns of Corinthian order, many of which are still standing. The doorway of this temple is a marvellous piece of sculpture. This building is generally ascribed by Arabic writers to the Sabæans; but it was erected by Antoninus Pius, who dedicated it to the sun. The other ruin, which is far more interesting for its antiquity, consists of six columns of colossal size, with their entablature still as perfect as three thousand



years can leave it. These columns are generally supposed to have formed part of a temple, erected by Solomon at this his Baalath. But if those splendid columns really be traces of the greatness of Israel's king, by whom were the enormous masses of the outer wall laid, as foundations of the temple of Baal-Gad? Were they men or Titans, Hivites or Rephaims, who piled these huge stones, forty cubits long, and four cubits square, as we younger mortals do bricks, one upon another? Their name was written on the dust in which they lay, and has long since perished: but their wonderful works still remain; these have, hitherto, defied the wasting hand of time, and seem to vie with the mountain rocks in lasting for ever. From these stupendous ruins the view extends to the north into the boundless plains of Syria, and south along the whole vale of Lebanon. Baalbek, which is built in a most fertile soil, lies itself embosomed in the rich foliage of evergreens, refreshed by abundant streams of living water, which once made the town a garden of delights, and now runs to waste among the scattered remains of her ancient glory.

I left these ruins with regret; but as we were travelling against time, I had none of it to spare. And I went from thence to a spot almost as interesting as the temple itself; I mean, to the quarry from which these huge masses of stone were hewn. It is about half a mile from the ruins. There is, in this quarry, a block of stone, which measures upwards of sixty feet in length, and six feet square, left tilting at one end, as if about to be removed from the quarry. By what means the builders severed those blocks from the rock, and, when severed, conveyed them to their place, will continue a wonder. For in Egypt, the only monoliths to be at all compared with these, viz., the obelisks of Luxor, Thebes, On, and Alexandria, were, we know, transported by water from the quarries of red granite at Syene. But here there was no water to float these stones; and although the distance was short, yet their huge masses and enormous weight must have been hard to manage by people whom we are accustomed to think so much our inferiors in knowledge.

I returned to dinner, but that was soon over, for at Baalbek who could think of eating? And then I went back, to spend the remaining moments of the day among the ruins. Here I witnessed a scene, which pencil may perhaps, but which pen may never, paint. I had seen the Copilambam pagodas in southern India; and I had visited the whole of Egypt: I had been among her wondrous monuments at all times of the day; I had seen the sun rise over the desert hills, in a cloudless sky,

and pour forth, as of old, his golden beams over the ancient plain of Thebes, and on the time-worn, and now silent, colossus of Memnon ; and oft I

“ — watch’d, at thoughtful eve,  
A gale from bowers of balm  
Sweep o’er the billowy corn, and heave  
The tresses of the palm,  
Just as the lingering sun had touch’d with gold,  
Far o’er the ‘desert’ shade, some tower of giants old :”

That was in heathen lands. But now, while looking at the snows of Hermon, that rose above the distant plain in a soft evening sky, I beheld the sun set over his own temple at Baalbek from the sacred heights of Lebanon.

CHAP. V.—*Departure from Baalbek—Noah’s Tomb—Return to Beyrût.*

THE next day I was up before sunrise, and among the ruins, where I remained till breakfast. Then came our departure ; alas ! too soon. We took the road to Zahle, which lay before us, across the plain, at the foot of Lebanon. Not far from Baalbek, we passed a building, apparently of modern construction, made up of ancient pillars, and blocks of red and grey granite ; and following our path, along the plain, in a southerly direction, we soon crossed the Leontes, over a bridge, and shortly after came to Karak, and there halted at the shrine of Noah’s tomb.

“ Here,” said a Mussulman ; “ here was Noah buried. Peace be upon him !”

“ Was he really ?”

“ Wallāh ! He lived upwards of a thousand years ; never lost a tooth ; and, even then, had not a single grey hair, and it is a wonder too, with all his domestic troubles.”

“ Domestic troubles ! what were they ?”

“ His wife, Vahela ! wallāh ! Vahela his wife ! she was drowned in the flood ; but Noah, peace be upon him ! he was a good man, and a just : he was brought and buried here.”

“ You seem to know a good deal about it, my friend. But when I was at Djidda,”—

“ You at Djidda ! Mā shallāh ! so was I. I have been to Mecca, and worshipped at the tomb of the prophet, peace be on him.”

“ Then you must have seen Eve’s tomb at Djidda ?”

“ Wallāh ! I should think I had, who has not ?”

"Well, she was a very tall woman; was she not?"

"Wallāh: her body reaches from one end of the burial-ground to the other, several hundred yards."

"How is it then that Noah, who lived so long, you say, should be so much shorter than Eve; only seventy yards?"

"Oh, I will tell you! They buried him with his knees downwards."

From Karak we went to Zahle; but as the plague was reported there, we tarried not, and rapidly passing by, we began to ascend, through grassy slopes and flowery meadows, on the eastern side of Lebanon, from whence we had a beautiful view of Mount Hermon. The sun had already set for us, behind the mountain on which we stood, but his golden rays were streaming over the plain at our feet, and along the purple ridges of Ante-Lebanon, above which the summit of Mount Hermon rose high in a cloudless sky. We continued to ascend by trickling rills, and flowing brooks, deep in the moving sand, and among rocks and stones, higher and higher, until, after sunset, we reached the summit of the pass, by the peak of Qneisé; from whence, in the silence of evening, the eye ranged from the dark red horizon over the dim and boundless expanse of the Mediterranean; and soon after, we alighted at a small khan near the spring of 'Ain el-Hadjel. It was cold and damp, with little or no fire, and there was barely room in it to stretch ourselves on the naked earth, with only a little sacking under our cloaks. Moreover, there was nothing to be had. The latest traveller towards Damascus had bought the last remaining loaf, and our host trusted to chance for his own morning meal.

I rose the next day with the dawn, suffering from a bad cold—no more indeed than what I had expected—and took, at once, the road to Beyrût which lay far on the plain below. I felt too unwell to pay much attention to the scenery, and I pressed onwards, anxious to arrive, as soon as possible, at the house of my friends. But more haste is worse speed, and the Turkish proverb, as old as these hills, "he who goes too fast, stops on the road," came home to me with double force, when, on my way down the mountain, my horse dropped a shoe! On a road, too, unlike any other for ruggedness, without a house, a man, or a nail, before my journey's end. Besides, my companion, with his servant, had long before left me, so that I was alone when this misfortune took place. But, as they say in the East, "difficulty is the beginning of success." Well, then, in the name of Aristotle: *κατὰ τὸν δεύτερον πλοῦν* "If I cannot ride, I must walk!" and so saying, I jumped off the saddle, though not in the serenest frame of mind. This trifling acci-

dent, however, proved a providential occurrence; for, as the proverb says again, "What God does, is well done:" it obliged me to walk, and thus to shake off the chill I had taken during the night, which might have been the germ of a future illness; and as I got better, it enabled me also to enjoy more at leisure the fine scenery by which I was surrounded on all sides. In the morning sun, the pretty butterflies, *Dolitis Apollina*, and, lower down the hill, *Thais Hypsipyle*, soared at leisure among shrubs of rock-rose in full bloom, now flying past with rapid wing, and then settling on a tuft of white cyclamen, or on a purple anemone: while overhead the hawk poised himself in the air, in order to spy the crested lark, chirping as it sauntered along my lonely path. Thus beguiled on my way by the road itself, I arrived about the middle of the day, worn and weary, at the house of Dr. Smith, by whom I was again kindly welcomed. I was now wiser than when I left it; and fully purposed, when travelling for pleasure, never again to brave the weather without sufficient food and shelter, or never again to trust to something somewhere.

CHAP. VI.—*Preparations for the journey to Jerusalem—Departure from Beyrût—Halt at the Wely of the prophet Jonah.*

IN spite of my walk on the preceding day, I could not altogether escape from the effects of cold; and I awoke, feeling uncomfortable, and being thankful to be no longer at Qabb Elyas, but with friends, who made illness almost a pleasure. My hurried march, too, had brought on a swelled ancle, so that I was fairly laid up, with plenty of time to make all necessary preparations for my intended trip to Jerusalem.

The neighbouring country had, for some time, been unsettled, and the road from Beyrût along the sea, to Sidon and Tyre, and from thence into the interior, was at this time reported to be unsafe. A traveller was even said to have been shot at, not far from Sidon, a day or two before. This was a sad disappointment to me; for, although none of us gave more heed to such rumours than they generally deserve, in a land where it is a common practice to frighten travellers into taking an escort, still I could not but yield, however reluctantly, to the opinion of my friends, who thought it best, on the whole, that I should proceed by sea to Jaffa. This knotty point once settled, I engaged a boat, which was to take me thither, wind and weather permitting, in two days. My servant was in attendance, provisions were purchased; and with my tent, bed, saddle,

and cooking utensils safe in the boat, I waited for a favourable wind. But the wind would not blow; and for two days we were actually wind-bound. This was, however, providential, for while thus only waiting for a breath of wind to enable me to start, a friend of Dr. Smith's arrived from Jerusalem, having travelled the same land-route I had purposed to take, which he said was perfectly safe. This altered my plans at once, and I decided on going by land. I sent for my luggage from the boat; and having paid the owner half the fare for his disappointment, and to my own infinite satisfaction, I lost no time for equipping myself for a land journey. My host, ever ready with his long experience of the country, and kind offices, procured at once for me two trusty muleteers, and three good mules; one for the luggage, and one for each of my two servants, who were, Abon Keshlân, an elderly man, and a dapper youth of sixteen, named Sâleh. My own steed was a mettled Arab, which I was to take to his owner at Jerusalem; and as I was to travel alone, and it is always best to go about with as little show as possible, I took with me no more than was necessary; which, however, I found afterwards amply sufficient. I now gave it in charge to Abon Keshlân, with the following list:—A small ordnance tent; a bed, consisting of two carpets, a very thin mattress, two pair of sheets, one blanket, a pillow, and two pillow cases, with one table cloth,—the whole of which rolled up into a small bundle by means of two straps, and was then put into a coarse hair bag; a tin kettle, a tea pot, a coffee pot, two mugs, a tea canister, a sugar and coffee box, and a salt cellar, all of tin; with two or three pewter plates, a small pan, the lid of which formed a plate, and a trivet to fit inside; three knives and forks, a few pewter table spoons and tea spoons, and a few small Turkish coffee cups: the whole of which went into a small wooden chest, two feet in length, by one foot in depth and width. The tent, enclosed in a bag, was swung on one side of the luggage-horse, and the bed on the other side, while the chest was fixed between them. I carried no fire-arms, and afterwards never felt the want of them. As I wished to receive my first impressions of the country from the scenery itself, I had purposely read no accounts of travellers, and carried none with me: my only books were, a pocket Bible, a prayer book, with a copy of the gospels in Syro-Chaldaic, and the same in Arabic. I also took with me the excellent map of Palestine of Drs. Robinson and Smith. But instead of pistols I carried with me the far greater if not altogether indispensable safeguard, as well as advantage, of a sufficient knowledge of the languages spoken in the country, to deliver me from the trammels of an interpreter, and set me free

to enjoy the charms of safe and independent travel: for in all important matters on the road, trust no one but yourself. Learn to converse with your hosts, and treat them with the respect they shew you, and which is due to them, especially in their own land. This often stood me in good stead while traversing the length and breadth of this country; in which, of course, I heard often enough of robbers, but never saw one.

Everything, our quarantine pass included, being now prepared, and the leather bags being full of provisions, with bread, figs and dates, the mules were brought and tethered in the yard: my servants chattered merrily; while I, too, was in good spirits at the prospect of my journey through scenes of the deepest interest, and under the influence of such a delightful climate. So that the first rays of the sun, as it rose over the peaks of Lebanon, on Tuesday, the 12th of April, found me dressed, and ready to start. But the thousand and one trifles, unavoidable on the first day of travel in the East—a rope wanted here, a strap there, then Abon Keslân's pipe broken, and Sâleh's young cousin and grandmother in tears—delayed us several hours, and the sun was already high over our heads when Abon Keslân entered the room in which I was sitting with Dr. Smith, and said, "Kullo hâzir!" "Everything is ready." I went down stairs, and having seen my servants and their charge safe on their steeds, I swung the saddle-bags which held my wearing apparel over my saddle, and, taking leave of my kind friends, left their hospitable roof.

The day was, of course, lovely. A gentle breeze from the heights of Lebanon was rippling the blue surface of the bay, deep at the foot of the hill; while it scattered in the air the petals of the almond-tree, and fanned the branches of many a palm. Our road lay at first through a sandy level, and thick hedges of prickly pear. Then, a little further, through the wood of pines which I had crossed a few days before, on my way to Damascus; the dark foliage of which set off, as a foreground, the tender green of the plain, and the snows of Lebanon, high in a sky of the deepest blue. A fair entrance into the promised land! We followed our route for a while among sandy mounds, till we came to the grassy banks of a narrow stream that winds among the rich meadows of Es Schweifât. On the left, the eye wandered among the white villages of the Druses, scattered over the lower slopes of Lebanon which here gradually recedes from the shore to make room for the plain of Canaan. And before us, our path lay through tangled grass and shrubs of oleander and agrius-castus in leaf; beyond which, as far as the horizon, spread the blue waters of the Great Sea. Who can describe the beauties of spring on the coast of Canaan! when "the earth, made

soft with early showers," and even now blessed in her bud, seems "crowned with the goodness of the Lord," and nature breaks forth into singing. Whether in the outgoings of the morning, when the drops of dew glitter like precious stones in the first rays of morn; or, in the evening, when the purple wave of the Great Sea rolls in the golden beams of the setting sun, and fondly murmurs on the strand of ages and glories past—everything here, oh Lord! is especially thine, and praises thy truth and faithfulness unto all ages.

Our steeds even seemed to enjoy the surrounding scene, as they paced along freely, with a quick and willing step. On our way, we sauntered across meadows spangled with early spring flowers—true relics of paradise. The red ranunculus, the white cyclamen, the rose-coloured flax, the bright adonis, the blue lycopsis, and other flowers of a thousand hues, formed the carpet on which we trod, while the yellow butterfly, the elegant Thais, and the brilliant Argus and Phlaeas, flitted by with rapid wing, to settle on a tuft of fragrant thyme, or on the full-blown petals of a gam-cistus. Anon, our path led us among the tombs and time-worn sepulchres of an ancient city, now tenanted only by hideous lizards, which crept in and out of them, as we passed, like the grim shades of some reprobate Canaanites, which, of old, lay buried in this city of the dead; now, along the beach, strewn with shells, among which a few sprightly sand-pipers merrily ran and twittered on the water's edge: then, over a plain of sand, adorned with patches of blue lupine, and past the Khan-el-Musey, with its motley group of native travellers, on to the "borders of Sidon," to the shaded banks of the Tamyras. The air was warm, the sky without a cloud, and the rays of the sun, fast nearing the horizon, peered through clumps of oleander and tamarisk, and sparkled in the eddying wave of the stream; while the kingfisher darted on his finny prey, and birds, ensconced in that peaceful retreat, poured forth their evening song to the glory of him who made them. We crossed the stream, and then I set foot, for the first time, on the ancient territory of Sidon. For, in the olden time, the bed of the Tamyras formed its northern limit. And then, following for a little while the rugged road that leads from the strand, on which I bought some fish of a fisherman, over the cape of Jonah, we came, after sunset, to the shrine of that prophet, and there halted for the night.

The tent was pitched between a few mulberry-trees on the shore, and my servants were preparing my supper of the fish I had just bought, when a deformed little man, attracted by the hissing and smell of the frying-pan, came leaning on a staff, to

pay me a visit. Poor fellow ! he was, as he said, hungry ; and that softened his Moslem prejudices, and brought him to beg for food of me,—not a Samaritan, but a Christian. I bade him sit down, and sharing with him my fare, I enquired of him who and what he was.

“ I am the keeper of the Wely of the prophet Yûnus,” said he : “ peace be upon him ! ”

“ What do you know of Yûnus, friend ? ”

“ Oh ! Yûnus en-neby ! en-neby Yûnus ! Dhulnûn went to Tharshish when he fled from before God ; he was thrown into the sea, and a fish swallowed him ; and there, in the dark, he said, ‘ There is no God but God ; praise be to thee, I am of the wicked. ’ And after forty days, the fish threw him up here ; there—where you see.”

“ And what then ? ”

“ Then he was as bare as a babe, but the angel Gabriel touched him, and his beard and the hair of his head grew as before ; and then he went to Tigris, and—a goat fed him there.”

“ Where did he go, do you say ? ”

“ To Tharshish, to Tigris, somewhere near Istamboul,” said he, evidently much pleased at having delivered himself so well of his lore, while he looked at me, as if he thought he might possibly have gone beyond his depth in geography. This, however, did not prevent him from doing ample justice to his supper, for which he thanked me ; and raising himself on his staff, he left me with his blessing.

Then after a short walk on the beach, in the cool of the evening, I spread my bed on the sand inside the tent, and laid down to rest.

#### CHAP. VII.—*Sidon—Sarepta—and the borders of Tyre.*

I rose with the dawn, and after a hasty breakfast prepared overnight, we struck the tent, packed up our luggage, and bidding the Wely and the warden farewell, we mounted our horses, and rode off. A little way beyond, where the road turns off from the shore, and passes over a rocky promontory, we had a near view of Sidon, and of its bay, on which, to complete the scene, some fishermen in a boat were casting their net into the sea. They did not however appear as fortunate as the son of Canaan, also a fisherman, who, having had an “ extraordinary haul” in this bay, built his hut somewhere on the beach, and declared he would fish nowhere else. But, he did not fish long alone, and in peace. Others, hearing of his luck, came to share it with him ; and while they spoiled his sport, they founded Zidon.



Oh! that I could interpret the murmur of these waves, as they softly lave the beach, and die! That I could hear an answer to them from the shore, and listen in silence to their whispers of another world! What tales of ancient glory now past and gone! What sighs over this great city, now fallen to rise no more! See how yon fishing boat gently moves on the swelling bosom of the deep. There, of old, the proud ships of Zidon, laden with her own treasures, and with the choicest produce of her soil, spread their sails of fine linen to the winds of Lebanon, on their errand to distant lands. Then was "Zidon, the great;" then were her inhabitants famous, when they dwelt at ease, in the midst of their wealth; ere other kingdoms had risen, ere her own daughter, magnificent Tyre, had appeared on her plain, and above her own island rock, as queen of this sea. And now look, by yonder palms, at that small fishing town. Count her mean and lowly dwellings, scattered within her crumbling walls: mark well her few fishing boats, here and there on the main: then open the word of God, and see how "Zidon the great" is fallen!

Descending to the shore, from the ridge of rocks on which I stood, we followed the water's edge, as far as the mouth of the Bostrenus, where a guard asked for our quarantine pass. We crossed the river, and from thence, by plantations of mulberry trees, to the gate of the town, at which a few Turkish soldiers were mounting guard. Then, through dark and narrow streets, to the house of a Syrian merchant, called, Abon Nāsir, who dwelt upon the town wall, and to whom I had a letter of introduction. He received me with the usual eastern courtesy, and shewed me to the corner seat of his divan, which, I am sorry to say, had not been dusted for many a long day. And, having offered me the customary welcome of fresh water, and sweetmeats, he proceeded very much in the style of Agorastocles, "What of you? whence? whither? and when? who are you? what ails you? what say you?" Having expressed himself satisfied on all these points, he then offered to shew me through the town to the harbour. On my way thither, I could see neither the fountain, nor the marvellous fish, which Edrisi mentions; but, as I was looking for a boatman, I met my old friend, the reis of the boat which I had engaged at Beyrūt. He was going to Jaffa, with a freight of fir wood from Lebanon.

I got into a boat, in order to examine at leisure the remarkable remains of the harbour, which still attest the former maritime power of Zidon. This harbour, by nature safe and spacious, was afterwards improved in true Phœnician style, by being as it were scooped out of the live rock, and sheltered from

the south wind by a jetty of enormous masses of hewn stone, which have stood the washing efforts of time, and braved the fury of storms, for nearly four thousand years. Talk of Cyclo-pian or Heroic architecture, by the side of these walls! The largest stone at Tyreus, at Mycenæ, or at Volterræ is not to be compared to the smallest of these. While the city has repeatedly fallen and risen from her ruins, these primitive walls remain firm as in ancient days, when they compassed the marvellous fleet, gaily decked with purple banners, for the festival of Astarte, patron goddess of the city. Here they stand unmoved at the impotent roar of the deep, as when they re-echoed the shouts of joyous mariners, who, trusting to the uncertain twinkling of a star, ventured in their ships for the distant shores of Javan; carrying with them the riches of the land, and captive children of God's own people. But now "Zidon is ashamed." In her market, where I could only find the bare necessities of life, the refuse of the west is sold to a few wandering Arabs, instead of her own precious ware to merchant princes. And the poor fisherman now binds his fragile bark to the strand, where, of old, mighty ships of Tharshish lay riding at anchor.

As the sun had long passed the meridian, I felt anxious to set off, and I desired my servants to lade, and get ready. Their unwillingness, however, led me to suspect there might be something in the wind, when my host, who had evidently been teaching them their lesson, while I was musing on Sidonian antiquities in the harbour, eyed them, as he thought, unnoticed. Then our conversation ran thus:—

"Friend," said he.

"Well," said I.

"There is danger on the road."

"Stuff!"

"There is, I tell you."

"Nonsense!"

"But there is! Wallâh!"

"I don't believe it."

"What! you are not afraid?"

"Not I."

"Well, but you must take an escort with you."

"I shan't, however:" and, so saying, I ordered the servants to start; and thanking my host for his kindness and interest in my welfare, I mounted my horse and left. But, no sooner were we outside the gate of the town, than Abon Keshlân discovered, what he had not done before, that his horse wanted shoeing. So he must needs stop at the next farrier's, while I rode on slowly

with Sāleh, who looked panic-struck, and half inclined to lag behind. I was preparing to read these two gentlemen a lecture on the duty of obedience, when I heard behind me a voice in the distance crying, "Khawājāh! Sir!" I turned round, and saw Abon Nāsir at his window, which opened on the wall, beckoning me to stop. I went on however, regardless of his cries, until Abon Keslān came up, sitting ill at ease on his horse, and begged I would wait, as Abon Nāsir wished to speak to me. I halted at the top of the hill, and there waited for him, while I admired the beauties of the surrounding landscape. The plain of Canaan sloped gently from the hills of Lebanon to the shore, already girt with a narrow streak of the whitest foam; while the breeze of noon sped the white sails of a few fishing-boats, over the deep blue sea. Even at this time of day, and so near the town, a mournful stillness reigned over the scene, only broken by the distant clink of the anvil, and by the shrill note of the sea-gull on the beach. By this time Abon Nāsir joined us, and quite out of breath, ejaculated, "Khawājāh! I—I love—I love you so much; I fear—fear for you. You must—must take an escort: I have ordered it; it won't—won't cost you anything: I will pay for it, yes, I—I," smiting significantly upon his breast.

My servants stood aghast, and begged I would accede to his request. "Well then, my man," said I to Abon Nāsir, "let us be quick, we must be off; where is your escort?"

"Coming! coming!"

"Where?"

"Coming now;" which, in the East, means any time within the twenty-four hours. I waited some time, far more engrossed with the land of Canaan before me, than with Abon Nāsir's alarm. And I was inclining to move on, not wishing to wait any longer, when, straining his eyes, he cried, "There they are, coming to us."

I looked, and saw a gaunt figure on horseback, followed at some distance behind by an old man on a donkey. Presently they came up to us, to Abon Nāsir's great satisfaction. "El hamd lilla! here they are." I surveyed my escort. The "soldier" called Tānūs had evidently equipped himself in a hurry, for he had forgotten his powder-horn, and had no flint to his matchlock; and his companion, the old man on the donkey, whom Abon Nāsir introduced as Sheikh Achmet, had no other weapon than his pipe-stick. On the plan however of the more the merrier, I felt no objection to their accompanying me, especially when I found, as I expected, that they were clients of Abon Nāsir's, who were anxious to return home into the interior under my protection. I said, of course, "Welcome!" and Abon

Nāsir, pleased at having effected his purpose, saw us all off together, and wished us a prosperous journey, "Mā salāme! in peace."

Turning to the south, we descended from the hill on which we stood, into the narrow plain which extends to Sarepta, between the hills and the sea. It forms a part of the land first chosen by Canaan for his dwelling place, which reached, as before noticed, from the Tamyras north of Zidon, to the white promontory south of Tyre. This plain was now one bed of flowers of all hues, among which I noticed particularly the bright blossom of the scarlet pea, growing here in profusion. Two small streams crossed our path, which by and by brought us through a carpet of the softest grass, to a spring of delicious water, gurgling under the shade of an old tamarisk. And then we passed by a small creek, overgrown with rushes, and filled with stagnant water, probably the site of an ancient harbour, from whence, may be, the thoughtless Europa eloped with Jove; and a little further, the path which rises a little over a low projecting mound, soon brought us to a few heaps of rubbish, profusely covered with tufts of the blue sand-wort, in full bloom. This was the site of "Zarepath of Zidon," or Sarepta.

Of Sarepta itself, nothing remains but these scattered ruins. Neither its ancient furnaces, in which the iron and brass of the adjacent hills, and Sidonian glass-ware, was worked, and from which it took its name; nor the house of the poor widow, with whom Elijah dwelt, when fleeing from before Jezebel; nor that of her antitype, the woman of Canaan, who came to Christ, and craved his pity for her only child; nor even the footsteps of the Son of God himself, have left a single trace. But the scenery is still the same. Looking along the shore, towards Zidon, surrounded with green fields, and groves of palms, the plain looked as fresh, the slopes of Lebanon as majestic, and its snow as white against the blue vault of heaven, as in the days of Elijah. And looking round towards Tyre, the sea was as blue, the coast as rich, and the flowers of the field as bright, as when they smiled at our Saviour's presence on the coast of Tyre and Sidon, which he visited in search of the lost sheep of the house of Israel. But, if his footprints be not seen, these scenes which he beheld, remain as yet unchanged; while, to the eye of faith, his name appears written everywhere, holy and blessed for ever.

Leaving on a hill to the left the more modern village of Surafend, as Sarepta is now called by native writers, we came, a few miles further, to a place called Adlân, where there are traces of ancient buildings, now completely ruined. But the most remarkable feature of this spot, is a natural cave of large

size, surrounded with numerous tombs, hewn in the perpendicular side of the hill, which here rises half a mile from the sea. These tombs seem to have been connected, in ancient days, with the ruins already mentioned, which probably marked the site of Ornithōpolis, mentioned by Strabo, as a small town between Tyre and Sidon. It took its name probably from the number of sacred doves kept there, as well as at Heliopolis in Syria; in connexion with the worship of some of the Phœnician sea-gods, as Dercetis at Joppa, and Ashtaroth in Zidon.

The tombs cut in the rock attracted my attention, from being the first of the kind I had seen in this country. They consisted of a cell six or eight feet high, by six feet square; on three sides of which was raised, on the ground, a trough wherein the dead lay. The entrance is small, square, and rabbetted all round, to admit the stone with which it was closed and sealed. At present they afford a secure retreat to owls, and other birds of prey, some of which flew at my approach, while others kept undisturbed possession of their roost. The cavern itself is a large natural excavation, of considerable depth, and is probably the one alluded to in Joshua xiii. 4, as the *Mēāzah*, (or cavern) of the Sidonians; as, from its size and position it must always have been well known, and thus a very fit object to mark a boundary.

I stood for an instant at the mouth of the cave. The sun was setting in a glowing sky. It seemed to waft ashore on the waves, from the western horizon, a continual flood of purple and gold. Had Herodotus been here, he would have heard it hiss!

We went on, and the cool shades of evening were fast spreading over the earth, when we reached the steep banks of the Leontes, which rolls, in its deep and contracted bed, the melted snows of Ante-Lebanon into the bosom of the great sea. We crossed it on a quaint old bridge, and on the other side we halted for the night on the threshold of the Tyrian territory, at the Kahn el Khasimiyeh. This khan is partly in ruins, and could afford us no shelter; I therefore pitched my tent on the roof, and then began to think of something to eat. While Abon Keshlān grumbled at feeling hungry, Sāleh no doubt thinking the few starved fowls, that were startled at our approach, fair game, asked no questions but caught one of these hapless birds by the legs, and drawing out his pocket knife in a trice cut off its head. It was then too late to remonstrate. The fowl was accordingly plucked, boiled and served at once. But although I was rather hungry, after a six hours' ride, my teeth tried it in vain, and Sheikh Achmet whom I asked to supper, could make nothing of it. But when it came to Abon Keshlān's turn, the bird

disappeared at once, to the astonishment of Sāleh, who only came in for the bones. I made it up to Sheikh Ibrahim by a cup of coffee, and a pipe of good Djebelee, of the merits of which, however, I speak on hearsay only, as I never could learn to smoke, in the east or the west. The old man, who was rather jaded on his arrival, gradually revived, and then became inquisitive. I told him of steamers, but he had already seen one off Sidon. I then plied him with railway traffic, but this was too fast for him; he could not exactly take it in. But when I told him of people in the west, who sleep with one eye open, he laid down his pipe in utter astonishment, opened his mouth and eyes wide, and exclaimed, "Wāh! wāh! Mā shallāh! wonderful! then nobody can rob them."

"Of course not," I said; "that's why they keep it open. Wouldn't you like to try it yourself?"

"I will," answered the old man, "this very night."

But soon finding that when he closed one eye, the other quickly followed, he began to nod over his pipe; and thinking it best to try the experiment elsewhere, he left me for the night.

For my part, I could not so soon retire to rest; but I sat at the door of my tent, listening in silence to the muffled roar of the Tyrian main, while I dwelt on the magnificent sight of cloudless heavens, spangled with a host of brilliant worlds, the highest of which is but God's footstool! "There was no speech nor language;" even in the dead of the night "their voice was not heard." Yet how they declared "the glory of God," and how they uttered the knowledge of Him, who commanded, and they were made! while every twinkling star in the firmament above seemed to whisper to the earth, "the Lord reigneth."

M.

(To be continued.)

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## THE REJECTION AND PASSION.

MANY readers of Christ's life pass by, with haste or inattention, the *remarkable* fact that the Jews rejected him who was their king. It was remarkable, because they did not merely disbelieve him, but pursued him to death with a relentless hatred. To suppose that they actively persecuted him on account of the good he did, is at variance with human nature. There is no instance on record of any one's goodness (considered by itself) being the reason for his sufferings. The sinfulness of those who have ill treated just men, has never consisted in their own consciousness of destroying what was good ; but in their inability to distinguish good from evil.

A mere disbelief in Jesus would not have made the Jews slay him. They would have let him alone, as Pilate was disposed to do. Nor has any one an elevated notion of the procurator's spirituality, or even of his rectitude, because he scourged and crucified, against his own convictions, a man whom he did not hate. Indeed, we would rather place him below the ferocious priests who pursued to death an acknowledged enemy.

We do not say these things in order to excuse the frightful wickedness of that generation, but to obviate the conclusion at which so many arrive—that, because they do not hate *mere goodness*, as those unreasonable men were supposed to do, they have no share in their criminality. No one could form such an opinion who had a proper acquaintance with the motives of the human heart.

The persecution could not have been on account of the scheme of *morality* which our Lord preached ; for this was, in a manner, incidental. It was not peculiar to him, although Christianity has evolved it more plainly than any system of human ethics could have done. We find, moreover, that the Baptist preached exactly the same morality—one founded on *inner* righteousness, and did not incur the like persecution. The Scribes and Pharisees were only incredulous, and left him : they did not insist upon killing him. His imprisonment and execution were the acts of a single tyrant, whose vices he had freely censured ; and his death was deplored by the Jews in general, as an atrocious crime. How then, was it, that if Jesus came to preach nothing else than a righteousness of inclination (true though it be that he did preach it), his reception was so different from John's ?

There is but one answer to this question. He did not seem

to be what he affirmed he was ; and their disappointment arose from having had high hopes excited, and discovering that they had been mocked. This disappointment was turned into hatred, and the hatred fanned into a blind fury, by the concluding events of Christ's life.

Every testimony drawn from the narrative, shews that men expected he was *going* to be something which he did not appear to be. They were promised Immanuel, or God incarnate, and they saw only a helpless babe, a gentle youth, and a social prophet. His near relations, and his fellow-townsmen, felt this disappointment the most acutely. Hence, his brethren were foremost among those who did not believe in him ; and Nazareth was especially distinguished as the town that thrust him out.

These, his brethren, who had been children when he was a child, and who knew, more certainly than others, how much he partook of their common humanity, were disbelievers in Christ's claims. Their natural affection, indeed, prevented their *persecuting* him ; and they were content with an endeavour to restrain him in what they thought the error of an excited fancy (Mark iii. 21).

In this doubt or faltering faith, Mary probably shared in some degree. Inasmuch, however, as a mother's love exceeds that of a brother, so she never positively disbelieved in him, as his brethren are declared to have done. She had been the object of revelations. An angel had conversed with her ; she had been highly blessed among women. The power of the Highest had overshadowed her. And yet, with all these privileges and advantages, if the delay of thirty years, before he shewed forth his glory, had no effect whatever in shaking the firmness of her belief, she must have been all that the Romanists pretend she was—without sin.

When he had been pointed out by the Baptist, and had left his family, to prepare in the wilderness for his great work, the fainting faith of his relatives and townsmen may have been anew excited ; and they awaited with anxiety for that manifestation which should console Israel.

His mother looked for this display at the marriage feast of Cana : she expected the hour when the dead should hear his voice, and they that heard should live (John v. 25). She understood not the causes which impeded the final prevalence of God ; and she was rebuked with some severity. "*Woman, thy thoughts are not mine ; this hour has not yet come*" (John ii. 4). It had not come for the lifting up of himself, or the drawing of *all men* to him. But he was then *beginning* the course that should conclude with this hour, for he wrought his *first* miracle.



The consequence was, as might have been imagined; his *disciples* believed on him;—not the whole company, but those whose hearts were already undergoing a spiritualizing process. They followed him with the hope of gradually seeing and understanding more of him.

But how can we explain the continuing infidelity of others? even of his relatives? What else did their stony hearts require? The solution of this problem is to be found in those discourses of Christ recounted by St. John. Firstly, with the ruler, Nicodemus; Secondly, with the Samaritan women; and Thirdly, with the Jews, after the healing of the impotent man at *Bethesda*, and the feeding of the five thousand.

The difficulty upon the minds of the unspiritual, was that Christ did not explain *how* the atonement was to be effected. They would have desired that he should, *at once* (as Satan had tempted him to do), seize upon his inheritance, and introduce the reign of peace and happiness. This was the heavenly thing for which Nicodemus was not ready; this was the revelation of the coming hour, promised to the woman at the well, and to the Jews subsequently.

He continued to work his miracles (which were a partial glimpse of divinity), wherever there was faith; but in his own town of Nazareth, there was not this faith. They knew him only as the carpenter—as a poor man; and could not believe, without some very overwhelming proofs, that in the unlikely form of the Son of Mary, there tabernacled the rich effulgence of uncreated glory. Still, these Nazarenes were living under a promise that the carpenter would come forth, and shew what he really was. And when they heard that he had been working marvels in Cana and Capernaum, they looked, when he entered their synagogue, for the same to be shewn to them. He, however, only took occasion, from the lesson out of Isaiah, to declare himself to be the servant of Jehovah, whom the prophet had predicted. This did not *offend* them; they only *wondered* at such gracious words proceeding out of the mouth of Joseph's son. They could not comprehend how the carpenter's gentle son was Jehovah incarnate. The request they pressed on him (alluded to by St. Luke iv. 23) that he should do among them what he had done at Capernaum, was nothing else than an urgent demand that he should more vividly display to them the promised divinity. They cried out, "Physician, heal thyself! Save thyself, by thy wonderful power, from poverty and humiliation." They had no spiritual wish to study him, but were actuated by curiosity; or, it may be, by a malicious desire to convict him of imposture.

Jesus obviated the use which they would have made of the

fact that he was not received in his own town, by referring to the histories of the prophets Elias and Elisha: their miracles had also been only partial; and they who were healed, were not those with whom they were well acquainted, but the *foreigners* of Sidon and of Syria. So would he intimate, that he should not at first be exhibited universally, but at intervals, and with cause of offence; and rather to strangers than to his own friends, who had abused their privileges, and were beginning to forfeit them.

These words filled them with wrath: not because he was a preacher of righteousness—for they heard his exposition of Isaiah with attention and reverence—but assuredly, because he preached of himself in a way that they could not understand. He had laid claim to the *divine* character of Messiah; and he did not seem to be at all so grand, as God incarnate, in their opinion, ought to be. They shrank especially from what all unspiritual men avoid—the approximation of the human to the divine. They would have grovelled before a *distant* God, but they could not worship a God near and good. They would have killed him, had he not escaped.

That this was always the cause of Christ's rejection, will be evidenced by our finding the people only offended *when he spoke of himself*; not when he discoursed of true virtue, or of saving grace.

See particularly, that passage in St. John's sixth chapter, where the murmurs of the Jews were occasioned by the obscure words, "I am the bread which came down from heaven." And even then they stumbled—not so much at the assertion of divinity, as that the assertion came from Jesus, the son of Joseph, *whose father and mother they knew* (verses 41, 42). They would have listened to anything rather than to *the hard saying*, that he, *with whom they were intimate*, was Christ, the Son of the living God. They acknowledged that he had great powers: they could have received him as Elias, or John, or any one of the prophets; but it was too much to believe him to be what Peter said he was—God incarnate.

So hard, indeed, was this saying, that many who had been his disciples, went back and left him. It was at this crisis that Judas, *one of the twelve*, began to doubt and dislike. (John vi. 60—71.)

And this impression upon the minds of the Jews could not allow them to remain inactive; for if Jesus claimed to be God, and was not God, he was an impostor and a blasphemer, and his undeniable miracles were only due to Satanic agency. The Jews did not seek to stone him for a good work, but because he, being a man (whom they all knew so well), made himself God (John x. 33). It is not surprising, therefore, that the Scribes and the

rulers, thinking he deceived the people, deemed it necessary to prove that he was a violator of Moses : and they appear, at first, to have been amazed that he evaded the danger by shewing that, not he, but they, had made the word of God of none effect. As a last resource, they could only give out that he performed all his marvels through Beelzebub.

St. Matthew, in his 12th chapter, says that this calumny was uttered principally on account of Christ's having *cast out devils*, which act was highly significant of his supremacy, and in consequence, very offensive to those who denied that supremacy. But as the action was incontestably superhuman, they attributed it to the influence, not of God (as they ought), but of the evil demon Beelzebub, whom their Persian tendencies had invested with Almighty power. They need not have gone to the world of spirits for a solution of the phenomena exhibited by Jesus, if they had not seen in him something above the world of flesh, and had not understood him to claim the possession of a power, only to be explained in one of two ways : either by the direct presence and agency of the Lord of Lords, or of the evil being who was made, by their Zoroastrian philosophy, a rival of the Creator.

Let us carefully attend to our Saviour's reply. Beelzebub, being the head of all evil, cannot shew himself, except in wickedness—he *cannot* do good. Not only is God the author of good, but of *all* good. We should not be obliged to suppose the existence of Beelzebub, but for the presence of evil ; and our sole mode of distinguishing between God's works, and the works of unholy wills, is by finding one good, and the other bad. Hence, the acknowledged good he did (if good in any way), not coming immediately from human wills, could not have proceeded but from God. Therefore he continued, "if I with the finger of God cast out devils, no doubt the kingdom of God is come upon you."<sup>a</sup>

Still the Pharisees pressed him for a sign. They wanted some other evidence of divinity ; and he refused to shew them any, except the last and greatest—the sign of the prophet Jonas : his rising from the dead. Till the hour had come for *that* sign, Christ would be to them what Jonas had been to the Ninevites : a warning.

After this conversation, Christ's conduct changed. He began to speak in parables ; to be stern and ambiguous towards all who

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<sup>a</sup> Very similar in import was his answer to the rich young man, who, rejecting his *whole* claims, yet confessed that he was good. "There is none good but one ; that is God." If I am good, I am *of* God, as all good beings are. Whatever, therefore, of *superhuman* is in me, must be God himself (Luke xviii. 19).

received him not, lest, as he said, they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears. He now denounced the Scribes and Pharisees in the strongest terms, and increased by his opposition the enmity that had already set in. Hence, also, it was not till *after he had been rejected*, that he spoke plainly about his death, and declared that discipleship should be a profession of affliction. It is therefore perfectly evident, from the extreme surprise and offence with which his dearest friends received this declaration, and the singular mistakes they were continually making in their estimation of Christianity, that *at first* he had not preached of an atonement *by death*.

The events which had offended even his friends, must have still further incensed his enemies, especially as causes were in operation which were every day aggravating the ill feeling of the rulers. The distinctive mark of his morality,—in the midst of the Stoicism of the Pharisees, and the Epicurism of the Sadducees; his sweeping condemnation of all *outside* virtue—roused the anger of the doctors in that age, whose ethics were based, not upon spiritual junction with God, but upon godless goodness; and, while it may be true that when first they disputed with him, they had no murderous intention; yet when, not content with prevailing against them, he uttered woes and threats, and they saw that the common people heard him gladly, they determined upon his death, and devised crafty schemes for bringing it about.

Away from Jerusalem, he was in comparative safety, for the authority of the Sanhedrim, and of the priests, scarcely extended to Galilee or Peræa; and Herod was too callous a man to enter upon a zealous contest with a good prophet. He had never beheld Jesus (Luke xxiii. 8), and was so much engrossed with his own plans, that he entertained nothing more than a transient curiosity to see him. But with the rulers at Jerusalem the case was different. He was undermining their influence; he was openly teaching that all the Israelitish system was decaying, and that the vineyard was to be given to other husbandmen.

Joined to their hatred, was a feeling of a political nature. If they failed in moderating the independent notions, and the dreams of glory that were rising up among the people, the Roman government would deal severely with them, and take away both their place and nation (John xi. 48). This feeling actuated Caiaphas and the Sadducees, who did not participate in the *religious* hatred of Jesus evinced by the Pharisees.

But as the time drew on for the Son of Man to be lifted up, as the hour approached which the sanguine had expected too soon (compare John ii. 4—iv. 28, and v. 25, with John xii. 23, 27, and xiii. 31), he quitted his retirement, and passed into the

very neighbourhood of Jerusalem, to work a more stupendous miracle than any he had ever yet wrought, and to force his enemies to proceed to extremities.

While advancing onwards, with the intention of appearing at the next Passover, and having made the plain avowal, to the great amazement of his disciples, that he should then suffer death, he heard that his beloved friend Lazarus was dangerously ill, and that he was sent for to heal him. He abode, however, two days in the place where he was, and then announced his determination of going into Judea, to raise Lazarus from the dead. In vain did his disciples urge the danger he was incurring, if he thus put himself into the power of his enemies. He set forth, followed by his sorrowing disciples, who would not quit him even when meeting death.

He found numbers of the Jews assembled at Bethany, lamenting with the dead man's sisters, and he seems to have chosen such a concourse, that the effect of his sudden and unexpected appearance among them might be the more striking; for he came in secret, and gave no time for the completion of his enemies' machinations. He was told that four days had already passed since his friend had been interred. With one word, with a beck to the departed soul that it should leave Hades, and return to its fleshy tabernacle, he ordered the dead man to revive, and to come forth.

The important feature in this miracle, for the sake of which I here notice it, is that it was performed with the design of *bringing things to a crisis*. That the excommunicated prophet of Nazareth, he who had a price set on his head (John xi. 57), should have chosen the eve of the Passover, and almost the very gates of Jerusalem, for doing what was so offensive to the rulers—a work which bore divine claims upon its front—roused them to a fury, restrained only by a fear of the people. They now began to lay *definite* plots how they might succeed in killing him (John xi. 58); and the first course that suggested itself, was to secure him when he should visit the temple. But Jesus, for the present, postponed his entrance into Jerusalem, and retired a little farther than Bethany, to a city called Ephraim.

When, however, the Passover approached, Jesus again left his retirement, and advanced with a procession of applauding disciples towards Jerusalem. He was followed now, not only by the faithful twelve, but by others who were eager for sharing the honours he now appeared to be claiming. He did not now check the noisy zeal of his adherents; he marched at the head of a continually increasing multitude, for he had cast aside all

reserve with the rulers, and publicly announced his intention of declaring himself a king.

Near to the confluence of the Jordan with the Dead Sea, was the ordinary passage across the river, where Jesus either met, or joined the caravan of devout Galileans, coming up to the holy city for the great festival. Seven miles on the line of road from this place to the capital, lay the celebrated town of Jericho. He entered it along with the shouting crowd, and at its entrance gave sight to two blind men, as though to augment his own fame. As he passed through the streets, even the chief publican, Zaccheus (who, perhaps, farmed the revenues of the district), became an open disciple.

And so he went on towards Jerusalem, till he reached the villages of Bethany and Bethphage, from one of which he sent on two of the disciples to secure for his service an ass's colt, which had never borne any less dignified burden than the Lord.

Thus poorly mounted, but treated as a king by those who sang hosannas to the Lord's anointed, he descended the slope of the mountain, with the holy city rising before him in full sight the whole way; its precipitous crags and glittering monuments overhanging the narrow gorge he was about to pass; but chiefly the magnificent temple, with lofty towers and gilded roofs—the nearest object which met the beholder—must have filled many of that enthusiastic throng with recollections of the ancient glories of the Theocratic kingdom.

And doubtless, this triumphant procession seemed almost to justify the expectations of the multitude, that Christ's reign was now about to be of the same nature as Solomon's; and it aided the forgetfulness of the twelve, of the need of their master suffering death. By our Lord himself, it was a claim to the sovereignty of that city, which should one day become the metropolis of the nations of the earth.

With this tumultuous train he crossed the brook Kedron, trickling down the valley of Jehoshaphat, which divides the Mount of Olives from Mount Zion; and entering the city by the sheep gate, found himself at once close upon the sacred precincts of the temple. Immediately he began to exercise his assumed authority as the head of that kingdom, of which the temple was the royal residence.

In the outside courts and porches, he witnessed a scene of traffic and noise little befitting the solemnity of a building devoted to religious purposes. This part was called the Court of the Gentiles, because none except Israelites could penetrate further into the temple; and if, as it frequently happened, a

pious stranger was willing to offer up his prayers to the one true God, he must do it in the midst of cages of animals, and tables of money changers, and distracted with the uproar of a market. The Jews expressed their contempt and indifference for all people besides themselves, by carefully excluding profane business from their own part of the building, but permitting it to any excess of cupidity and dishonesty where alone the despised Gentiles might worship.

It was part of Christ's later ministry to declare that the privileges of the Jews were about to cease; and that they and the uncircumcised would be on the same level before God. The ejection of the traders from the non-Israelitish courts, was a graphic exhibition of this teaching. The Gentile was as good as the Jew, and the Gentile temple must be as holy as the Jewish. It was under this view that our Lord quoted an ancient prophecy, that that house should be called the house of prayer *for all nations* (Isaiah lvi. 7, and Mark xi. 17).

That such is a correct notion of the transaction will be obvious, if we consider that the business carried on was not necessarily iniquitous, or even superfluous, however justly the individual traders may have earned the title of *thieves*; for indeed, it was a great convenience for the sacrificers to have at hand stalls where they could purchase victims legally fit for the altar; and since it was forbidden to receive any money into the treasury but in the sacred Hebrew coins, it was essential that whoever came to pay the customary half-shekel towards the support of the temple, should be enabled to exchange for it the current Roman money of the empire.<sup>b</sup>

At this season, Christ's whole preaching was directed against the Scribes and Pharisees, the religious guides of the nation. It

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<sup>b</sup> The same lesson was conveyed by his cursing the barren fig-tree, as he was returning from the city, up the Mount of Olives, to Bethany, where he then was lodging. But there is, at first sight, a difficulty connected with this event, which is removed by a little acquaintance with the climate of Judea. The fig is a late tree, even in Palestine. When her branch is *yet tender*, and *putteth forth* leaves, we know that summer is *near* (Mark xiii. 28). Why then expect ripe fruit at the Passover, (about the vernal equinox), when as yet the time of figs was not? (Mark xi. 13). And the significance of the action is entirely lost, unless we suppose that this particular tree ought to have had fruit on it. We learn, however, that this kind of tree, in addition to its principal crop in the summer, may, in favourable seasons, put forth other leaves and blossoms; and these, if the winter be sufficiently mild, will ripen in the early spring. So that, as a general rule, if about March a tree were visible, *having leaves*, it might be supposed to have escaped the severity of the winter, and to have fruit also. And hence, when our Lord approached the verdant tree, distinguished by its foliage among its neighbours, as one likely to have figs, it became a fit emblem of that nation which would not bring forth the fruits of the kingdom of heaven (Matt. xxi. 43). The Jews had not yielded what the husbandman had a right to expect, and must not, therefore, any longer cumber the ground of the Lord's heritage.

is not therefore surprising, that when these spiritual and ecclesiastical chiefs were becoming more and more persuaded that open war existed between the prophet of Nazareth and themselves; that he every day grew bolder in his attacks upon them; and that their authority among the people was destroyed by his magic power, they should the more resolutely combine to defeat him.

It may have been in consequence of this tone of his preaching, and especially of his cleansing the *Gentile* courts of the temple, that certain pious Greeks at Jerusalem sought him out, and did him honour. The Pharisees truly had reason for saying that they prevailed nothing, and that the world was gone after him (John xii. 19, 20). And their hatred was not diminished when their fears whispered that they dared not proceed to violence, lest the people should rise against them (Mark xi. 18).

The first effort they made to undermine his influence, was by formally disputing his right to act as he did without their permission; and, in the evasive retort he made, by putting a question relative to the baptism of John, he intended not only to claim the same authority as his precursor, but to taunt them with double dealing, in not venturing to provoke the ill feeling of the multitude, while yet they would not admit the truth, which the people had more truly conceived than they, the masters of Israel (Matt. xxi. 23—32).

This dread of popular indignation explains their whole conduct. It is the more intelligible when we also take into the account that Pilate, the hard and unscrupulous procurator, had come, as was his wont at the Passover, and quartered a cohort at an angle of the temple, ready to quell, with the severity of Roman discipline, the smallest approach to an insurrection, which was only too probable while the feast lasted. They knew that they would have to support, not only an outburst from the people, at a time when the streets were thronged with rude and bold Galilæans, mostly attached to the person of Jesus, but the far more formidable vengeance of the stern soldier, who, scorning to enter upon their theological differences with a schismatic doctor, would have held them responsible for driving an excitable people into a breach of the peace.

For the first time, as it would appear, they now formed the crafty design of embroiling Jesus with the procurator, and of throwing upon the Romans both the danger and the odium of executing him. Two very opposite parties sunk their controversies in putting this design into effect. The Pharisees, who hated him out of a religious bigotry and an ecclesiastical jealousy, joined their scholastic adversaries, the Sadducees, who chiefly disliked him from political motives, in hypocritically requesting his advice



on a point which they pretended afforded a sad dilemma to their tender consciences. "Was it lawful to give tribute unto Cæsar, or not?" From his great weight among the Galilæans, (who gave their name to a fanatical sect holding it to be unlawful for a member of the Theocracy to pay tax to a heathen government), they believed that he also, the idol of the people, would have pronounced that Cæsar ought not to be obeyed by the holy nation. Pilate would immediately have taken cognizance of so dangerous a teacher, if they could have obtained evidence that he was urging the populace to resist the imperial demands; and on the other hand, even if he decided in favour of the Roman supremacy, they had still this hope—that his cause would be materially damaged among those whose wild visions of the national glory were, in another generation, to terminate in anarchy and bloodshed.

The consummate wisdom of our Lord's reply has often been noticed. When he said, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's," besides escaping the snare which had been laid for him, he rebuked the sinfulness of both parties: of the Pharisees, who from a simulated regard to God, neglected their social duties; and of the Sadducees, who, from a base prostration before Cæsar, forgot their religious position.

Thus baffled, his adversaries prepared a yet more wily device than the last. They had failed to draw from him any word of opposition to the Roman government, any insurrectionary counsel to the people; but they now believed they might force him, from his own avowed principles, to speak slightly of Moses, which would have been a punishable offence, as the Levitical institutions were not only the basis of the Jewish religion, but the statute-book of the nation, in which all the purely native laws were contained. Now these books make no express, or very obvious, mention of a resurrection from the dead, which fact both Pharisees and Sadducees distorted, to serve their own purposes. The Sadducees, who denied any resurrection, naturally referred to the Pentateuch as their authority; while the Pharisees, on the same supposed fact, grounded the pretensions of their traditions, which (said they) were required in order to supply the deficiencies of the Scriptures on the subject of a future life, as well as other important doctrines.

Jesus was known in Jerusalem chiefly as an anti-traditionary prophet. He had, on more than one occasion, established his own perfect obedience to the law of Moses, by exposing the unscriptural tenets of the traditions. Hence they were satisfied that he would not breathe a syllable that should favour what he

had so powerfully reprehended ; and they knew as surely, that he would condemn the opinion of the Sadducees, that there was no life after death.

When, therefore, they accosted him with an enquiry concerning the law of the successive marriage of one woman with seven brothers, they hoped most grievously to embarrass him by demanding how such a case could be made to agree with the notion of their all rising again.

If he did not avoid the difficulty, either as the Sadducees did, by disowning the resurrection, or as the Pharisees, by explaining it from the supplemental traditions, (and they were convinced he would adopt neither of these methods), they concluded that but one way was left for him—viz., to repudiate the Mosaic law as it stood. They hoped that if once he derogated from the authority of their lawgiver, they might easily entice him on to more decided animadversions on the law, and turn him into an illegal declaimer.

Jesus, however, declared that the difficulty arose solely from their ignorance of the condition of another world ; and moreover, that the assumed fact upon which both Pharisaic and Sadducean solutions were founded, was not true ; for although no actual expression of a future life might occur in Moses, there were plenty of passages which of necessity implied it.

The wisdom of this answer elicited, even from some of the Pharisees, a frank admiration ; and so completely silenced them that they had nothing to reply, when he urged the well-known Psalm cx. 1, where David had addressed the Messiah as his Lord. Messiah, therefore, was greater than David ; and the kingdom of heaven not merely the same as the kingdom of Israel.

From warding off the difficulties they threw in his way, Christ next proceeded to denounce them in the severest language. In the streets and in the temple, with a dense multitude around, he cried, " Woe to the Scribes and Pharisees." He laid bare their hypocrisy, their avarice, and their rottenness, in unsparing terms. And, as he advanced with threatening, he passed on, with a more subdued tone, to bewail the dread sufferings which were hanging over the people outcast from their Lord, forasmuch as they knew him not, when he visited them. The end of the Jewish polity, the destruction of the sacred building, his own future advent with terrors and judgments, to reassert his royalty and overwhelm his enemies, occupied the whole of his subsequent public discourses, uttered in dignified triumph over those whom he, a humble Nazarene, had subdued and dispersed.

Again they assembled in malicious conclave, to consult how they might yet take him by *subtlety*. But it was now the verge

of the Passover, when the dangers, that had hitherto impeded their violence, were greatly augmented. They determined, in consequence, to allow the feast to conclude, and wait till the crowd was lessened, till the Galilæans had returned home, and, especially, till Pilate had withdrawn his troop from Jerusalem to its distant quarters in Cæsarea.

They were driven from this resolution by an unexpected offer, which proposed to deliver Jesus immediately into their hands, without the fear of a tumult.

Judas, one of the twelve, to whom belongs the distinguishing cognomen of *the traitor*, for some time had ceased to love his master, or believe his entire claims. He may long have meditated the base apostasy; but may have been deterred, either by a wordly suspicion, that, *perhaps*, he was disbelieving a verity, or by his not certainly knowing how resolutely the Sanhedrim were set upon killing Jesus. His natural covetousness, moreover, would choose to defer the treachery until he could make money by it. On the triumphal march towards and into the city, or while worshipping throngs surrounded Christ, he could not venture to put his plan into execution.

But he foresaw that Jesus could not long defy the power and the craft of the Scribes in the council, the revered priests, the influential Pharisees, and the wealthy Sadducees, all combined against a man whose only outward support was the fluctuating favour of a mob. He had marked, perhaps with greater attention than the other disciples, how plainly Jesus had foretold his death; and there was, with him, no personal love or strong faith to obscure these predictions. If, then, the Nazarene must die, Judas would earn a reward now; and, as he hoped, the constant gratitude of the Sanhedrim hereafter, if he guided a party, silently and surely, to the place where Jesus passed the night, and which was known, probably to himself and his disciples only.<sup>c</sup>

During the last two days of Christ's life, he no longer went to Bethany for his night's lodging, but retired just outside the walls of the city, to a garden called Gethsemane, lying over the valley of Jehoshaphat, at the foot of the Mount of Olives, that

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<sup>c</sup> Subsequently, when he sought out the priests and elders, with the remorseful words, "I have sinned, in that I have betrayed the innocent blood," there may have been struggling within him, not only shame for his sordid conduct, but a gleam of hope also, that they might more amply repay his services than with the covenanted thirty pieces of silver. When he found that they, also, despised him—when he sunk there into a paltry wretch, in the estimation of those from whom he expected higher rewards, he did not repent, as a sinner with a ray of hope could; but he felt, then, the pangs of desperation, and went to his own place by committing suicide.

he might the more readily gain access to the temple in the morning.

It would seem as if considerable secrecy were observed in his movements during these two days. He adopted some expedients for baffling the pursuit of his enemies, in order that there might be no doubt of his death being accomplished by means of human sinfulness. We notice this secrecy in his sending two disciples to meet a man, who was to be known by the signal of carrying a pitcher of water on his head, and who should shew them a chamber where they might prepare the Passover. Judas, possibly, did not know the locality of the supper-room, or he might have taken steps to have him seized there.

At the supper, Christ was still obliged to warn his disciples of the danger of ambition. And, doubtless, they were as yet in ignorance of the *real, acute* sufferings and death which were at hand, or Peter would not have been so confident in the boast, that he was ready to die along with his Lord. Peter, in fact, and the other apostles, had not comprehended the deep meaning, even if they then knew the history, of Christ's having won the victory over Satan, by refusing to take possession of the kingdoms of the world. They would have readily yielded, had they followed their own bent, to the cunning temptation of beginning Christ's happy reign. And to this current thought Jesus probably made allusion, when he uttered those remarkable words, "Simon, Simon, behold, Satan hath desired to have you, that he may sift you as wheat : but I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not ; and, when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren" (Luke xxii. 31, 32).

The beautiful action of washing the disciples' feet, and the accompanying discourses, while justly regarded as of universal edification, were primarily intended for those who so forgot human sin as to imagine it an easy thing for happiness to begin, and who yet gave in their own hearts a proof of that sin, by disputing, at such a moment, for precedence and worldly honours.

The ancients, while eating, reclined on couches, resting on their elbows, with their feet away from the table. On the couch at the upper end, lay Jesus, with his two principal disciples, Peter and John (Peter at his back, and John before him). When, with Divine foreknowledge, he announced that one of the twelve was intent on betraying him, we may conceive the suspicion excited as to the identity of the traitor. Peter, not daring openly to put the question to him, of whom he entertained a fear, made signs to John, over the shoulder of Jesus, that the beloved disciple should interrogate their master. John, then, leaning his head back on the bosom of Jesus, asked, "Lord, who is it?"

And, in reply, he was told that Jesus would indicate the traitor by giving him a sop with his own hands. No one at the table, except these three, had heard this conversation; and none but they knew for what purpose Judas went out, after receiving the sop. Perhaps even he hugged himself with the belief that his wickedness was, as yet, undetected.

Supper being ended, our Lord instituted the sacrament of the holy communion, which was to bear especial reference to his death; and held that touching conversation with the disciples, contained in the 14th chapter of St. John, where he promised ghostly comfort to those who were about to be bereaved of his bodily presence. They then rose and went their way along the streets, past the temple, to Gethsemane; when Jesus continued the discourse begun in the supper-room, to which the intercessory prayer in the 17th chapter of St. John forms the climax.

Arrived at the garden, Jesus set the disciples to watch against the surprise which they were expecting, while he retreated to a still more private place to struggle in the agony, when he overcame Satan's second temptation and bowed before God's decree, that sinful man must not live, unless perfect man die.

But sorrow and fatigue, combined with disappointment and gloomy forebodings for the future, had incapacitated the apostles for fulfilling their work, and the band of officers and priests' servants burst upon them, ere they could give their master warning of the approach.

In order that no delay or confusion might occur in the arrest, Judas accompanied the band, to indicate the person of Jesus to those who were not acquainted with him. For none of his malignant enemies were present, lest, in case of a tumult, they should be found engaged in it.

Judas advanced to meet his Lord, leaving the force he had brought with him concealed in the gloom of the trees, and shewed to them the man they were to capture by greeting him with a kiss. Dark it must certainly have been, notwithstanding the full moon, for they were lighted by lanterns and torches (John xviii. 3). The moon was, therefore, either set, or was expected to do so shortly. Hence, it could not have been early in the night that the occurrence took place.

The precautions they had adopted for securing him quickly and noiselessly, were not unnecessary. For, even as it was, the excitable Peter attempted to aid his master, by attacking the high priest's own servant. And it is not unlikely that the singular incident, introduced by St. Mark (xiv. 51, 52), of the seizure of a young man who was following them, demonstrates their great fear of a rescue; as, probably, this young man was

pursuing with cries that might arouse the sleeping thousands near whom they passed, and who, in the crowded state of the city, were fain to lodge in the open air.

At so early an hour there could be no official examination. But Annas, of the greatest authority among the priests, was awaiting him. And, after our Lord had endured the most provoking insults, without a word of reproach from him, he was sent bound to the house of Caiaphas, the high priest, where, as soon as the Sanhedrim could be collected, they proceeded to arraign him, having already determined on his death.

Iniquitous as that tribunal was, the forms of law were invoked, not only to satisfy the consciences of such formalists, but to procure available evidence upon which they could take him to the Roman governor. They, at first, ineffectually attempted to convict him of invading the established religion; by producing two witnesses that distorted words he once had uttered, into a threat that he would destroy the temple (John ii. 19; and Matt. xxvi. 61). But, although this charge might seem to have been sustained by the lamentation he had lately made over the coming desolation of the Jewish polity, yet these witnesses so contradicted each other, that even that assembly rejected their testimony. The suddenness of the arrest, the unexpected and untimely summons which had called them together, had prevented the arrangement of a proper accusation against him. They dared not keep him long in custody, for day was gradually approaching, and the busy populace would be thronging the avenues leading to the temple; so they were forced, by an over-ruled order of events, to convict our Saviour, not upon any frivolous indictment, but upon what they, in their inmost hearts, hated him for—an assumption of divinity. A question from the High Priest, “Art thou the Son of God?” if answered, would prevent any delay in the preparation of intricate evidence.

Hitherto Jesus had been silent before their accusations, for he knew, as well as they, that the real charge was kept in reserve. But, when solemnly invoked to declare whether or not he persisted in calling himself the Son of God, his answer was decided and clear. “I am: and hereafter ye shall see me, not bound and vilified as now, but sitting on the right hand of Power, and coming with the clouds of Heaven.”

Having been so often previously baffled in their attempts to fasten legal guilt upon him, they may scarcely have hoped to succeed in this direct question. But when he thus admitted the charge of what they deemed blasphemy, further investigation was obviated, and they at once, in their judicial capacity, pronounced him to be worthy of death.

Still, however, the original difficulty remained,—that they could not themselves venture to execute him. So diminished was their power, that they oftentimes could not punish the common malefactors without the protection of a Roman guard; how, then, could they put to death one who appeared to be a popular leader, during the turbulence of a Passover-day? On account of this embarrassing position, they were afraid, also, to detain him in their own custody during the approaching excitement. There was, however, one path open to them, upon the safety of which they seem to have confidently reckoned. They were in a condition, now that the native tribunal had condemned him, to prevail on Pilate to execute him, as he often had done in the case of other criminals, without entering upon a consideration of the details of their crimes.

But an unexpected obstacle occurred. Whether the Roman procurator was irritated by being so soon called upon to transact public business of that nature; or whether God had moved his heart to a more humane temper than was his wont,—he refused to receive the charge unless the crime were specified, and professed himself dissatisfied with the general accusation that the prisoner was a malefactor.

Thus forced into particulars which they would gladly have avoided, they asserted that he was a seditious person, and had taught the people not to pay tribute unto Cæsar. As this was an offence cognizable at a military tribunal, Pilate, who had hitherto parleyed with the priests at the door (on account of their scruples about being contaminated, on such a day, by entering a Gentile's house), went into the Prætorium, and, sitting down, commanded Jesus to be led in and examined.

The procurator, who had conceived no malice against the poor culprit, and who was not, therefore, blinded in his judgment, soon discovered that the kingdom to which Jesus laid claim in no way interfered with Cæsar's dominion, and that the charge of sedition was unfounded. He regarded the prisoner as a harmless enthusiast, not obnoxious to the civil power. He may, even at this early period, have beheld something in the bearing of Jesus, so meek, yet so majestic withal, that he was disposed to treat him with more favour than he usually shewed to the Jews. Perhaps a rumour of the great prophet's character had reached him.

He brought Jesus out before them, with the result of the examination, that he found no fault in him. Whereupon the priests with their attendants pressed the accusation the more earnestly, repeating that he had stirred up the people throughout the length of the land, from Galilee to Judæa. The mention of

Galilee induced him to ask if the man were a Galilean; and having understood that he was, it occurred to him that he might, by sending Jesus to Herod the tetrarch, both avoid the strait in which he was himself placed, and, at the same time conciliate the Galilean chieftain.

But Herod Antipas, though a bad, does not seem to have been a cruel man; and while his vulgar soul joined in the general vilifying of an outcast, he refused to shed the blood of one of whose goodness he had heard so much, especially at the bidding of the Jerusalem priests, who regarded his family with little affection.

Jesus, therefore, was conducted back to Pilate. And the Roman, whose favourable opinion of the prophet was enhanced by finding that neither the priests nor Herod would incur the odium of his death, tried anew to liberate Jesus by the expedient of appealing to the people who thronged the courts of the judgment-hall. He had a custom of gratifying the populace, by releasing unto them, on the feast-day, any prisoner they chose to name. And in order to force them into selecting Jesus, he joined his name with that of the worst prisoner then in custody—one Barabbas, a hardened villain and murderer, hoping that if the alternative were between two such men, they must of necessity demand the Nazarene. It does not however seem to have struck him that, at so early an hour, none were about except those entirely under the influence of the prisoner's enemies.

While the malignancy of their hatred was shewn in their preferring a notorious criminal to him, it served also the purpose of confirming Pilate's suspicions that the charge of sedition was not the real one; for Barabbas was under sentence, not for insurrection alone, but for violence and murder. He strove the more anxiously to protect him, and continued to urge that the innocence of Jesus was established. And when forced to give up his own convictions to their ferocious outcries, strengthened as those convictions were by an entreaty from his wife not to yield to the clamour of the persecutors of such a man, he bethought him of another expedient, by which he hoped to save their victim. He scourged Jesus in the expectation that they might be satisfied with this lesser punishment, crowned him with thorns, and clothed him with purple, in mockery of his asserted royalty, that their hatred might be changed into contempt, and then declared his determination not to execute him, being persuaded of his innocence.

As the day was advancing (for much time had been now consumed), and the idea of the awaking people filled them with apprehensions, seeing how resolute Pilate was in dismissing the



charge of sedition, they were obliged to acquaint him with the true ground of accusation,—viz., that he had violated the native laws, by claiming divinity. They had not hitherto mentioned it; for they concluded that the hard sceptic would have ridiculed it, and driven them from his presence with scorn and insult.

They would not have alluded to it even now, but for the unexpected circumstance of Pilate's scruples. Nor would Pilate have received it, had not the events of that morning placed Jesus in so strange a light before him. As it was, this fearful word, "He maketh himself the Son of God," caused the proud soldier to quail; and again he questioned the prisoner upon this fresh accusation. The calm and authoritative manner with which Jesus admitted it, increased his superstitious awe of him, and, with more determination than ever, he sought to release him.

But the maddened priests would not allow their victim thus to escape; and finding Pilate deaf to their accusations, they assumed a threatening tone, and intimated that they had the means in their hands, in case the procurator resisted them, of bringing such a list of iniquities against him at Rome, as he dared not meet (John xix. 12).

And so Pilate, who not only acknowledged the innocence of Christ, but who perceived in him something superhuman; who recognized, under that mild and enduring humility, a spirit that could terrify the representative of Imperial might, yet, when threatened with punishment for his own delinquencies, consented at last to crucify him whom he ought to have defended. And this he could easily have done, had his hands been clean, had he been only a little less profligate than he actually was. Terrible warning! his former crimes prevented his doing good even when he would have done it!

The ordinary mode of execution among the Romans was by crucifixion, or nailing the hands and feet of the criminal to a beam of wood, and leaving him there to die in lingering torments. It was usual for the condemned himself to carry the cross to the place of punishment; and the beam therefore was not larger than what a man of common strength could support. But Jesus, whose frame was more delicate than that of the ruffians generally undergoing this punishment, and who must have been exhausted by the fatigues and the sufferings he had already gone through, fainted on the way under the load, and the soldiers forced a passer-by to carry it instead.

Along that narrow street, which, in the present condition of Jerusalem leads westwards from Omar's mosque, and which has acquired the memorable name of *Via Dolorosa*, the sad procession toiled on to the eminence called Mount Calvary, then just

outside the western part of the city, but which subsequent changes have enclosed within the walls. Urged by no gentle hands, the Saviour of the world tottered along that *mournful road*, hooted and insulted by the men whose sins he was going to wash away with his blood. Many of his friends, and especially of the women, who had, with truly female devotion, ministered to him, although the morning still was early, followed the crowd, which was leading their *Hope* to an ignominious death.

The anguish of that death we, who are accustomed to see so much mildness exercised towards even the worst criminals, can scarcely conceive. The nails were driven through parts of the body which have the most exquisite nerves, but where wounds are not quickly mortal. The hands and feet thus made to support the whole weight of the body, endured an incredible degree of pain; while the attitude, joined with exposure to the sun, usually brought on a raging fever and an intolerable thirst.

Humane persons were in the habit of providing an opiate, containing a plentiful admixture of myrrh, in order that the pangs of the sufferer might be deadened. This was offered to Jesus, who, however, not to avoid his sufferings, refused to accept it. As he hung on the cross he experienced that thirst which shewed the incipient fever, and he partook of a portion of the *posca* (the common drink of the Roman soldiers), which one more charitable than the rest lifted to his mouth.

On either side of the Redeemer was suspended a thief, executed, most probably, for the same crime as he had been at first accused of. One of them joined in the general reviling of him; but the other, even at such a moment, was wrought upon by God's grace to turn an eye of affection to him, and was assured of a speedy entrance to the happiness of paradise.

From the third till the ninth hour—i. e., from nine o'clock in the morning till three in the afternoon, Jesus hung in torments upon the accursed tree—a time long enough to aggravate in our idea the horrors of such a situation, but which was considered unusually short; for there are instances on record of criminals lingering several days before death relieved them. The same causes which made him faint under the load of his cross, brought death so much sooner to him.

At noon, when the sun was in its full splendour, so great a darkness fell upon the land, that the hearts of many beat with apprehension of some terrible event. This darkness, which lasted from noon till his death, at three o'clock, could not have been an eclipse, for the Passover was celebrated at the full moon, and no solar eclipse can take place but when the moon is young.

His bodily torments forced from him the cry, "My God, my

God ! why hast thou forsaken me ?” For, in that dread hour, as in the agony of the garden, it was the *human* Jesus that suffered. God can neither suffer nor die. And we shall always be in danger of neglecting the love displayed in the atonement, if we lose sight of the amazing truth, that it was a man, with our hopes and fears, who died for us—not God, who cannot feel pain, and whose *apparent* pains, therefore, would have no claim upon our gratitude. No Divine comfort soothed him, as it soothes other good men, under affliction. Alone, he paid the penalty for us, and won back the position which Adam had forfeited.

At three, or soon afterwards, he died ; and portentous signs—the rending of the veil of the temple, the return of the dead from their graves—announced Nature’s conscious testimony to the horror of the deed just transacted.

At six o’clock, or sunset, the Sabbath commenced which was, this year, also the high Passover-day ; and the same priests who had taken delight in torturing such a man as even they knew Jesus to be—who had imbrued their hands in such blood—had, nevertheless, very sensitive consciences on formal ceremonies and legal pollutions. They particularly required Pilate not to allow the sanctity of the day to be lessened by the sight of three criminals writhing on their crosses.

And Pilate who had been intimidated into an act contrary to his own convictions, who could not conceal his disgust at the proceeding, and who signified to the whole world, with an intended insult and an unwitting prophecy, that the king of those wretched Jews was a crucified malefactor, with the usual inconsistency of bad men, feared those whom he hated ; and, for the purpose of conciliating them, gave orders that the sufferers who yet lived, should be roughly dispatched, and their ghastly bodies removed from before the eyes of those fastidious murderers. It was then discovered, to the surprise of all, that Jesus had not endured more than six hours of unutterable torment.

We are not informed when, or how, the absent friends of the Lord first learned their loss. But such news spreads with rapidity ; and some of the more devoted, on rising in the morning, and hearing that their master was in the unyielding grasp of Pilate’s soldiers, were in time to receive his last words. His mother, we are certain, and his beloved disciple were there. And his thoughts then were for Mary’s comfort. He bequeathed her to John ; and left to him the enviable distinction of being to her what he had himself been.

The greater part of his adherents must have been so overwhelmed with the horror of this catastrophe—so hopeless of good from a dead Christ—so fearful of the vengeance of those who had

slain him—that they fled, and hid themselves wherever they could lay their heads.

Yet two of them, men of power, Joseph and Nicodemus, members of the Sanhedrim, who, from their known favour to Jesus had not been summoned to the council which condemned him, hastened to pay the last tribute of respectful kindness; and with Pilate's leave buried the body in a new sepulchre, in a garden which belonged to Joseph, at the foot of Mount Calvary.

W. H. J.

## HISTORY OF PURGATORY.

THE doctrine of purgatory, or a place of expiatory suffering into which the faithful pass at death, nowhere occurs in the writings of the early fathers. Tertullian, in the second century, contended for a sort of *negative* purgatory, consisting merely in the delay of final complete happiness.<sup>a</sup> Cyril too, in the middle of the fourth century, approves of this notion, but adds that MANY, even then, denied that the souls of the departed, whether they quitted this world with sin or without sin, could be at all benefitted by the prayer offered up on their behalf over “the holy and most tremendous sacrifice of the eucharist.”<sup>b</sup> Ambrose too, who lived in the last quarter of the fourth century, says that those whose sins have not been expiated in this life, will experience a purgatorial fire during the period which will elapse between the first and the final resurrection; and he adds, that the punishment of some will extend even beyond the final resurrection.<sup>c</sup> Augustine, the pupil of Ambrose, speaks more fully on this subject, although his views display considerable hesitation and inconsistency. The passage in which the doctrine of a purgatory is most clearly stated is the following:—

“By that transitory fire, concerning which the apostle says, ‘he himself shall be saved, yet so as by fire,’—not deadly, but only minute sins are purged. Whoever is conscious that any deadly sin rules within him, that person, unless he shall have worthily reformed himself, and (if space be afforded him) shall have done penance for a long time, and shall have been bountiful in alms-giving, and shall have abstained from sins, that

<sup>a</sup> *De Anima*, apud Faber. *Difficulties of Romanism*. Second Edition. p. 459.

<sup>b</sup> Cyril Hieros., apud Faber. p. 466.

<sup>c</sup> Ambrose, apud Faber.

person cannot be purged in the transitory fire of which the apostle speaks, but the eternal fire will torment him without any remedy. . . . But if we neither give thanks to God in tribulation, nor **bury off** our sins by good works, we must in that case remain in the fire of purgatory just so long a time as it may require to burn away our smaller sins, like 'wood and hay and stubble.'<sup>d</sup>

From other passages of his works it is clear that he placed the period of this purgatorial fire at the end of the world.<sup>e</sup>

It thus appears, that those fathers of the first four centuries who make the slightest reference to any future temporary suffering, differ from each other, not only as to its nature, but also as to the period of its occurrence. The Church of Rome, again, differs from all these fathers, and makes purgatory a place of torment into which souls **pass at once**. Without quoting, then, the numerous testimonies of the early fathers who oppose this notion, it is abundantly evident from the diversities of opinion already noticed, that the dogma of a purgatorial fire, as now held in the Church of Rome, possessed no place in the creed of Christians during the first four centuries.

It was not until the end of the sixth century that the existence of a place of expiatory suffering, into which men **passed at once**, was inculcated as the doctrine of the church. The merit of this discovery belongs unquestionably to Gregory the Great. In the fourth book of his *Dialogues*, he gives several marvellous revelations concerning the world to come, which, as he says, had been made known to men, "now that the end of all things was approaching." It does not appear that Gregory considered that there existed any common receptacle of souls, in or near hell, as is taught by Romanists. On the contrary, he distinctly mentions diverse localities in which the souls of men were confined till they were purged from sin. In his book of dialogues, for instance, he relates how the master of a bath, in consequence of his sins, was compelled after death to act as servant in the bath, until due satisfaction for him was made. It fortunately happened that a priest became acquainted with the circumstance, and offered mass on his behalf for one week; on which the man at once disappeared (lib. iv.).

The introduction of purgatory into the Latin Church must then, we think, be assigned to Gregory the Great. It was, however, long before the doctrine was generally received. Its

<sup>d</sup> Augustin. *de Igne Purgat.* Sermo iv., &c.

<sup>e</sup> *Vespera autem illa finis est seculi, et caminus ille veniens dies judicii (Evar. in Psalm, c. iii., apud Faber). Qualis tunc erit velut aurea per ventilationem ita per judicium purgata eis quoque igne mundatis quibus talis mundatio necessaria est (De Civitate Dei, lib. xx., cap. xxv.).*

progress was doubtless much hastened by the visions invented by crafty monks in order to promote this superstition.

The earliest vision of purgatory on record is that of Fursey, an Irish saint, who lived in the seventh century. Bede, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, relates of this saint of the Romish calendar, that once on a time, having fallen sick, three angels appeared to him, and after conveying his soul away from his body, accompanied him into the invisible world. As he proceeded on his way, he heard the howlings and cryings of demons eager to arrest his progress. The bodies of these foul spirits, so far as he could discern them, were deformed, and black, and skinny, with long extended necks and swollen heads. They threw at him fiery darts; but these were warded off by the angels' shields, and the devils at length driven away. One of his angelic attendants then told him to look down upon the world, and when he looked, he saw a dark vale far below them, and in the vale four vast fires burning at some distance from each other. The angel said, "These are the four fires which shall burn the world: the first fire burns the men who have loved falsehood; the second, the souls of those who have been avaricious; the third, those men who have been stirrers up of strife and discord; the fourth, those who have practised fraud and impiety. Fear nothing, for these fires will only burn the souls of sinners." Upon this they approached the fire, and it separated, and left them a path through the midst. In the fire, Fursey saw devils flying about, and fighting terribly, and some came and shot at him, and tried even a second time to molest him, but were always repulsed by the angels who attended him. Shortly afterwards he was taken back by the angels, and restored to his body.<sup>f</sup>

Another vision also given in Bede's *History*, is that of Drithelm. This saint, who dwelt in Northumbria, within the borders of Scotland, had lived a pious life, and in his latter days was favoured, like Furser, with a journey to the world of spirits. On the return of his soul to his body, he became a monk in the Abbey of Mailross. He told his story to Hæmgils, from whom Bede seems to have learnt it.

When his soul first left his body, he said he was led in silence by a shining angel in a white garment. They proceeded towards the north east, and as they walked along, they came to a valley which was broad and deep, and infinitely long. One side of the valley was filled with roaring flames, the other side was not less intolerably cold, with furious storms of hail and

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<sup>f</sup> Wright on *Purgatory*, p. 10.

snow, driving about in all directions. The whole valley was full of souls, who were tossed continually from one side to the other, and were equally tormented in each by the heat and the cold, as well as by the foul spirits that were everywhere flying about. Drithelm began to think this must be hell, but his conductor said, "Think not so; we have not yet come there." He afterwards informs him, "This great burning vale is the place in which are punished the souls of those who, neglecting to confess and amend their sins till their last day, have been penitent at the moment of death. All, however, who have confessed and repented even in death, will come to heaven in the day of doom. But many are helped by the prayers of the living, and by alms and fasts, and above all, by the sacrifice of the mass, so that they are delivered before doomsday." On proceeding onwards, they came to a region of extreme darkness, where he could hardly distinguish the form of the angel that accompanied him. Suddenly, he beheld as it were globes of dusky flame rising apparently from a great pit, and constantly falling down into it again. When he approached it, his guide suddenly left him in the midst of the darkness, and he now saw that the globes of fire were full of souls, who were thus continually tossed up from the pit, the stench of which filled the country around. And as he stood terrified and doubtful which way to turn, he suddenly heard behind him a sound of miserable wailing, mingled with shouts of laughter, like that of persons exulting over captured enemies. Then he saw a crowd of evil spirits dragging along five souls, who were lamenting grievously, whilst the fiends were mocking at them. The pit was hell, whence none who entered ever returned.

When Bede published these visions in the eighth century, the doctrine of purgatory was by no means generally established. It was a subject of speculation amongst the learned whether such a place really existed or not. The influence of these wondrous revelations, added to the arts employed by the monks, rendered this notion popular; and accordingly in another century or two purgatory was as much an article of faith as heaven or hell. In the language of Mosheim,—

"The fears of purgatory, of that fire which was to destroy the remaining impurities of departed souls, were carried to the greatest height in the tenth century, and exceeded by far the terrifying apprehension of infernal torments; for they hoped to avoid the latter easily, by dying enriched with the prayers of the clergy, or covered with the merits and mediation of the saints; while from the pains of purgatory they knew there was no exemption. The clergy, therefore, finding these superstitious terrors admirably adapted to increase their authority and promote

their interest, used every method to augment them, and by the most pathetic discourses, accompanied with monstrous fables and fictitious miracles, they laboured to establish the doctrine of purgatory, and also to make it appear that they had a mighty influence in that formidable region.”

Perhaps the most striking illustration of the popular belief in purgatory during the middle ages, is afforded by the legend of St. Patrick's purgatory, which was commonly an article of faith until the time of Luther.

The original source of our information respecting St. Patrick's purgatory, is Henry of Saltrey, a Benedictine monk, born and educated in Huntingdonshire, and, according to Bale, a man enslaved by superstition from his childhood. This author indeed would have us believe, that his story of Patrick's purgatory was nothing but an invention of his own, helped a little by the book of dialogues written by Pope Gregory. It is however certain, that Henry was reported to be the dupe of others, one Bishop Florentian, and Gilbert de Suda, a Cistercian abbot.

According to this authority, it would appear, that St. Patrick long preached to his countrymen, and among other doctrines included that of purgatory. They disbelieved in its existence, but offered to embrace its belief if any one would go there and again return to them. Vexed at the obstinacy of his hearers, Patrick prayed that God would enable him to give them a convincing proof, that he was not deceiving them. Accordingly, as he was one day alone in the wilderness, Jesus Christ appeared to the saint, and gave him a book containing the gospels, and a staff, which latter was afterwards called *baculus Jhesu*, “the staff of Jesus.” Christ then led him into the wilderness, and pointed out a secret entrance, saying that whosoever entered therein, and remained there a day and a night, and then returned, would have strange wonders to relate, and should moreover be free from all liability to enter purgatory ever again. Our Lord then left him, and St. Patrick soon afterwards built an abbey on the spot, and placed a strong iron-bound door to keep fast the entrance to this wondrous cave. Even in the days of the saint, the legend informs us, many persons ventured into this fearful place. Some perished, while others remained unhurt, and told the wonderful tortures which they had suffered, and of equally wondrous visions of happiness which they had afterwards seen.

Their revelations were, by St. Patrick's own directions, taken down in writing, and preserved in the church. A minute



account is also given of the ceremonies prescribed by the saint to be practised whenever an individual presented himself to become a visitor to the cave. A striking resemblance may be traced between these and the ceremonies in use by the ancient Greeks at the cave of Trophonius. Whenever a pilgrim entered this purgatory, the prior immediately made fast the door, and opened it no more till the next morning; when, if the pilgrim was there, he was taken out, and conducted with great joy to the church; and, after fifteen days' watching and praying, was dismissed. If he was not found when the door was opened, they concluded that he had perished in his pilgrimage through purgatory; the door was again closed, and his name was never again mentioned.

The principal object of Henry of Saltrey, however, is to relate the marvellous adventures of the knight Owain, who, in order to purge out the sins committed during a life of rapine and violence, visited St. Patrick's purgatory in the twelfth century. The account given in Wright's work is taken from an ancient English version made in the fifteenth century.

After relating the ceremonies undergone by Sir Owain, we are told that he was locked up in the cave, and, shortly after, went forth. At first he had a very little light, but this, by degrees, disappeared, and he was obliged to grope his way in utter darkness, till a sort of twilight at length appeared. He first met with fifteen men in white garments, one of whom told Owain all he should have to suffer in this pilgrimage; how he would be attacked by unclean spirits, and by what means he must defend himself. He then encountered, amidst the most fearful lightning and thunder, a troop of devils, who welcomed the knight and pretended to rejoice that he had not, like other men on earth, waited till the end of his life, but had come, beforehand, to suffer the punishment of his sins. Having successfully resisted their attack by invoking the name of Christ, another party of fiends came up:—

“ Then come develes other mony mo,  
And badde y<sup>e</sup> kny with hem to go.  
And ladde him into a fowle contreye,  
Wher ever was nygth and never day.  
For hit was derke and wonther cold,  
Yette was there never man so bolde,  
Hadde he never so mony clothes on,  
But he wolde be colde as ony stone.  
Wynde herde he none blowle,  
But fast hit frese both hye and lowe.  
They browghte hym to a felde full brode,

Overe such another never he yode.<sup>k</sup>  
 For of y<sup>e</sup> lengthe none ende he knewe.  
 Thereove algate<sup>i</sup> he most nowe.  
 As he went he herde a cry,  
 He wondered what it was and why.  
 He syg<sup>k</sup> ther men and wymmen also.  
 That lowde cryed for hem was wo.<sup>i</sup>  
 They lyen thykke on every londe;  
 Faste nayled both fote and honde,  
 With nayles glowing alle of brasse.  
 They ete y<sup>e</sup> erthe so wo hem was.<sup>m</sup>  
 Here<sup>a</sup> face was nayled to y<sup>e</sup> grownde.  
 Spare they cryed a lytylle stounde.<sup>o</sup>  
 The develes wolde hem not spare.  
 To hem payne they thowgte yare."<sup>p</sup>

This was the first *field* of punishment. In the original Latin legend, the knight was led successively through four such fields. In the second and third the souls suffered much the same kind of torments as in the first, with this only difference in the second, that they were fixed to the ground with their backs downward, and were persecuted by multitudes of fiery serpents and toads. In the fourth, the souls were hung up in fires by the various members which had been most sinful, and some were roasted on spits and basted with molten metals. In the next place they were turned about on a great wheel of fire:—

"Some of y<sup>e</sup> fendes turned ageyne,  
 And forthe they ladde Sir Owayne,  
 Full ferre into another felde.  
 In such one bare he never shelde.  
 Hit was lenger and welle more,  
 Than that felde was byfore.  
 And as he loked him besyde  
 He syg ther pyttus mony and wide;  
 Thykke they were as they mygth bene;  
 Onethe<sup>a</sup> was ther a fote hem betwene.  
 And all maner of metaile,  
 He syg there yn the pyttus walle.<sup>r</sup>  
 Men and wymmen ther were also,  
 In y<sup>e</sup> pyttus abyding wo.  
 Some were therenne up to y<sup>e</sup> chinne,  
 And yet had they nogt bete<sup>a</sup> here synne.

<sup>k</sup> Went.<sup>i</sup> At all events.<sup>k</sup> Saw.<sup>i</sup> They had woe.<sup>m</sup> Had so much woe.<sup>a</sup> Their.<sup>o</sup> A little while.<sup>p</sup> Quickly.<sup>q</sup> Scarcely.<sup>r</sup> Boil.<sup>a</sup> Made amends for.

And some were yn to shappus ;<sup>1</sup>  
 And some were up to y<sup>e</sup> pappus ;  
 And some were yn to y<sup>e</sup> kne,  
 They wold full fayne out be."

Owaine was pushed by the devils into one of these pits, and dreadfully scalded. He was afterwards brought into a place where souls were punished in a lake of extreme coldness. He was then dragged to the mouth of hell, and afterwards taken to paradise. Finally, he was obliged to return and spend the remainder of his days on earth."

We have given this celebrated legend of Sir Owaine at some length from the importance of the subject with which it is connected. It was appealed to in the middle ages as authority on all questions relative to purgatory, and according to Wright was, in the original Latin of Henry, spread probably over every country where the Roman faith prevailed. It was also soon translated into the modern languages of Europe. There are still extant three different early French versions—all metrical. There are also two English metrical translations under the title of *Owayne Miles*. It is certain from the mention of St. Patrick's purgatory in Cesarius, that so early as the commencement of the thirteenth century it had become famous all over Europe. "If any one doubt of purgatory," says he, "let him go to Ireland, and enter the purgatory of St. Patrick, and he will no longer have any question of purgatorial torments."<sup>2</sup> The pilgrimage to this place became a common thing in the thirteenth and following centuries, and even men of rank and wealth visited Ireland for this purpose. In the patent rolls of the Tower of London under the year 1358, we have an instance of testimonials given by the king (Edward III.) on the same day to two distinguished foreigners,—one a noble Hungarian, the other a Lombard, Nicholas de Beccariis,—of their having faithfully performed this pilgrimage; and still later, in 1397, we find Richard II. granted a safe conduct to visit the same place to Raymond, Viscount of Perchlos, Knight of Rhodes, and Chamberlain of the King of France, with twenty men and thirty horses." Raymond, on his return to his native country, wrote a narrative of what he had seen, in the Limousan dialect of which a Latin version was printed by O'Sullivan in his *Historiæ Catholicæ Ibernæ* (Lisbon, 1621).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Loins.

<sup>2</sup> Wright as before, chap. iii.

<sup>3</sup> *Dialog. de Mirac.*, lib. xii., cap. xxxviii.

<sup>4</sup> *Fœdera*, vol. iii., part i., p. 174; and part iv., p. 135.

<sup>5</sup> Wright as before, p. 136.

In the fifteenth century the numerous copies of the original history by Henry of Saltrey, as well as the various translations, tended greatly to increase the celebrity of St. Patrick's purgatory. At the close of this age, however, it fell into disgrace.

"A monk of Eymstadt in Holland, who proved either more conscientious, or less credulous than former visitors, undertook the pilgrimage to Lough Derg. . . . When he arrived at the lake, he applied for entrance to the Prior, who referred him to the bishop of the diocese, without whose license no visitors were received. The monk then repaired to the residence of the bishop, but as he was 'poor and penniless,' the servants refused to admit him into their master's presence. Having, however, with difficulty obtained an audience, he fell down before the bishop and begged permission to enter St. Patrick's purgatory. The bishop demanded a certain sum of money, which he said was due from every pilgrim who came on this errand. The monk represented his poverty, and, after much urgent solicitation, the bishop granted the necessary license. He then went to the Prior, performed the usual ceremonies, and was shut up in the cavern. There he remained all night trembling with fear, and in constant expectation of a visit from the demons; but when the Prior let him out the next morning, he had had no vision of any kind, and dissatisfied with the result of his pilgrimage he hastened to Rome, where he made his complaint to Pope Alexander VI. The pope acknowledged himself convinced of the imposture, and sent orders for the destruction of the purgatory, which were put into execution with great solemnity on St. Patrick's day, 1497."<sup>a</sup>

It was not long before the place recovered its ancient reputation. The office of St. Patrick inserted in the Roman Missals of 1522 was almost entirely devoted to the celebration of the purgatory of that saint; and although this office was rejected two years afterwards, the fame of St. Patrick's purgatory continued to increase, and the legend was generally adopted by Roman Theologians. During upwards of two centuries its reputation continued to spread through France, Italy, and Spain.<sup>b</sup>

Such was the belief of purgatory prevalent in the Romish Church up to the period of the Reformation. The reader will not fail to notice how far the crude notions hinted by Augustine, and afterwards by Gregory, differed from the doctrines taught in after ages. From this obvious variation it is most evident that the dogma, as held in modern times by the church, was completed only by slow degrees, and after centuries had passed away.

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<sup>a</sup> *Acta Sanctorum Martii*, vol. ii., p. 590.

<sup>b</sup> Wright as before, p. 154.

The existence of a purgatorial state in which departed souls were long and fearfully tormented, was urged upon the people's belief more earnestly and perseveringly than almost any other dogma of the church during the middle ages. The reason of this is obvious : not only did this doctrine increase the reverence with which the priests were regarded, on account of the vast influence which they were supposed to possess in that region, but still more on account of the great pecuniary emolument which it afforded them. From the time of Gregory I. at least, it was constantly believed that the torments of purgatory could be eased and abridged by the suffrages of the living ; and chiefly by prayers, alms, and masses. The prayers were always performed by the clergy ; the alms denoted money contributed to the church, and none but priests could perform mass. Thus to inculcate the belief and dread of the flames of purgatory was the most direct way to *fill the coffers of the church*, and most vigorously was the work effected. Century after century sermons were preached, books were written, visions were related, miracles invented, and every effort made by interested men to inspire mankind with the most alarming terrors respecting this fictitious place of woe. Nor can we wonder, that in a dark and superstitious age, the picture drawn of the torments of purgatory should inspire the people with overwhelming apprehensions. "To be nailed to the ground foot and hand ; to be led by their torments to eat the ground ; to be cast into cauldrons of burning metal, some up to the loins, others up to the breast," was surely enough to alarm the stoutest heart. All fear of hell was supplanted by the dread of purgatory, and the great concern of a sinner, under the influence of Roman teaching, was not to flee from the wrath to come, but to escape from the purgatorial fire.

The natural effect of all this was to drive men to those means which, as they were taught, were infallibly connected with the more speedy release or entire freedom from the tormenting flames. In the words of an old writer,—

"The new doctrine and invention of purgatory, bred by superstition and nursed by covetousness, as it was managed, became a most forcible engine continually to drain the people's money. For when men were made to believe, that after death their souls should enter into a region of fire, there to suffer long and bitter torments, to be purged and fitted for the region of bliss ; but yet to be eased there, and the sooner released, according to the measure and number of the masses, offices, and prayers, which should be made on their behalf here, while they lay broiling in that fearful state ; people were put upon it to make the best provision they could in their lifetime, or at least at their deaths, that such helps

and means should be used on their behalf, as they might reasonably reckon upon a short and tolerable continuance there. . . . To this purpose, the founding and endowing of monasteries, abbeys, and nunneries, by the best and richer sort; and the colleges, free chapels, and chantries, by the middle sort of people, according to their respective abilities, and the apprehensions they had of this future state, all pointed at the good of the founder's soul after death, and the souls of such others as he appointed." . . .

"But yet, not trusting to the uncertain charity of others, most persons strained to the utmost, and many most excessively, their fortunes considered, to leave some provision behind for that purpose, and most commonly by their last wills and testaments, which were accounted sacred; and thereby, or by acts executed in their lifetime, it was not rare for many men, though they had many children to provide for, or many debts to pay, to postpone all relations and considerations to this concern of the soul; and to appoint, and to take order for *masses satisfactory, anniversaries, obits, requiems, dirges, placebos, trentals, lamps, lights*, and other *offices*, to be performed daily, weekly, monthly, or yearly, as far as the sums destined would afford, for the ease and comfort of the testator's soul."<sup>o</sup>

These were not the only means of deliverance from the purgatorial flame. Indulgences were rendered available to *souls in purgatory*. It is only since the year 1300—the commencement of the Romish jubilees—that these papal impostures extended their influence even to the dead. Ecclesiastical historians attest the rapid progress of this superstition. In less than a century it spread everywhere, and at length the monks did not hesitate to say that they saw the souls leave purgatory the moment that the people purchased from them the indulgences for the dead.<sup>d</sup>

Alexander VI., in the Constitution for the Jubilee of 1500, it is well known, offered to all the penitent faithful who were willing to give alms for the repair of St. Peter's, a plenary indulgence, by virtue of which they could deliver from the fire of purgatory the souls of their parents, their friends, or other faithful Christians, on whose behalf they had contributed money. The words of the bull itself are given in Raynald.<sup>e</sup> Since the time of Alexander VI., the following popes have extended indulgences to souls in purgatory in their jubilee bulls,—Clement VII., Julius III., and Gregory XIII.

Without speaking of plenary indulgencies and those for the article of death, which have the necessary effect of conducting the

<sup>o</sup> *Rom. Horsebeck*. Lond. 1769.

<sup>d</sup> *Buchet. Hist. de la Ref. de la Suisse*, i., pp. 38, 39.

<sup>e</sup> *Ad an.* 1499, n. 26, 27.

soul immediately to paradise, which gains them ; it is well known that there are an innumerable number of indulgences for the dead, both in the city of Rome, and the rest of the Roman Catholic world. Besides, the popes have granted them to many confraternities of regulars and seculars. They participate in all the prerogatives of the indulgences attached to the stations of Rome, where souls are delivered from purgatory. The Bull of *Crusado* places the Spaniards and Portuguese in a position to deliver an infinite number. It is even proved from a calculation made, that as, according to the bull, there are nine days in the year in which every one of the faithful, from the age of seven years and upwards, is able to draw a soul out of purgatory ; the Spaniards alone might have sufficed, and more than that, to have delivered from purgatory the souls of all the Roman Catholics who have died in the faith and in charity, from the very establishment of Christianity. The Bull of Adrian VI. in favour of the Portuguese obtained the same advantage for them.

To these kinds of indulgences for the dead, must be added also those which are attached to privileged altars. There are

*f Les Taxes de la Chanc. Rom.* Edit de France, 1744, pp. 70, 74.

g PRIVILEGED ALTARS. *Inscription on a marble slab in the Chapel of St. Mary and St. Francis, in the Church of Saint Lorenzo, in Lucina.*

Gregory the XIII., Pope. As a perpetual memorial of the thing. Bearing the stead, though unworthy, and following the example of our Saviour, our Lord Jesus Christ, consubstantial and coeternal with the Father ; who for the redemption of the human race, deigned to descend from the highest throne of heaven to the abyss of this world, and to assume our flesh from the Virgin's womb ; we study to afford to the souls of Christ's faithful dead existing in purgatory—who, in charity united to God, have departed this life, and have deserved to be assisted by the suffrages of the pious—opportune assistance from the treasures of the church ; so that, as far as it shall please divine goodness, they may be more able to reach their heavenly country. Confiding therefore in the divine mercy, and led to it by prayers on the part of our beloved son, Luigi Franca de Fermanis, Master of the ceremonies of our chapel, humbly offered to us for this purpose by the tenor of these presents, we grant in perpetuity that as often as at the altar under the protection of the blessed Mary of grace, and of St. Francis, situated in the church of St. Lawrence, in Lucina of the city, any priest, secular or regular, shall, of his own or of another's will, celebrate a mass for the liberation of one soul existing in purgatory, the same soul shall, from the treasure of the church, the merits of the same our Lord Jesus Christ, and all his saints, obtain the same indulgences, and remission of sins by the acceptance of divine clemency, and the said mass shall operate for the liberation of the same for which it shall be celebrated, as it would have obtained, and as it would have operated, if the aforesaid priests should for this cause celebrate a mass for the dead, at the altar situated in the church of St. Gregory of the city, deputed for that purpose. Ours concerning the not conceding indulgences, for the like purpose (*ad instar*) and other apostolic constitutions, and ordinances, and whatsoever other things to the contrary notwithstanding. Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, under the reign of the Fisherman, the 8th day of April, 1578. In the sixth year of our Pontificate.—*Cæ. Glorinius.*

On one side of the altar of the church of *St. Maria della Pace*, we find the following, " Every mass celebrated at this altar liberates a soul from purgatory."

Over the entrance to the catacombs in the church of *St. Lorenzo fuori le mura*,

few churches which have not privileged altars attached to them, either in perpetuity, or, what is more common, for seven years, and to which the popes grant that the Priest, who on certain days shall celebrate there a mass for the dead, shall deliver a soul from purgatorial<sup>a</sup> flames; so that as the Jesuit Santarel has agreed, it would be easy in one day to deliver all the souls in purgatory.<sup>i</sup>

The frivolous conditions attached to certain indulgences of the dead deserve our notice. According to Thiers, the Carmelites pretend to have received from John XXII. a bull which they call the Sabbatine Bull, which promises to whosoever shall belong to this order, and wears the habit called the scapular, a plenary indulgence with the promise of being at once delivered from purgatory. The blessed Virgin is then introduced, saying, "I, the mother of grace, will descend the first Saturday after the death of all those who shall wear my habit, and who for the love of me have entered into my order, or my confraternity, or my society, and who have lived worthily in this life; I will deliver them from the pains of purgatory, and I will gloriously conduct them to the holy mountain of eternal life."<sup>k</sup> Other privileges, referring to souls in purgatory, belonging to the girdle of St Augustine and of St. Monica, are mentioned by the same writer.<sup>l</sup>

A still more extraordinary means of delivering souls from purgatorial fires, belongs or did belong to another order of monks in the Church of Rome. According to a distinguished Romish writer, "The friars minors had once, they have it still in the present day, a very easy means of delivering souls from purgatory, for they declare that this may be accomplished as many times as a person enters and passes out of the church of our Lady of Portiuncula, from the first vespers of the first day of August until the second vespers of the following day; so that for another entry and departure out of the church one does not deliver more than one." This is stated by Cardinal Boniface de Vitalinis in his *Commentary on the Clementine Constitutions*. It was confirmed by Honorius III., and by various bulls and briefs of the successors of Honorius. The actual words of the writers of this order are given by Thiers.<sup>m</sup>

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"This is that tomb most celebrated in the whole world of the cemetery of St. Cyniac Matron, where if any one shall perform the sacred rite for the dead, he will evoke their souls from the pains of purgatory through the merits of the divine Lawrence." [A great number of inscriptions of a similar nature may be seen in Percy's *Romanism*, &c., pp. 1—3, and 27.] <sup>k</sup> Thiers iii., c. xciii., p. 313.

<sup>i</sup> *De Jubil.*, c. 3, dub. 12, apud Thiers, ibidem.

<sup>k</sup> Thiers ubi sup. cxvi., p. 252.

<sup>l</sup> Idem., p. 256.

<sup>m</sup> Thiers iii., cap. xvii., p. 259.



The popes have never dared to say that they had any knowledge of the particular state of every soul after this life; they never ventured to decide positively; "these go to heaven, these depart to hell, these others remain in purgatory." How could they know? and in this ignorance what certainty can their indulgences for the dead possess? Granting the case that God has condemned a soul to one hundred years of purification in this middle state, is it not natural to believe that it will remain there one hundred years? Who can deliver it? The Pope! Is he able then to exalt himself above God? To absolve those whom God has condemned? To mitigate or commute the punishment denounced on sinners by the decrees of his justice?

It now remains to give some particulars respecting the modern history of purgatory, and the superstitions connected with that unscriptural dogma. It is unnecessary to say that the Council of Trent—the modern standard of Romanism—openly declared its truth, and anathematized any who entertained any doubt on the subject. The following is the decree of the council passed at its twenty-fifth session: "Since the Catholic Church, instructed by Scripture and the ancient tradition of the fathers, hath taught in sacred councils, and most recently in this general council, that there is a purgatory, and that the souls detained there are helped by the suffrages of the faithful, especially by the sacrifice of the altar, the holy council enjoins the bishops to take diligent care, that the sound doctrine on the subject of purgatory, taught by the holy fathers and sacred councils, be believed by the faithful, be held, taught, and everywhere preached." After prohibiting difficult and subtle questions, and also such as are of doubtful character, the decree proceeds as follows:—"Let those who promote mere curiosity or superstition, or savour of filthy lucre, be prohibited as scandalous and offensive to Christians. Let the bishops take care that the suffrages of the living faithful,—viz., masses, prayers, alms, and other works of piety, which the faithful have been accustomed to perform for departed believers, be piously and religiously rendered according to the institutions of the church, and whatever services are due to the dead, let them not be performed slightly, but diligently and carefully."

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\* 2 Thess. chap. ii., 4.

o John IV., of Portugal, died loaded with relics and plenary indulgences, and yet in spite of these indulgences, he had scarcely breathed his last, when prayers were at once commenced for the repose of his soul before privileged altars. Still more, 20,000 ducats were distributed by his orders in the poorest convents of the kingdom to cause 100,000 masses (neither more nor less) to be said, with all speed, for the same object; and, as though these 100,000 masses were not sufficient, they hastened to establish, in the monastery where the king was buried, four masses to be said each day, for ever, for the peace of his soul, and its deliverance from purgatory.

The advice here given, with reference to the manifold evils arising from the doctrine, might just as well have been spared. It is utterly irrational and absurd to suppose that an order of men entrusted with an engine of such tremendous power, could abstain from using it for selfish purposes. And such indeed has proved the case. The monstrous abuses springing out of this dogma, and the practices connected therewith have increased rather than diminished since the Council of Trent.

The fathers of that synod have exercised a very discreet prudence in the amount of information which they have thought proper to give respecting purgatory. They simply state the fact that there is a purgatory; and that the souls detained there are helped by the suffrages of the faithful. We are compelled, therefore, to go to the doctors of the church in order to ascertain, more particularly, the notions prevalent among Romanists in modern times on this important subject.

One of the most able and learned champions of the Romish Church was Cardinal Bellarmine. His writings have been repeatedly quoted, by English Roman Catholics, as authority for explaining what the doctrines of that church are; and from them we give the following extracts, as illustrating the sentiments entertained respecting purgatory, subsequently to the sitting of the Tridentine Synod. At the commencement of his *Treatise on Purgatory*, the Cardinal defines it to be "a certain place where, as in a prison, those souls are purified after this life, which were not purified here, in order that they may be able to enter into heaven." "It is appointed," he says, "for those who die with *venial sins*, and again, for those with the temporary punishment of sin undischarged, though the sins themselves have been remitted." He describes the pains of purgatory as most horrible (*atrocissimæ*), exceeding, beyond all comparison, any sufferings upon earth, according to the uniform doctrine of the fathers. He says, also, that "the belief of purgatory is an article of faith, so that they who do not believe it, shall never arrive there, but must be tormented in the eternal fire of hell."

"Since many persons," says Bellarmine, "will not believe what they have never seen, it has pleased God sometimes to raise his servants from the dead, and to send them to announce to the living what they have really beheld." The Cardinal here refers to certain revelations, exhibited by him in another work: two or three of which we shall here give as strikingly illustrative of the actual belief of the Church of Rome.

"A pious father of a family, in Northumberland, died after a long

illness, in the early part of one night, but to the great terror of those who watched by his body, came to life again at the dawn of the following day. All, but his faithful and affectionate wife, fled at the sight of him; and to her he communicated, in the most soothing terms, the peculiar circumstances of his case; that he had indeed been dead, but was permitted to live again upon earth, though by no means in the same manner as before. In short, he sold all his property, divided the produce equally between his wife, his children, and the poor, and then retired to the monastery of Melrose. He there lived in such a state of unexampled mortification, as made it quite evident, even if he had not said a word on the subject, that he had seen things, whatever was the nature of them, which no one else had been permitted to behold."

But he disclosed it all.

" 'One,' said he, 'whose aspect was as light, and his garment glistening, conducted me to a valley of great depth and width, but of immeasurable length; one side of which was dreadful beyond expression, for its burning heat, and the other for its no less intolerable cold. Both were filled with the souls of men, which seemed to be tossed, as by the fury of a tempest, from one side to the other; for being quite unable to endure the heat on the right hand, the miserable wretches kept throwing themselves to the opposite side, into the equal torment of cold, and thence back again into the raging flames. This, thought I, must be hell, but my guide answered to my thought, that it was not so,—"this valley," says he, "is the place of torment for the souls of those who, after delaying to confess and expiate their sins, have at length, in the article of death, had recourse to penance, and so have died. These at the day of judgment will all be admitted into the kingdom of heaven, by reason of their confession and penance, late as it was. But, meanwhile, many of them may be arrested and liberated before that day, by the prayers, alms, and fastings of the living, particularly by the sacrifice of the mass.' "

In the seventeenth century St. Patrick's purgatory was made the subject of a religious drama by the Spanish poet Calderon. The piece begins with the entrance of Egenias, king of Ireland, clothed with skin, and very furious, attended by his two daughters. St. Patrick, and a recent convert to Christianity, by name Ludovicus Ennius, are wrecked upon the Irish coast, and appear before the impious monarch. St. Patrick relates to the king his life, and preaches the truths of the Gospel, but with no success. Subsequently the saint, horrified at the blasphemies of the king, prays for a divine manifestation to convert his countrymen, when two angels make their appearance, and reveal to him the celebrated cavern. The mouth of this fearful opening is exhibited on the stage, and, according to the stage directions is to be the most horrible that can be contrived, and within it an aperture on the stage. The impious king is induced to enter the cave; but instead of passing into purgatory, he falls through the

aperture into the pit of hell. He sinks in with much noise,—flames rise from below, and great cries are heard. The awful death of their sovereign, leads to the conversion of his people. In the course of the drama, Ludovicus Ennius enters the cave, but with better fortune. He passes through purgatory, and on his return relates to his auditors the wonders of that fearful region. His account is nothing more than an abridgement of the old legend, which we have already given, of the descent of Sir Owaine. Ludovicus finishes his relation, by giving a long list of authorities,—many of them of modern date—in proof of the truth of the legend of the purgatory of St. Patrick.<sup>2</sup>

At the commencement of the eighteenth century, appeared in France a work intended for popular use, entitled *A History of the Life and of the Purgatory of St. Patrick, Archbishop and Primate of Ireland, with numerous prayers; translated into French by R. P. François Bouillon, of the Order of St. Francis, and Bachelor in Theology*. This book was widely circulated in France, it appears, for more than half a century, for the first censorial approbation bears the date of 1701, whilst the other is dated 1742. It contains a life of St. Patrick, composed from all the most absurd legends in existence respecting him. The writer then proceeds to give a description of the state of souls after death. Afterwards we have the history and description of the purgatory of St. Patrick, and the various ceremonies connected with it, and the various visions which have been seen there, in the truth of all of which he expresses his fullest belief. Finally, the latter part of the book is occupied with *The veritable relation of the History of Louis Ennius, chiefly taken from the drama of Calderon*; to which reference has already been made.

About the middle of the eighteenth century we find Pope Benedict XIV. preaching and publishing a sermon at Rome, expressly in favour of this ridiculous legend of St. Patrick.

It is well observed by the author, to whom we are indebted for our knowledge of this work, that it serves—

“To shew the kind of religious information, which was spread among the middle and lower classes of society in France by the (Roman) Catholics, so late as the last century. Two doctors in theology, of the faculty of Paris, sign their names to an approbation dated 1742, in which they declare that they ‘have read through this mass of absurdity and falsehood, and that they have found nothing in it contrary to faith or morals!’ It was indeed not more than two or three years after the date first mentioned, that Pope Benedict XIV. preached and published at Rome, a sermon in favour of St. Patrick’s purgatory. By such doctrines

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<sup>2</sup> Wright, *as before*, p. 156.

and representations, the Popish system kept its hold on the minds of the simple and ignorant people, and the same policy which led the (Roman) Catholic priesthood to continue them in this condition, and to perpetuate their influence, made them oppose and persecute men of science, such as Galileo, who were labouring to enlighten the world, and whose experiments and discoveries naturally tended to dispel the cloud of superstitious legend."

It is not our intention here to refer to the effect of this doctrine in dishonouring the Saviour and rendering his salvation an incomplete work. We have already dwelt upon this. Our object now is simply to point out the demoralizing influence which purgatory and its practices has exercised upon members of the Romish Church, for upwards of a thousand years. The pernicious consequences of the doctrine arise chiefly from the two following causes: In the first place it removes all fear of hell from the mind of Roman Catholics, and substitutes for it the dread of a temporary state of suffering. Secondly, it associates the performance of prayers, the celebration of masses, &c., with deliverance from this place of temporary woe. The believer in this unscriptural dogma constantly lives under the influence of a spiritual opiate.

It is the acknowledged doctrine of the Romish Church, that no Roman Catholic can go to hell, except he dies in mortal sin—unconfessed and unabsolved. But if he applies to the priest, he is bound to grant him absolution on the mere profession of regret for such a sin, and thus the eternal punishment is instantly converted into the temporary suffering of purgatory. The consequence is that the fear of hell is virtually banished in the Church of Rome; we do not mean merely from the exemplary and moral, but also from the abandoned and the profligate. The only possible case under which any Romanist would be doomed to "*the outer darkness*," the place of eternal woe, according to the church, is, by failing through some accident to obtain a confessor in his last hours. The probabilities of this chance are so exceedingly small, that it is rarely thought of. There is too, a saint worshipped in the Church of Rome—St. Barbara—whose special office it is to deliver her votaries from this possible calamity. Hence as a general—we may perhaps say universal—thing, the people consider themselves as free from any danger of incurring the sentence of eternal death, as if the doctrine were entirely blotted out of the word of God.

In place of this eternal punishment, the Roman Catholic looks forward to the sufferings of purgatory, which, although

considered by some doctors to be equal in *intensity* to those of hell, possess this essential difference, that they are *limited in their duration*. And here the fearful evils of this doctrine at once appear. It is the eternity of future punishment which gives it all its weight with those who are under the dominion of worldly or sensual passions. Take away the endless duration of "the wrath to come," and men will brave even the frowns of an angry judge. By substituting purgatory then for the punishment of hell, papal doctors removed the only effectual check to wickedness which worldly men experience. The passions of the heart are violent and ungovernable—the temptations of the present life are strong and overpowering—the pleasure which is offered to us by our lusts is a *present*, a *sensible*, and a *certain* good. On the other hand, the punishment which men are taught by the Bible to dread, as the consequences of gratifying their sinful desires, is a *future*, a *vague*, and to them an *uncertain* evil; yet it contains, amidst all this, one element, which compensates for all these disadvantages. IT IS ETERNAL. It is justly remarked by a modern writer, "A profligate will face unshrinkingly the prospect of distant suffering, and bear, even in the thought of hell, everything but its eternity and its despair; and Popery, to meet his weakness, converts hell into purgatory." What then shall we say to a system of religion which deliberately and advisedly withdraws this element from the future woe, and leaves man thus exposed to the temptations arising from the world, the flesh and the devil? Surely the exercise of the largest charity, cannot justify us in acquitting Romanism of thus removing from society one of its chief barriers against human depravity, increasing, to an extent, which we can hardly estimate too greatly, the amount of human wickedness and crime!

But this is not all. As we have observed, there is a second consideration which must not be omitted. Not satisfied with practically substituting for hell, purgatory, and thus converting the eternal punishment of the second death into a mere temporary state of suffering, Rome provides her votaries with such an endless variety of deliverances from this temporary state, that, even *that* is reduced oftentimes almost to a nonentity; especially in the case of the rich. There are *masses*, and *obits*, and *requiems*, and *dirges*. There are confraternities, and indulgences, and privileged altars, and blessed beads, and such a countless host of other papal impostures, all having for their object the important task of fetching out souls from the terrible fire, that it would weary the reader's patience only to recite their names.

We are able to confirm the conclusions to which we have thus been led, by the testimony of one of the most intelligent

and able witnesses at the bar of the House of Commons, during the agitation of the Roman Catholic Relief Bill. The Rev. John Burnet, then a dissenting minister at Cork, declared as follows:

“No Roman Catholic of the lower orders has any dread of final perdition. I have spoken with them frequently on this subject, and never found one of them that supposed he could go to hell. If they die in mortal sin, their doctrine is, that they must go to perdition; if however, they apply to the priest for absolution, he must give it; and in the case of absolution, which is administered on their professing a regret for their sins, they only go to purgatory, and they depend on those books of orders for their release from it, and hence the punishments of futurity in their estimation are only temporary punishments, and this conviction has a very injurious effect upon the views and conduct of the people.”

Here the conclusions of reason, and the experience of actual life perfectly harmonize. We know not then how it is possible to escape the lamentable fact, that one of the most essential and important doctrines of the Romish faith is fraught with such evil results, that wherever it prevails it must necessarily produce immorality and crime. The effect of the doctrine of a state of purgatory, from which the suffrages of the faithful could deliver them, upon men of the world, was to take away that which constitutes the great check to depravity, the dread of everlasting woe, and thus the sinful passions were left to riot in unrestricted freedom.

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## THE SEPTUAGINT VERSION.

### PART I.

THE history of the *seventy cells* and the miraculous composition of the Septuagint version, which was received by the learned for so many ages, has been effectually overthrown by Dr. Hody, in his learned work *De Bibliorum Textibus Originalibus, versionibus Græcis, et Latine Vulgatis*; who has shewn on conclusive evidence that it was first undertaken for the use of the Alexandrian Jews, probably during the reigns of Ptolemæus Lagus and Philadelphus, about A.D. 287 before Christ, and for the use of the Alexandrian Jews. It is probable that the Penta-

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\* Evidences before the Lords, p. 470.

teuch alone was translated in the first instance, and that the other books of the Old Testament were translated subsequently at different periods ; and all of them before the birth of our Saviour. For the Septuagint version is always appealed to by the earliest Christian writers as an entire version ; nor have we any evidence that any part of it was completed after that period. There is sufficient internal evidence in the translation itself, that not only the Pentateuch, but all the other books of the Old Testament, were translated by Alexandrian Jews ; though, with regard to the particular period at which the different books were completed, the proofs, by which Archbishop Usher and Dr. Hody<sup>a</sup> have endeavoured to support their opinions, will probably be considered of too uncertain a character to enable us to form any conclusive evidence from them : nor, indeed, is the question itself of importance. It is clear, also, from the difference of style which pervades the different books, that they were not only translated at different periods, but by persons of very different attainments ; and that, whatever authority the Pentateuch may be supposed to have from the supposed sanction of the Jewish Sanhedrim at Alexandria, the same authority cannot belong to the other books which probably never had this sanction, and which have been exposed to causes of corruption, from which, in the earlier ages, the Pentateuch was exempt. There is convincing evidence of this, not only in the Septuagint translation of the major and minor prophets, but also of those books which are comprehended in the Hagiographa, and more particularly in the Septuagint version of the prophet Daniel ; a book which, in its language and style, and the general ability with which the translation is made, is very inferior to that of the other prophetic books ; which inferiority was, doubtless, the cause which led to the early substitution of the version of Theodotion of this book by those who made use of the Greek version.

These remarks are important ; because the generality of writers, in appealing to the authority of the Septuagint version, appear to consider it as an uniform work, and as being throughout of equal authority ; instead of making allowance for the real history of its composition, that the version itself was made by different persons and at different periods, and that the different parts of it are therefore entitled to be regarded with very different degrees of authority and respect.

The superiority, both in accuracy and style, which distinguishes the Septuagint version of the Pentateuch above all the other books of the Old Testament, and the superior degree of

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<sup>a</sup> Hody, *De Textt. Orig.*, lib. ii., cap. iv.



correctness in which the text of this portion of it has descended to the present times, cannot fail to strike every person who has examined, even with cursory attention, the character of this version. This fact may be accounted for from the circumstance that the translation of the Pentateuch was originally made for the purpose of the synagogue worship, and was constantly used in the synagogues of the Hellenistic Jews; and therefore it is probable that, before it was admitted into the public worship of the synagogue, it was sanctioned by the authority of the Sanhedrim. It is evident that this would not only have a tendency to secure superior correctness in the first instance, but also to preserve from material corruption afterwards those copies which were made use of in the synagogue worship, because no copies would be allowed to be made use of for this purpose, except such as had the sanction of this high authority. Perhaps it is hardly fair to institute a comparison between the Septuagint version of the prophetic books and the Targum of Jonathan, inasmuch as they were made for different purposes and on different principles; this latter version partaking much more of the character of an exposition than a translation of the Hebrew text. But still they, both of them, in the contrast which they exhibit—both in the literal character of the versions themselves and the degree of correctness with which they have descended to the present times—to the Septuagint version of the Pentateuch and the Targum of Onkelos, illustrate our position with regard to the guarantee which was afforded to the Septuagint version of the Pentateuch by the circumstances attending its original composition, as well as its subsequent adoption in the service of the synagogue. And, therefore, with this limitation to the Pentateuch, we may reasonably admit that the Septuagint version descended without material corruptions to the time of our Saviour. The manner in which the Septuagint version of the Pentateuch was used in the synagogues of the Hellenistic Jews was, indeed, in itself an effectual safeguard against material corruption. But it cannot be believed that the other books, which never had the same protection, nor were preserved with the same care, did not suffer material corruptions, both from the errors of transcribers, as well as from the intentional interpolations of those who would corrupt the text of Scripture, in order that they might pervert it to the support of their own opinions. The extensive corruptions of every kind which were discovered by Origen in the Septuagint text at that early period of the Christian era, as well as those which, it appears from the testimony of Justin, had been introduced into it at a still earlier period by the Jews, in order that they might prevent the application of the prophecies to our

Saviour, afford conclusive evidence of the liberties which were taken with it, and of the danger to which it would be constantly exposed by these different sources of corruption. With regard to the degree of protection which was afforded to the Septuagint text of the Pentateuch from its being constantly used in the synagogues, we may observe that the same circumstance appears to have exercised a similar influence over the Hebrew text itself, in which the corrections which have been introduced into the text of the Pentateuch bear no proportion, either in number or importance, to those which have been introduced into the other books of the Old Testament.

But, in considering the question relating to the text of the Septuagint version, it will be proper to mention an opinion which has been advanced by Archbishop Usher, though with the diffidence which so eminently distinguished that learned prelate, that there originally existed two Greek versions—the one, the original version of the LXX., which was deposited by Ptolemy Philadelphus in the library at Alexandria; the other, an edition which was compiled about A.D. 177, in the reign of Ptolemy Philometor, more corrupt than the original version, and differing from it in many respects, and which, from the circumstances of its being adopted in common use, was called the *Κοινή* or Vulgate.<sup>b</sup> Of these two editions, he believes the autograph copy of the former to have been lost at the time when the Alexandrian library was destroyed by fire during the siege of that city by Julius Cæsar. But this particular opinion of this great man has never obtained any advocates. The existence of such a version is not mentioned by any ancient writer whatever; and the supposition is effectually contradicted by the fact, that, even if we should admit the copy which was deposited in the library at Alexandria to have been destroyed, the destruction could not have extended to the numerous copies which must have been dispersed amongst the synagogues of the Hellenistic Jews throughout the world, and existed also in the hands of innumerable individuals who had no means of becoming acquainted with the sacred volume, except through the means of the Greek version, which is admitted by the learned prelate himself.<sup>c</sup>

There is, as we have before observed, no evidence of the existence of any Greek version prior to that which passes under

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<sup>b</sup> Altera, et sincera LXX. versio æstimata, quæ in Alexandrina bibliotheca reposita, et in Origenis Hexaplis collocata est; altera, maxima quidem ex parte illi respondens, multis tamen locis ab eo discedens, quæ, quoniam communiori erat in usu, *Κοινή*, vulgata, erat appellata.—Usher, *Syntagmat.*, cap. iv., p. 34.

<sup>c</sup> Usher, *Ibid.*, cap. iii., p. 25.

the name of the Septuagint version ; nor, indeed, are there any traces of the existence of any such version before the time of our Saviour, the Septuagint alone being appealed to by the earliest writers, both Jewish and Christian, in their references to the Old Testament.<sup>d</sup> But, though the Septuagint was appealed to both by the Jews and Christians as a common authority in the time of our Saviour, yet we have seen reason to believe that corruptions of different kinds had found their way into it before that period ; and from the time of our Saviour there were numerous causes in operation which had a tendency to increase the number of these corruptions. And this agrees with the opinion of Dr. Holmes,<sup>e</sup> who, in his most learned Prolegomena to his valuable edition of the Septuagint version, expresses his belief that, before the end of the second century, from various causes, from the errors, as well as the corrections, of transcribers, and from the insertion of parallel passages, corruptions of an extensive nature had found their way into the Septuagint text. There was also another very fertile source of corruption which will hereafter form a subject of more particular inquiry—namely, the changes and interpolations which were introduced into it both by Jews and Christians, that they might pervert its authority to the support of their own peculiar opinions. To these causes of corruption may be added, what Dr. Holmes mentions with great probability as having tended very materially to increase the errors of the Septuagint text, the habit of correcting the Septuagint from other versions, instead of having recourse to the more correct manuscripts of the Septuagint itself, and comparing them with the Hebrew text. When all these different sources of corruption are considered, it will not appear surprising that, before the end of the second century, the Septuagint text should have become so bad that some effort would be made on an extensive scale to remedy these errors. It was this state of the Septuagint text which gave rise to the immortal work of

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<sup>d</sup> With regard to the existence of a Greek version more ancient than the Septuagint, it rests on the single authority of Aristobulus, who is quoted by Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.*, i., 22, and Eusebius, *Præf. Evang.*, vii., 13 ; ix., 6 ; xiii., 12. Compare Walton, *Proleg.*, ix., 6 ; Fabric., *Bibl. Græc.*, vol. ii., p. 316 ; Waterland's *Works*, vol. viii., p. 5.

<sup>e</sup> The writer cannot mention the name of this most learned and excellent person without paying his humble tribute to his varied and extensive attainments in theological literature. The edition of the Septuagint commenced by him and completed by Mr. Parsons, will remain a lasting monument of his ability and indefatigable industry ; and the volume of *Treatises on Religious and Scriptural Subjects*, published after his death in 1806, is a monument of his great attainments as one of the most learned divines which this country has produced. See the just and eloquent tribute which is paid to this eminent person by Archbishop Magee, *Atonement*, vol. i., pp. 93, 94.

Origen, in which he brought all the vast stores which his extensive learning and unparalleled diligence were able to supply, to bear on what must always be considered as the first and noblest effort in sacred criticism.

1. The first work of Origen was the Tetrapla. In this work he placed the Septuagint version and the translations of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus, in parallel columns in the following order—namely, in the first Aquila, in the second Symmachus, in the third the Septuagint, in the fourth Theodotion. With regard to the character of the Septuagint text which Origen placed in the Tetrapla, Dr. Holmes is of opinion that he did not correct it from the other Greek versions, but solely from existing MSS. of the LXX.<sup>f</sup> 2. This was the first great work of Origen; and this corrected text of the Septuagint Dr. Holmes is of opinion was made by him the basis of that greater work, which he published at a subsequent period, called the Hexapla, in which he placed these same versions and prefixed to them two additional columns—the one containing the Hebrew text in Hebrew characters, and the other the same in Greek characters; and in addition to the Greek versions which were contained in the Tetrapla, he supposes him to have added to some books what he calls *Editiones Quinta, Sexta, et Septima*; to the Pentateuch and Song of Solomon the two former versions only being added.<sup>g</sup> On these accounts this work is sometimes called Octapla and Enneapla.<sup>h</sup> In this work, when anything was not found in the Septuagint which belonged to the Hebrew text, he supplied it from one of the other versions, principally from Theodotion, whose style most of all resembled that of the Septuagint, being probably in a great measure taken from it; and these additions, wherever he inserted them in the Septuagint text, he marked with an asterisk; wherever he found any words in the Septuagint version which had nothing corresponding to them in the Hebrew text he marked them with an obelus. He further prefixed arguments to the different books, and marginal notes relating both to the interpretation of difficult words and to the various readings. Of these notes there remain several specimens

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<sup>f</sup> Holmes, *Præf. ad LXX.*, sect. iii.—viii. Montfaucon, however, is of opinion that he did not correct the text of the LXX. in the *Tetrapla* at all.—*Prælim.*, cap. i., sect. 3.

<sup>g</sup> A different opinion with regard to the real character of this work has been maintained by some writers, and particularly in later times by Bishop Marsh, who with regard to the terms Tetrapla and Hexapla, maintains that “they are only different names of the same work viewed in different lights, though some authors have fallen into the mistake of supposing that they are different works.”—*Lectures*. This is, however, opposed by Bauer, *apud Glass. Crit. Sacr.*, vol. ii., p. 262.

<sup>h</sup> Montfaucon, *Prælim. ab Hexapla*, cap. iv., sect. 6, pp. 16, 17.

in the most ancient manuscripts. These contrivances, however, of Origen for securing a more correct text for the LXX., were the source, ultimately, of some of the greatest corruptions of that text.

With regard to the corrections which were introduced by Origen into the Septuagint text, they have been fully detailed, as far as this point can be ascertained, by Grabe and Montfaucon,<sup>i</sup> and other learned writers, who have treated particularly on this subject; and though these corrections extend to all the books of the Old Testament, yet some particular books appear to have been more corrupt than others, and, consequently, to have received more extensive corrections from Origen. Besides substituting in the Book of Daniel the translation of Theodotion for that which had passed under the name of the Septuagint, he appears to have made the most extensive corrections in the Books of Exodus, Joshua, Judges, the other historical books, the Books of Job and Ecclesiastes, and in the Prophecies of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel. With regard to the Book of Exodus, he inserted in chapter xxviii. six verses, which had been omitted and added in another place, and he arranged in their proper order the portions which are contained between the thirty-sixth and the thirty-ninth inclusive; which are found in the order in which Origen restored them in the Codex Colbertinus.<sup>k</sup> With regard to the books of Joshua and Judges and the other historical books, the extent to which they had been interpolated may be seen by comparing the Alexandrian and Vatican editions. Indeed, with regard to the two former books, Montfaucon says, "Innumeræ pene mutationes ab Origene invecæ sunt."<sup>l</sup> With regard to the Book of Job, we may judge of the extent of the corrections which were introduced into it by Origen from the assertion of Jerome in his preface to this book: "Si ea, quæ sub asteriscis addita sunt subtraxeris, maxima pars voluminis detruncabitur,"<sup>m</sup> and this assertion is borne out by the present state of

<sup>i</sup> See Grabe, *De Variis Vitiis LXX. Interpretum Versioni ante Origenis ævum illatis*. Montfaucon, *Prelim. in Hexapla*, pp. 37, &c.

<sup>k</sup> Origen speaks of these alterations in the following terms, Τί με δεῖ λέγειν περὶ τοῦ Εξόδου ἔνθα τὰ περὶ τὴν σκηνήν, καὶ τὴν αὐλὴν αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν κιβωτὸν, καὶ τὰ ἐνδύματα τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, καὶ τῶν ἱερέων, ἐπὶ πολὺ παραλλάττει, ὥς μηδὲ τὴν διάνοιαν παρὰ πλησίαν εἶναι δοκεῖν: and see the detail which Grabe gives from Wetstein of these, *Græbe de Vitiis LXX.*, pp. 9, 10.

<sup>l</sup> Montfaucon, *Prelim. Hexapl.*, p. 37. We may form a tolerably accurate judgment of the manner in which the LXX. text of the Book of Judges has been interpolated and altered, from comparing the text of this version in the Alexandrian and Vatican editions as they are examined by Dr. Grabe (*Epist. ad Millium*). A comparison of the various readings in the editions of Holmes and Bos will shew to how great an extent the same thing has happened with regard to the historical books.

<sup>m</sup> The following statement of Origen himself will give some idea of the corruption

the text in the Septuagint version of the Book of Job, in which, throughout a considerable portion of the book little or no connexion can be traced between the Greek version and the Hebrew text. Lastly, with regard to Jeremiah, he supplied the passages which were wanting in the Septuagint version of this book from Theodotion, and rearranged the chapters which had been displaced from their proper order from the twenty-fifth chapter inclusive to the end of the book.\* This cursory view of the labours of Origen will give some idea of the Septuagint text in his time, and of the invaluable services which he rendered to sacred criticism when he undertook the revision of it.

The magnitude of this work, and the expense necessarily attending the multiplication of copies of it, constituted an insuperable obstacle to its general usefulness; and it remained in the library at Cæsarea, without any copies of it being taken till about A.D. 300, when Eusebius and Pamphilus published the corrected text of Origen in a separate form with the obeli and asterisks. About the same time Lucian published an edition of the Septuagint version at Constantinople, and Hesychius, an Egyptian bishop, published another edition at Alexandria. With regard to the plan which these learned persons followed in the correction of the text, it is involved in great obscurity; nor in the present day can anything certain be pronounced respecting it. Dr. Holmes is of opinion<sup>o</sup> that Lucian formed his text on the basis of the Tetrapla, supplying the deficiencies principally from the Hexapla, though he probably followed the plan adopted by Origen in that work; and he thinks it probable that Hesychius followed the plan adopted by Lucian in his edition. But he is also of opinion<sup>p</sup> that both of them took great liberties with the Septuagint text. It is notorious, he observes, that Hesychius was guilty of taking great liberties with the text of the New Testament; and he thinks that there is no reason to suppose that he was less sparing in his correction of the Septuagint text, both

of the LXX. text in the Book of Job. Πάλιν τε ἂν πλειστά τε ὅσα διὰ μέσου ὧλου τοῦ Ἰωβ παρ' Ἑβραίοις μὲν κείται παρ' ἡμῖν δὲ οὐχι . . . ἃ μὲν μετὰ πολλοῦ καμάτου ἀνελεξάμεθα, ὑπὲρ τῶν μὴ λανθάνειν ἡμᾶς τὴν διαφορὰν τῶν παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις καὶ ἡμῖν ἀντιγράφων· πολλὰ δὲ τοιαῦτα καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἱερεμιά κατενόησαμεν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ πολλὰ μεταθέσιν καὶ ἐναλλαγὴν τῆς λεξέως τῶν προφητευομένων εὗρομεν.—*Epist. ad Millium*.

\* With regard to the transpositions in the LXX. text of Jeremiah, see Grabe, *De Vitiis LXX.*, p. 8; and Rosenmüller, *Proleg. in Jeremiam*.

<sup>o</sup> Holmes, *Præfatio ad LXX.*, sect. viii., 10.

<sup>p</sup> "Nota sunt," he observes, "ista Synodi decreta; Evangelia, quæ falsabit Hesychias, apocrypha."—*Ib.*, sect. xi.

in the omission of passages to which nothing was found corresponding in the Hebrew text, and in softening down the Hebraisms with which it abounded, in order that he might smooth the apparent asperities of the style; and he is also of opinion that he is able to trace these editions in many of the existing manuscripts.

With regard to these opinions of Dr. Holmes, although everything which is advanced by this learned person is entitled to great respect, it is impossible to pronounce any certain opinion. But his great acuteness, the solidity of his judgment, and his great acquaintance with the manuscripts of the Septuagint, perhaps fitted him beyond all other men to pronounce an opinion on a subject confessedly so difficult. It, however, appears to be certain that the corrected text of Origen, as it was published by Eusebius and Pamphilus, influenced many of the other editions of the Septuagint version, because we know that this edition had an extensive circulation amongst different Christian churches. Such appears to be the natural conclusion from the language of Jerome, in his preface to the Book of Daniel:—

“Cumque omnes Christi ecclesiæ, tam Græcorum quam Latinorum, Syrorumque et Ægypticorum hanc subasteriscis et obelis editionem legant, ignoscunt invidi labori meo, qui volui habere nostros, quod Græci in Aquilæ, et Theodotionis, et Symmachi editionibus lectitant. Vis amator esse LXX. Interpretum? Non legas ea, quæ subasteriscis sunt, imo vade de voluminibus, ut te veterum fautorem probes.<sup>2</sup> Quod si feceris, omnes ecclesiarum bibliothecas damnare cogeris. Vix enim unus aut alter invenietur, qui ista non habeat. Alexandria et Ægyptus in LXX. suis Hesygium laudat auctorem; Constantinopolis usque Antiochiam Luciani Martyris exemplaria probat. Mediæ inter has provinciæ Palæstinos legunt codices, quos ab Origene elaboratos, Eusebius et Pamphilus vulgaverunt, totusque orbis hæc inter se contraria varietate pugnat.”

The supposition of the existence of different editions or recensions in different churches is very consistent with the fact, that they might all of them be affected in some degree by the corrected text of Origen; which, as we have seen from the statement of Jerome, was received by all Christian churches.

Dr. Holmes states, that after a careful examination of the different manuscripts of the Septuagint which have come under his notice, he thinks that all of them have been affected in a greater or less degree by these different editions.

There are, therefore, five different sources, to which we may trace the readings of the present manuscripts of the Septuagint.

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<sup>2</sup> This appears to be said by Jerome in ridicule of those who were so attached to the Septuagint version, that they would not admit even the evidence of errors in it.

1. 'Η κοινή, *simplex*, which Dr. Holmes is of opinion is preserved principally in the Vatican and Aldine editions.

2. The Tetraplar text.

3. The Hexaplar text.

4, 5. The editions of Lucian and Hesychius.

Dr. Holmes has discussed in a learned and satisfactory manner the probable influence of these different editions on the manuscripts of the Septuagint version.\* It is probable that the present Septuagint text is composed, for the most part, of readings borrowed from all these editions. For it is generally agreed amongst learned men, that within a century after the publication of the editions of Lucian and Hesychius, the different texts of Origen, Lucian, and Hesychius were so completely confused together, that all distinction between them was nearly lost.† And when we consider how imperfect our knowledge is of the original character of the editions of Lucian and Hesychius, and of the principle on which they proceeded in the correction of the Septuagint text, and, moreover, when we take into account the fact, that the marks of Origen are so completely obliterated, even in the most ancient manuscripts, that we are able to ascertain in very few instances the text of Origen, it is impossible to say that any one edition or recension is contained in any existing manuscript of the present day.‡

When, therefore, we consider the corrupt state in which the Septuagint text, with the exception of the Pentateuch, was in the time of Origen, and the subsequent confusion of the different recensions after the time of Lucian and Hesychius, it is impossible for us to pronounce with certainty that, with the exception of the Pentateuch and different parts of other books, we possess in the present day the real text of the Septuagint version.

II. Such is the evidence which we derive in support of our argument, with regard to the corruption of the text, from a re-

\* Holmes, *Præf. LXX.*, sect. xi.

† This is the opinion of Dr. Hody.—“ Editiones sane varæ Origenis, Luciani, et Hesychii intra unius circiter sæculi aut alterius curriculum videntur inter se usque adeo a librariis confusæ et commixtæ, ut earum distinctio penitus evanuerit. Hinc ne quidem apud Cyrillum Patriarcham Alexandrinum, qui floruit initio sequentis sæculi, reperiuntur additamenta Hesychianæ editionis de quibus loquitur Hieronymus.—*De Text. Orig. Bibliorum*, lib. iv., cap. ii., p. 638.

‡ This is shewn conclusively by Bauer apud Glass., vol. ii., pp. 269, 270; and he has illustrated his position from the different opinions which have been maintained with regard to the sources from which the Vatican and Alexandrian editions are derived; of which the former is supposed by Andr. Maius to follow the recension of Lucian, by Morinus that of Origen, and by Grabe that of Hesychius. The same difference of opinion exists with regard to the Alexandrian; which is supposed by Morinus and J. Vossius to follow the recension of Hesychius, but by Grabe and Montfaucon, with far greater grounds of probability, that of Origen.



view of the general history of the Septuagint version. We will, in the next place, consider the additional evidence which we derive from other sources.

The first of these, and one which arose immediately out of the peculiar mode of correction adopted by Origen, is to be found in those corruptions which were caused by the *omission* of the marks of Origen in some places, and their improper *insertion* in others, owing to the carelessness of transcribers. With regard to the extent to which the manuscripts have been corrupted from this source, Montfaucon bears conclusive testimony, when he says that, amidst the numberless marks with which the manuscripts abound, he found very few which carried with them the evidence of authenticity.\*

Another source of corruption in the manuscripts of the Septuagint is the circumstance of annotations which were placed in the margin finding their way into the text; and of these annotations we are informed by Montfaucon, that there were many both in the Tetrapla and the Hexapla. Montfaucon mentions that Origen corrected the Tetrapla, and illustrated it with Scholia, which were afterwards increased by Eusebius; and, in the same manner, with regard to the Hexapla, he says, that Origen filled the margin of the Hexapla with notes of different kinds, of which a considerable proportion related to the interpretation of proper names. Of this description of annotations, he says, that the earlier Hexaplar manuscripts are full. Montfaucon also mentions that there are other annotations which are found attached to the words in great numbers, as being explanatory of their meaning and etymology, of which he gives examples." Another source of corruption arose from the following cause—whenever a different version of a passage was given by any of the other translators, which appeared to be preferable to that which

\* Speaking with regard to the insertion of the marks of Origen in his edition of the *Hexapla*, he has made the following observations.—“Asteriscos et obelos appositum, ubicunque in manuscriptis notabantur. Cæteros autem, qui passim occurrerant in Hexaplis Origenianis quosque restituere jam difficillimum esset, non perquirendos esse putavimus. Nam ut fusius in Præliminaribus dicitur, asteriscorum maxima pars hujus generis erant, ut parum inde lucis ad literarum Hebraicorum intelligentiam accederet. Siquidem tanto scrupulo fuerant ab Origene positi, ut vel quam maximas particulas, Hebraismosque omnes qui Græcâ linguâ non poterant concinne enunciari, quique nihil ad sensum faciebant, importunâ ἀκριβείᾳ notarent. Tunc vero solum asterisci, et ea quæ sub asteriscis indicabantur utilia erant cum clausulas aut verba à LXX. interpretibus prætermissa exhibebant: hujus autem generis asteriscos summo studio perquisivimus, qui si cum aliis supervacaneis comparentur, paucissimi sunt. Obeli autem ea quæ in LXX. interpretibus redundabant annotantes, assequendæ Scripturarum menti, ut plurimum saltem, parum conducebant.”—*Prælim. ad Hexapla*, cap. i., sect. iv., p. 4.

† *Prælim. ad Hexapla*, p. 14.

¶ *Ib.*, p. 18.

was contained in the Septuagint, Origen frequently inserted it with an asterisk in the text, marking the latter with an obelus, as being proper to be omitted. Thus, in Psalm xxviii. 1, (Heb. xxix. 1,) in the passage וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה וַיִּתְּנוּ לַיהוָה זִבְחֵי שִׁירָה, he added to the translation of the LXX., *ἐνέγκατε τῷ κυρίῳ ὕμνοι θεοῦ*, the following translation of the passage taken from another version, *ὑμῶν κριῶν*. But, the distinctive marks of Origen being lost, the two passages were confounded together, and were retained, as is the case in the present text of the Septuagint version.\* Double readings of this kind are of frequent occurrence in the present copies of the Septuagint,† and a careful examination of the text will shew that the loss of the marks of Origen has led to many similar corruptions in other passages. It is true, indeed, that many of the explanatory glosses, to which allusion has been made, are attributed, and with great probability, to a period later than that of Origen; but this does not affect the argument arising from the influences which they have had on the corruption of the present Septuagint text. Another occasion of corruption arose from the insertion of various readings in the margin of the manuscripts, which gradually found their way into the text,‡ also, from parallel passages, glosses, and scholia, which, in numerous manuscripts, have taken possession of it to the exclusion of the original text.§ Again, another source of confusion might be the fact, that while, in the churches of Palestine and the adjoining countries, the corrected text of Origen was generally adopted, the *κοινή* text, with which the people were familiar, was retained in the Book of Psalms. This would lead, in this particular book, to our finding an unequal text in many of the manuscripts. Again, there is another description of corruptions which may be remarked in different parts of the Septuagint version—namely, the manner in which many verses, and even whole chapters, have been transposed. Of these transpositions, we have instances in the latter part of the Book of Exodus, in which the chapters, from the eighth verse of the thirty-sixth chapter to the end of the Book, are confused in a singular manner;‡ and in many parts of the Book of Jeremiah, particularly in the transposition of the chapters, from the twenty-fifth

\* Montfaucon, *Not. ad Psalm. XXIX. i.*, apud *Hexapla*; Rosenmüller ad locum; and Hammond's note on the passage.

† Usher, *Syntagma ad LXX.*, p. 95.

‡ Of this source of corruption Montfaucon gives an account, *Prelim. Hexap.*, cap. i., sect. vi., and has illustrated it by numerous examples.

§ A remarkable instance of this occurs in the Septuagint version of Isaiah ix. 6.

‡ Montfaucon, *Prelim. Hexap.*

chapter inclusive to the end of the Book, besides other transpositions of a less important description.<sup>c</sup>

There are other corruptions for which it is difficult to account; namely, those interpolations which have taken absolute possession of the text in many passages, where all connexion between the sense conveyed in the present text of the Septuagint version and the Hebrew text appears to be entirely lost. Of this description of interpolations, there are many instances in the prophet Isaiah, and particularly in the ninth and tenth chapters; and the same thing is true with regard to the greater part of the Book of Job. With regard to the greater portion of these corruptions, we may observe, that the fact that corruptions of so singular a character should not only have obtained exclusive possession of the text of many manuscripts, but that they should also have retained it in direct opposition to the Hebrew text and the other versions—though it is difficult to account for it—affords conclusive evidence of the careless manner in which the manuscripts of the Septuagint version have been treated from a very early period.<sup>d</sup>

Such, therefore, are some of the causes which led to the corruption of the Septuagint version; causes of which the operation was very extensive, as is evident from a careful examination of the Septuagint text. For instance, there is a scholium annexed to the version of the Prophet Ezekiel, which is contained in the Codex Marchalianus, in which it is stated that it was taken from the Hexapla, and corrected according to the Tetrapla, which was itself corrected and furnished with scholia by Origen himself; that these scholia were increased by Eusebius, and the text itself further corrected by Eusebius and Pamphilus. There is also another scholium contained in the same manuscript, in which the reviser candidly states that, having procured the expository volumes of Origen on Isaiah to the end of the vision of Tyre, and having, as far as it was possible, accurately ascertained the sense of every word, he corrected every doubtful passage according to the sense which was given to it by him; and that, in addition to this, the translation of the LXX. was compared also with those things which were written by Eusebius on Isaiah; and wherever they disagreed, having ascertained the sense of his exposition, he corrected it according to that sense.<sup>e</sup> It is impossible to place any limit to the alterations

<sup>c</sup> On this subject see Rosenmüller's *Prolegomena in Jeremiam*, sect. vi.

<sup>d</sup> See Lightfoot in his *Miscellanies, Christian and Judaical*, chap. xxii. Works, vol. i., p. 1004.

<sup>e</sup> Montfaucon, *Prelim. in Hexap.*, p. 14.

which this arbitrary mode of correcting the manuscripts, not merely by other manuscripts, but also by the expositions of different commentators, would introduce into the Septuagint version.

In addition to these causes of corruption, there are others which, though they do not affect the interpolation of whole sentences, are observable, as shewing the careless manner in which the manuscripts of the Septuagint have been tampered with.

1. The transposition of words.
2. The addition of words.
3. The omission of words.
4. The mistaking of words.

The corruptions arising from these different sources have been illustrated by different writers;<sup>f</sup> and an examination of these corruptions will illustrate our former reasoning with regard to the present condition of the Septuagint version.

But the argument with regard to the corruptions of the Septuagint version may be further illustrated by considering the actual condition of some of the principal manuscripts and editions.

With regard to the manuscripts. The most ancient manuscript extant is supposed to be the Codex Cottonianus, of which only a few fragments remain in the present day. It is supposed by Dr. Holmes to have been written about the close of the fourth, or the beginning of the fifth century; and he considers it as the most correct and valuable of all the manuscripts of the Septuagint. It does not exhibit an exact agreement with any single manuscript or edition of the LXX; but is supposed by this learned writer to follow the Tetrapla. The other manuscripts of the LXX. of the greatest value are the Vatican and Alexandrian manuscripts. Of these manuscripts the Vatican appears to contain, *generally*, the *Ková* text, and is supposed by some persons to have been written during the fourth, and by Bishop Marsh, before the close of the fifth century.<sup>g</sup> The age of the Alexandrian manuscript is more doubtful, but it is probably very ancient; and it generally follows the Hexaplar text. Both these

<sup>f</sup> That similar liberties were taken with some of the MSS. of the New Testament, we see from what is said by Hug about the interpolation and interlineation of the Vienna MS. *Introduction to N. T.*, vol. i., p. 229.

<sup>g</sup> For instance, Jer. l. 27, where *שְׁלַח לְךָ בָּקָרָא*, *slay all her bullocks*, is translated *ἀναξήραντες πάντας τοὺς κάρπους αὐτοῦ*, considering *שְׁלַח* is the plural of *שָׁלַח*, which does not occur in the plural number. Compare also Hosea xiv. 2, and Bishop Horsley's remarks on the LXX. version of this passage. A similar mistake occurs in Genesis xlix. 6, where the LXX. version has *ταύρον* by an evident mistake.

<sup>h</sup> Compare Owen on the LXX., pp. 93—98.

<sup>i</sup> See Holmes, *Pref. ad LXX.*

manuscripts have suffered greatly from corruptions of different kinds, and they afford very singular and conclusive evidence of the great extent of the corruptions which have been introduced into the Septuagint text.

In the first place, they exhibit in particular books an entirely different text.

(1.) In the Book of Judges they exhibit, in many instances, two different translations.

(2.) In the historical books they differ materially, many passages being interpolated in the Vatican manuscript from the other parts of the history; and, in some instances, the translations contained in the two versions are entirely different.

(3.) They contain also a different translation in many parts of the Book of Esther.

But, secondly, these manuscripts, if they are examined individually, will be found not to exhibit an uniform text. For instance, the Vatican manuscript is supposed to contain, in the Book of Job, a great portion of the version of Theodotion, and in the Book of Ecclesiastes it bears evident marks of containing part of the version of Aquila.<sup>k</sup> And, in the same manner, the Alexandrian manuscript, though it generally follows the Hexaplar text, is thought by Dr. Holmes in the Pentateuch to follow the text of the Tetrapla.<sup>l</sup> The same reasoning will apply to the great majority of the manuscripts, which are probably in a great measure taken from these two principal manuscripts.

With regard to the editions of the Septuagint version, they appear to have shared the fate of the manuscripts; and they have been corrected to such an extent by editors that they leave the text in great uncertainty. This is true, especially of the edition which is contained in the Complutentian Polyglot.

Such appear to be some of the most important facts connected with the general history of the Septuagint version. But, in order that we may be able to form a true estimate of its present state, it will be necessary also to take into consideration the particular corruptions which have been introduced into it by

<sup>k</sup> In Ecclesiaste σύν præpositio quæ exprimere solebat particulam Hebraicam *et* notam accusativi casus, quam Origenes in Hexaplati illâ editione præmissis asterisco sicubi occurreret posuerat, non infrequenter referitur in editione Romana. Sic, cap. ii., v. 17, *σὺν τῇν ζωῇν*, et cap. iii., v. 17, *σὺν τὸν δίκαιον καὶ σὺν τὸν ἀσεβῇ κρινεῖ ὁ θεός*, et similia quædam. Capite autem vii., v. 3, clausulam ex Aquila in editione τῶν O invectam deprehendimus." And on these facts he grounds the following observation with regard to the present state of the Septuagint text. "Ex his porro mutationibus evenit, ut editio LXX. Intrepretum pura et qualis fuit ante Origenem frustra quæretur hodie."—Montfaucon, *Prælim. in Hep.*, p. 43.

<sup>l</sup> Archbishop Usher has made the same remark with regard to another MS.—*Synlogia ad LXX.*, pp. 101, 102.

the Jews; those which have been introduced into it by Christians; and the fact that some particular manuscripts have been altered and interpolated by Christians.

All these points are necessary to be considered, that we may be able to form a proper judgment on the true state of the text of this ancient version, and its real weight in the criticism of the Old Testament.

There are also other points intimately connected with this version.

1. The important question,—“Whether the sacred writers adopted it, and to what extent, in their quotations from the Old Testament?”

2. The bearing of this question, considered in connexion with the preceding enquiry into the present state of the Septuagint text, on the critical systems of those writers who have maintained the belief of an extensive corruption of the Hebrew text.

3. And the question,—“What was the real influence of the Septuagint version on the language of the New Testament?”

These are all questions of great interest and deserving a patient investigation.

Castle Camps, May, 1855.

G. P.

## ON THE RESULTS OF TEXTUAL CRITICISM

IN offering remarks on the results of textual criticism, I confine myself to that portion of the New Testament with the text of which my researches have necessarily made me familiar. In forming a synopsis of the synoptical passages in the three first gospels, I transcribed them from the received text, which upon consideration I altered to that of Tischendorf,<sup>a</sup> as being the latest

<sup>a</sup> I regret I had not the advantage of the revised text of Mr. Alford's second edition, which is a manifest improvement both on the first edition and on that of Tischendorf, upon which it is founded. This last critic appears to me to adhere to the rule of adopting the most difficult reading in the face of preponderating evidence; thus in Luke v. 30, by omitting *καὶ μαρτολῶν*, a reading supported by uncial MSS. and the Vulgate, he makes our Lord answer a question which was not asked; the question being, “Why do ye eat and drink with publicans?” omitting “and sinners;” the answer, v. 31, 32, relating only to “sinners;” and in Acts xxvii. 14, he prefers *euroctydon* to *euroaquilo* in the face of the same authorities.

critical edition founded upon the text of the earliest MSS. This portion of the New Testament comprehends the whole of the Gospel of Mark, and nearly one-half of Matthew and one-half of Luke, being about one-fifth of the whole; and as I transcribed it from four to six times before I satisfied myself that I had arranged the parallel passages so as to exhibit at a glance the precise nature of the connexion which subsists between them, I can speak from my own experience with some confidence as to certain tendencies to which transcribers of parallel passages are liable, and which in the course of ages must have produced considerable modifications in the texts. This tendency I term the process of assimilation, borrowing the term from Mr. Alford, as expressed in the following extract from the *Prolegomena* to his second edition :—

“ Few readers are at all aware to what an extent the process of *assimilating the parallel passages* in the Gospels has gone. It is in *these* that by far the greater number of various readings is invariably found, whereas in passages contained in one gospel they are comparatively few” (p. 77).

The cause of this tendency is obvious; copying is essentially an act of memory, for we cannot at the same time keep our eyes on the copy and on the original; but in transcribing passages which agree so closely as those in the synoptic gospels, the transcriber is apt to substitute words or expressions of a previously written passage for those in the one before him. This is productive of two effects; it converts identical words into synonyms, and inserts words or expressions which occur in one gospel, but were wanting in the parallel passage of another; in both cases a verbal agreement is produced which does not exist in the more ancient MSS. Such insertions do not change the meaning of the author in any matter that is essential, as careful comparison has led me to the following conclusion, which I quote from my *Dissertation on the Origin of the Gospels* :—

“ It may be satisfactory to those who look with suspicion upon the numerous various readings appended to critical editions to know, that in the very considerable portion of the gospels which I have copied I have not been able to detect a shade of difference in the meaning, either doctrinal or historical” (p. ix.).

This of itself is an invaluable result, for which we are indebted to the labours of textual critics.

This process of assimilation necessarily produces a greater amount of verbal conformity as we recede from the original writing. Now as we find a greater amount of such agreement in the received text than we do in the early MSS., we must

conclude that they agree more closely with the original writings of the evangelists.

Such changes, although they may not affect the historical, or doctrinal matter of the narratives, cannot fail to introduce occasional difficulties which escape notice when they are read separately, but perplex critics when they are subjected to a minute comparison. I shall notice one or two which have been removed by reverting to what I believe to be the purer text.

In the account of the miracle of feeding five thousand, we are told by St. Luke, according to the received text, that our Lord and his disciples "went aside privately into a desert place belonging to the city of Bethsaida;" upon this Mr. Alford observes: "A great difficulty attends the mention of Bethsaida here. It is apparently meant to be the well-known Bethsaida on the western banks of the lake, not far from Capernaum, but our Lord *was on this side before*; see chap. viii. 37; and Mark (vi. 45) relates that *after* the miracle of feeding five thousand he caused the disciples to cross over to Bethsaida."<sup>b</sup>

The difficulty here is, that a desert place belonging to a city must be supposed to be near it, and on the same side of the lake; this difficulty, however, only exists in the modern text; in the most ancient it merely says they went to a town called Bethsaida, *ὑπεχώρησαν εἰς πόλιν καλουμένην Βηθσαιδᾶ*.

The difference between the accounts of Luke and Mark is merely the difference between history and memoir. St. Luke, writing historically, gives none of the details of the journey; he mentions indeed incidentally that the scene of the miracle was a desert place (v. 12), but he does not say that it belonged to Bethsaida; there is no difficulty to be explained, and no reason to suppose that Luke meant a different Bethsaida from Mark in his account of this miracle.

There is another and much more important difficulty removed by reverting to the more ancient readings. The agreement between St. Luke's account of the Lord's supper, and that given by St. Paul in the First Epistle to the Corinthians (chap. xi. 23), has been long observed and rightly attributed to the connexion between the apostle and the evangelist; but even here a difficulty presents itself. The words of our Lord *λάβετε φάγετε*, "Take, eat," occur in the received text in the accounts of Matthew and Paul, but not in that of Luke. De Wette takes notice of this agreement between the two former, and ascribes it to oral tradition;<sup>c</sup> observing that Paul could scarcely have been acquainted

<sup>b</sup> Vol. i., p. 472.

<sup>c</sup> *Einleitung*, fifth edition, p. 146.



with the Gospel of Matthew. Perhaps he was not, for we do not know that the Gospel was published before the epistle was written; but we have no occasion to speculate upon the subject. The words in question—the only portion of Paul's account which he could have taken from Matthew—are not to be found in the early MSS.<sup>d</sup>

There is another class of variations between the ancient and modern MSS. resulting from the same cause, the removal of which tends to throw light on the nature of the connexion of the Gospels. I have already observed that one effect of the process of assimilation is to convert synonymous words into identical ones; hence there is more verbal agreement in the modern than in the ancient MSS. Now it is remarkable that, with one exception, all the verbal agreements can be referred to the Gospel of Matthew; that exception has been pointed out by Bishop Marsh. He finds that two verses in St. Luke's account of the cure of the demoniac at Capernaum (chap. iv. 34, 35) agree verbally with the corresponding passage in Mark i. 24, 25; but as Matthew does not relate this miracle, we have here a case in which we cannot refer the agreement to him. In the early MSS., however, that exception does not exist, for in them there are no less than three deviations from verbal agreement. We thus arrive at the very important conclusion, that the conditions of agreement are different in the different gospels, and therefore that no single cause can account for the phenomena which a minute comparison presents.

All these variations hitherto noticed, appear to have resulted from the same cause, namely, the process of assimilation; but that cause is a constant one, and must have influenced the earliest as it has the latest transcribers. It must be supposed, therefore, that unexplained difficulties would disappear could we revert to the original text. It cannot be said that any of the above-noticed variations have been productive of error, but it is obvious that should an error slip into a passage in one gospel, it would from the cause in question have a great chance of being transferred into the corresponding passage in another.

I am very much persuaded that the difference between Luke

<sup>d</sup> In this, Griesbach, Scholz, Lachmann, and Tischendorf concur. See the collation of their readings with the received text by Dr. Tregelles,—a most useful, I may say indispensable, aid to all who wish to acquire a correct knowledge of the labours of these critics, for it is only by thus placing them in juxtaposition that we can form a proper estimate of their value. In point of fact, this collation exhibits at a glance all that has been done of any importance towards the restoration of the purity of the text anterior to the original researches of Dr. Tregelles himself.

<sup>e</sup> *Essay on the Origin of the Gospels*, p. 118.

and the other two synoptic gospels, respecting the exact time of the cure of the blind near Jericho, is thus to be explained. According to the account in Luke it took place as they were going *in* to Jericho, according to the other two as they were going *out*, but the mere circumstance of placing one letter too near another would change the verb used both by Matthew and Mark signifying to "go out," into that which signifies to "go in," *EΚΠΟΡΕΤΟΜΕΝΩΝ* into *ΕΙCΠΟΡΕΤΟΜΕΝΩΝ*—the *IC* in juxtaposition resembling *K* written fast;—we have an example of this in the facsimile of a page in the Vatican MS. given in *Horne's Introduction*,<sup>f</sup> where the *K* in *KAI* at the beginning of line four is exactly what I have supposed

In all the gospels we meet with minute touches indicating the circumstances connected with the author; such as his presence at the events he describes, his country or profession; such touches are apt to disappear and give place to more general and therefore more easily understood expressions: but as they tend to prove the antiquity of the text and truth of the narrative, their restoration into the text possesses a value irrespective of the matter of the narrative. Such is the thoroughly professional word *ἀμφιβάλλοντας* describing a particular mode of fishing (Mark i. 16), in the early MSS. This has been changed into *βάλλοντας ἀμβίβληστον*, a much more general and therefore more easily understood expression, taken from the corresponding passage in Matthew.

All of the changes hitherto noticed result apparently from the same cause, and in all of them the nature of the change affords evidence that the ancient is the original reading.

In the Acts of the Apostles several of the early readings are not less valuable than those already noticed. In Acts xvi. 30, we are told that Paul and his companions met Lydia by a river side, "out of the city," *ἐξήλθωμεν τῆς πόλεως*. The ancient reading is *ἐξήλθωμεν τῆς πύλης* outside of the gate; this gives greater precision and autopticity to the description and accords more directly with the style of an eye-witness. Who but an eye-witness would have thought of telling us that Lydia was a seller of purple of the city of Thyatira, and that they met her at a place "by a river where prayer was wont to be made," but which I would translate "at an authorized oratory—outside of the gate."

In the narrative of St. Paul's voyage, it is stated in the received text that entering into a ship of Adramyttium we launched

forth meaning "to sail by the coasts of Asia," μέλλοντες πλεῖν τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν τόπους.

Now, as by Asia St. Luke meant the western portion of Asia Minor, and as the ancients in making a passage to the westward from Syria were in the habit of navigating close to that coast, there could be no occasion to mention what was in fact a matter of course, whereas by the insertion of the word εἰς we see at once the object of embarking in the Adramyttium ship which was intended to sail to the places on the Asiatic coast εἰς τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν τόπους (Acts xxvii. 2): for, after passing these places her course would deviate from that to Italy, but by touching at them as the ancient text implies, they could not fail to find ships bound for Italy, as they did at Myra.

We have also in the account of the same voyage the reading Euroclydon for the more ancient one Euroaquo, which is also that of the Vulgate and which means E.N.E., which is exactly the direction the wind must have had in order to agree with the narrative.

In the life of St. Luke, appended to "The voyage and shipwreck of St. Paul," I concluded from the autopsychism of the narrative, that St. Luke was residing at Antioch at the period of St. Paul's first visit. I did so without taking into consideration, and in fact in ignorance of the reading of the Cambridge MS., which actually asserts that he was then at Antioch. After relating the arrival at Antioch of prophets from Jerusalem (Acts xi. 27), we learn from that MS. that "There was much joy, and *when we were assembled* there stood up one of them—*ἡν δὲ πολλὴ ἀγαλλίασις συνεστραμμένων δὲ ἡμῶν ἀναστὰς, κ. τ. λ.*" (ver. 28). This reading is confirmed by Augustine who quotes the passage thus, "*congregatis autem nobis surgens,*" &c.

Such are the conclusions to which I have been led by a minute examination of a limited portion of the New Testament. The most ancient readings have all the appearance of being the most original, and they all tend to prove that we are dealing with the contemporary accounts of writers who were all more or less engaged in the transactions which they have recorded.

JAMES SMITH.

### THE GENESIS OF THE EARTH AND OF MAN.

IN *The Journal of Sacred Literature* for January last, a paper appeared with the above title by R. S. P. This was followed by another, partly on the same subject, by J. W. A careful perusal of these letters has convinced us that the writers have taken up some positions which are not tenable; and we are anxious, as the subject is an important one, to make a few observations for the consideration of those gentlemen, and of our readers generally.

We are fully convinced that the true interpretation of Holy Scripture will ever harmonize with the true deductions of science, whether physical, moral, mental, or historical.

The paper of R. S. P. is properly a notice of a pamphlet, the title of which he gives, but inasmuch as he adopts the views broached by the author of that pamphlet, it may be more convenient to treat his communication as if it were entirely his own.

There can be no doubt that, as he says, the record of the creation in Genesis is a revelation, but when he says, "We find that revelations of this kind, of which the subjects are events, were generally conveyed in representations to the sight," and, "that the narrative under our consideration is most probably the relation of a revelation by means of a vision, or a series of visions," we are compelled to object. The revelation of *future* events may have been by vision, but where can we find a revelation of *past* events of which this can be said and proved? There is nothing in this relation but what is in form purely historical: and it is as free from all the peculiarities of poetic, prophetic, and symbolic writing, as any portion of Scripture. To suppose the six days to be six visions on six consecutive days, is to suppose what appears to be entirely destitute of proof; and to assume that the record is one of *appearances* and not of *facts* is to strip it of its historical character, and to deprive some other portions of holy writ of their truthfulness. How can we say, for instance, that "in six days the Lord made heaven and earth," if we mean that in so many days he revealed by vision to some one the fact of his creating them? Yet R. S. P. suggests that his interpretation is reconcilable with that statement (Ex. xx. 11), and supposes that it has the additional advantage of settling the opinion that the six days of creation were periods of undefinable duration: which is to say, that it proves the correctness of *another* interpretation very different from his own. It is to be regretted that he makes the same misapplication of the words, "one day is

with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day," which is so common and so alien from their true intention. That the word 'day' is often used indefinitely in the Bible, as in most languages, is admitted; but it has a definite meaning, and we believe it has in this very passage of Peter (2 Peter iii. 8). Equally unfounded do we believe the opinion to be, that Exod. xx. 11 is interpolated, of which there is not, so far as we are aware, even the shadow of a proof.

We are gravely told that the new interpretation of the record of creation, as above given, "settles for ever the greatest difficulty which scientific men have found in God's word." Letting this pass, we must confess that we do not see how "this explanation admits the most literal interpretation of the biblical narrative." Why does it not reduce it to a dream, a waking dream if you will—but still a dream? And yet the seer does not give the remotest intimation that it is not the most rigidly historical narrative. On this principle we might proceed to other portions of the sacred narrative, and ere long our *Targums* would be found to deviate more extravagantly from the written text than any with which the world has yet been favoured. This question is not so much one of learning as of common sense and sound judgment: and all theories which are far-fetched, recondite, or eccentric, lie necessarily open to suspicion. The circumstances in which, and the people for whom, this revelation was probably made forbid the idea that it was meant to teach otherwise than that the present constitution of our system (or at least of our world) was effected in six days by the Lord, who commemorated the event by requiring man to observe the seventh day in peculiar honour of him and of the dispensation.

We come now to the *second* principal theory which is broached by R. S. P. It relates to the question, "Whether the human species be referrible to different origins?" Adam is regarded "as the first individual of a new variety of a species which had universally fallen, but not become extinct." It is admitted that Adam was sinless, and hence he needed a sinless wife, which led to the creation of Eve. Cain and Seth, having fallen, might of course be provided with wives from the depraved race already in this world. I believe, on the contrary, Adam to have been the first of his species, for it is said, "There was not a man to till the ground" prior to his formation. He is called "the first man," and it is declared in the New Testament that "by *one man* sin entered into the world and death by sin." Who that *one man* is, is plain, for "in Adam all die;" and much more to the same effect. The assumption of the existence of fallen men in the world previous to, and at the time of, Adam's creation, is as

clearly disproved in the Bible as any theory can be. The fifth chapter of Paul's epistle to the Romans will alone be able to satisfy most persons upon this head.

Again: Adam's calling his wife Eve because she was the mother of all living, is diluted into this, "that she should bring forth children." We submit, that this is not criticism. "All living,"  $\text{כָּל־חַי}$ , is manifestly equivalent to "every one that lives," and a more comprehensive expression cannot be used. The Targum has it, "all the sons of man,"  $\text{כָּל־בְּנֵי־חַי}$ ; the LXX. have "all the living,"  $\text{πάντων τῶν ζώντων}$ , which corresponds to the *cunctorum viventium* of the Vulgate. The Syriac is  $\text{ܟܠܗܝܐ}$  which agrees with the Hebrew. To make matters worse, the verb  $\text{וָיָה}$ , "she was," or rather "she became," is imagined to be an emphatic future! The word "all" is supposed to refer to Adam's ignorance of others; but it is not Adam's word, it is that of the historian. If words mean anything, in this case it is that Adam called the name of his wife Eve, because she was the mother of every one that lives.

Matt. xix. 10 is supposed to mean that God "made but one female for one male." But is it fair to overlook the narrative in Gen. i. 27, which, with its context, indubitably proves that the "male and female" were Adam and Eve?

The passage in Acts xvii. 26, we take simply to prove the unity of the species, and not necessarily to denote their origin from a single pair. The remaining passages quoted under this head have already received attention.

We now come to those passages from which the existence of other human beings than those which descend from Adam is inferred. The question, Where did Cain get his wife from? has been a favourite one with infidels; and his building a city has also furnished the same party with objections. We believe that Cain married his sister, and broke no law by so doing; the degrees within which marriages are prohibited not having then been fixed. But it is impossible for us to say how long after the fall it was when these events took place, as we do not even know how many years Cain lived. Seth, his younger brother, lived 912 years, and it is very possible that, although Abel's was the first death, it did not occur for very many years after the fall. We must remember that in the compass of a page or two we have the remaining records of centuries, when the life of man was prolonged to almost a thousand years, and his powers and faculties continued through most of that long period. Adam may have had sons and daughters, and doubtless had such, whose names have long ago perished; and in the course of five or six hundred years the possible descendants of a single pair may have

been a number which will startle those who look at it for the first time. In this Journal for July, 1852 (p. 498), we furnished a calculation based upon a fact, from which it appeared that in 60 years two had become 80, or increased 40 times: and yet among their children there had been probably an average amount of mortality. I now find that in 600 years the actual descendants of those 2 persons may reach the astounding total of 20,971,520,000,000,000 ! I trust this will serve to set at rest the question as to the capabilities of the race for increase. At the end of 360 years from the creation of Adam, or of a "year of years," according to our reckoning, the number of the world's inhabitants may have been 8,192,000,000, or about ten times its present population; and this on the supposition that all sprang from a single pair.

The next argument for the existence of other races than the Adamic, or descendants of Adam, is one which is a good deal more intricate. It is not more conclusive, but less tangible. It is said that the word Adam, אָדָם, "whenever it occurs after the death of the man to whom the name of Adam is first applied, properly signifies the Adamites, just as Israel in the like case properly signifies Israelites." To this we object, as not fairly representing the *usus loquendi* of the Hebrew text; and affirm that, to render the word by *Adamites* would frequently be both inconsistent and absurd. If R. S. P. will be at the pains to try the experiment with those passages, for instance, which are alluded to in Gesenius' *Lexicon*, he must see that this view cannot be defended. Again, if this view were correct, we must have some collateral proof of it. But no proof of this kind is known; and Jewish and Gentile, ancient and modern scholars alike have understood the word אָדָם, *Adam*, to be, like the Latin *homo*, or the English *man*, the name of the genus, and not of any particular section of it. Once more, the word thus used frequently has the article prefixed, הָאָדָם, which is not the case when a word is used specifically, as "Israel," for the descendants of Israel.

The passage, Gen. vi. 1, is supposed to denote the intermarriage of these (imaginary) Adamites with others of a different race; and the existence of the Nephilim or giants, of Num. xiii. 33, before the flood, is believed to be proved. Now, one word about these Nephilim. It is very likely that, in the time of Moses, the name was given to some *fancied* race of great stature who existed before the flood, and whom superstition still assigned to lands which were but imperfectly known. These were the ghosts and hobgoblins with which the weak and the ignorant were terrified. One thing, at least, is certain, that the statement of the spies, in Num. xiii. 33, was untrue, and it is scarcely safe to build a theory upon a lie.

But it is thought that the Bible gives intimations of non-Adamic races who survived the flood. We are surprised that the 10th of Genesis should be quoted for that purpose, and the 19th verse of the 9th chapter overlooked. Now, let any one calmly read the five chapters of Genesis (vi.—x.), in which the cause and circumstances of the flood are recorded. After this, can he believe that there were men upon the earth not destroyed by that flood, and not contained in the ark? If any doubt still remain, we can only refer him to 2 Pet. ii. 5, which it is to be hoped is conclusive.

The word *Adam* we have already looked at, and are persuaded that it is used in a collective or generic sense; and that *wa* is used as a distinctive appellation in two ways especially—first, to point out the individual; and secondly, to characterize him honourably, like the Latin *vir*, in contradistinction to *homo*. In any case no argument for the opinion of R. S. P. can be drawn from the use of these words, *both* of which are applied to Adam himself; and none but *wa* is, I believe, applied to any other individual man.

It cannot be denied that, in many cases, the words “all,” “whole,” &c., in the Bible, are used in a limited sense. But, unless there is positive evidence to the contrary, it cannot be safe to limit such general terms in any case. Now, we submit that we are required to acquiesce in those passages from the Scriptures which declare that *all* the human race, except those in the ark, were destroyed by the deluge, and that from those contained in the ark the whole world has been peopled. We dare not except in such a case as this. The evidence for the deluge, furnished by the tradition of many nations, is too circumstantial and like the inspired narrative, to relate to any other event or circumstances. Take, for instance, the Mexican tradition, which space forbids us to give, but which is very instructive. There are many other traditions, besides customs, monuments, laws, religious beliefs, language, &c., which tend to the confirmation of the Bible narrative as popularly understood. The traditions of Autochthones, Aborigines, &c., simply signify that the record of their migration in such cases has been lost, or that a second immigration into a country already inhabited sometimes took place.

There is, however, another argument alluded to which would prove more than R. S. P. wishes. I allude to the antiquity of diversities of complexion, &c., in man. These physical diversities do not prove difference of species, nor even disprove a common origin. If R. S. P. will look again at the 10th of Genesis, he will find that from the sons of one man have descended tribes in whom all extremes of difference may be traced. And, let it be



remembered that, at the early period when the chapter alluded to was written, those variations were as marked as they are now. The production of varieties of any race is not a mere question of time, as will appear by a glance at our domesticated animals, and cultivated fruits, vegetables, and flowers. So far as the human complexion is concerned, it is unjust to suppose that the change, in any case, has been from white to black, or from black to white; more probably it has been from an intermediate hue. However, this is certain, that the Jewish race at this moment exhibits every variety of colour.

We must not touch upon the philological argument for the common origin of man. Yet we are convinced it is of great weight.

There is, however, one argument which has occurred to us which we will, in a few words, state. It is derived from the fact that our Lord assumed the nature of the race he came to save. There is a meaning in the genealogy which is given in the first chapter of Matthew's Gospel; and we have no reason to suppose he came to save any but those who, like himself, descended from Adam. Now, if all men are not descended from Adam, Christ came to save races to which he was not allied; which is a supposition totally at variance with the teachings of the New Testament.

It will be unnecessary for us to enter upon the particular points of the letter of J. W., whose reasonings are very much akin to those of R. S. P. in reference to this matter. We regret that the brevity to which we are restricted prevents us from entering more fully into the subject, and shall be amply satisfied if what we have said tends to the confirmation of views which we believe to be very important, and sustained by a fair interpretation of the Word of God. The candour, piety, and ability of those whose opinions we have ventured to canvass disarm criticism of its severity, and assure us that they have no end in view but the elucidation of truth. Happy shall we be if our imperfect suggestions tend to this result; for thus, and only thus, can the end of all sound exegesis be attained.

B. H. C.

### CANONS OF INTERPRETATION, IN REFERENCE TO THE HISTORY OF THE RESURRECTION.

In the Preliminary Observations of Dr. Macknight to his *Harmony of the Four Gospels*, that able writer takes up the position that there are no contradictory statements in the accounts given by the evangelists. In Observation II., concerning the facts and circumstances of facts, which the inspired writers have mentioned, he says, "It is certain the sacred historians have recorded nothing but what is strictly true;" and in Observation I., concerning the words and phrases of the inspired writers, he determines under the stress of this canon, that the charge of our Lord to his apostles upon their mission into the cities of Judah, as related by St. Matthew, "Provide neither shoes nor yet a staff," is not a discrepancy from that of St. Mark who relates the event with a command to the apostles to "take *nothing* for their journey *save* a staff only." "For these words," says Macknight, "though in sound contradictory, yet in sense are perfectly the same; and mean that such of the apostles as had staves in their hands might take them, but those who were walking without them, were not to *provide them*."<sup>a</sup>

It would surely be better to put the proposition in this way—"that the sacred historians recount nothing but what is materially true"—for many narratives of events have been published, which are materially true, though the incidents have varied materially, and cannot be strictly true where such discrepancies are found to occur.

It is the very nature of human testimony to manifest that same imperfection which belongs to everything human, and distinguishes the knowledge of a non-omniscient being from one that is omniscient. The testimony of the evangelists, though urged into activity by the powerful impressions of the Holy Spirit, is still a human testimony; and, if our Lord promised that "the Holy Ghost whom the Father would send, should bring *all things to their remembrance*, whatsoever he had said unto them" (John xiv. 26), yet it was to be their remembrance as a human remembrance, and liable to human imperfections. It was the spirit of truth that was promised, and that would be most truly manifested by an urgency upon them to speak truly, according to the evidence they possessed, of the matters brought to their recollection.

It is fully admitted that such was the nature of those teachings

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<sup>a</sup> See Macknight's *Prelim. Obser.*, No. I.

and inspirations under which the old prophets uttered their predictions, and that from that cause their writings are all necessarily tinged with the characteristics which had marked the individuals, through whom the prophetic spirit spoke. And unquestionably it is part of those diversities which mark the features of human individuality, that different persons should receive impressions which are wholly at variance with one another, relative to the same events—and yet, with these different impressions should be able to give accounts of the same events, as being truly governed in doing so by the spirit of truth itself. Two persons, giving a history of the battle of Waterloo, might both give a true testimony of that event, though one only might speak the strict truth, as to the particular time when the Prussian auxiliaries came into the scene of action: and St. Matthew and St. Mark may both equally give a true testimony of our Lord's charge to his apostles on the occasion referred to, though one only states the matter correctly, as to the command not to carry staves in their hands. The command itself related to a matter which was incidental only to the customary provision of travellers on foot in those days, and a knowledge of it might have been received by one of the parties through an inaccurate representation of the fact—and his remembrance therefore of the event, when quickened to recall the circumstance, would be charged with that original misconception.

The nature of these recallings to mind of the matters relating to our Lord's history in those who were witnesses of it, or derivatives from such witnesses by the impulse of the Holy Spirit, was clearly a very different operation from that inspiration which was given to St. Paul to whom the things themselves were revealed for the preaching of a gospel, which he calls specifically his own gospel—and of which he expressly declares, that the apostles themselves whom he met in Jerusalem, were able to add nothing to it (Gal. ii. 6).

The Rev. T. H. Horne, in his Appendix to his *Introduction to the Study of the Holy Scriptures*, No. I., "On the Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures," confines this subject to its true limits. The inspiration which was "to guide the apostles into all truth was intended," he says, "to give them a competent knowledge of the various subjects they were to preach and publish to the world, to instruct men in the knowledge of God, the way of salvation, and the duties of holiness."<sup>b</sup> By it they were preserved from all error and mistake in the religious sentiments they expressed.

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<sup>b</sup> See vol. i., p. 570.

"If the inspiration of the Spirit of God extended only to what appears thus to be its proper province, *which are matters of a religious and moral nature*, then there can be no necessity to ask, whether everything contained in their writings were the suggestion of that Spirit or not: whether, for instance, St. Luke were inspired to say that the ship he sailed in was wrecked on the island of Melita; or whether St. Paul truly directed Timothy to bring the books and parchments, which he had left at Troas" (pp. 571, 572).

Perhaps, however, this course of reasoning is also carried beyond its true limit; since, as the evidences of our Lord's life and history form a material part of the subjects on which the faith of Christianity is founded, it would be quite within the purport of that mission of the Spirit of truth, for which our Lord declared he would send him, to preside over the material matters of that history, and bring back its circumstances to the remembrance of the evangelists. Yet still it does not appear that this promise was to be suggestive of aught in that awakening of the apostles' remembrances, but only to call the matters to mind, as the apostles had received their impressions concerning them—and those impressions in that case must have been subject to all the common discrepancies which mark the character of all human testimony, and distinguish the agency of a finite mind and presence, from the knowledge of an infinite and omniscient Being. If this were otherwise, the inspiration would be a revelation of unknown things, and not a recalling to remembrance of things at all. The difficulties are infinite which have arisen to a plain and genuine exposition of the truth of the gospel narratives, from this canon of an unimpeachable truth and exactitude in all its statements: and to our apprehension infinite mischief has been done, and a great handle given to "the disputers of this world," by the pretensions to such a proposition.

The greatest difficulty in the whole narrative of the Gospels, under the received modes of interpretation, is, in our opinion, the discrepancy which occurs in the account of our Lord's first appearance after his resurrection; but the difficulty has proceeded from this canon; not from the subject itself, but because commentators have said "that the sacred historians can have recorded nothing but what is strictly true"—as applied to an exactness in the circumstances of the events related. With common understandings it is impossible not to see that there is a plain discrepancy in the two accounts of St. Matthew and St. Mark (coupled with that of St. John), as to this first appearance of our Lord to his followers; the former relating that he appeared to the whole company of women, in their returning from their visit to the sepulchre, (*"as they went"* to tell the disciples what the angel had told

them, Matt. xxviii. 9), and the latter, "that our Lord first appeared to Mary Magdalene" (Mark xvi. 9): while St. John shews this first meeting to have happened after the disciples Peter and John had left Mary alone, at the sepulchre, upon their visit to it in her company (John xx. 11).

It is very extraordinary that while Macknight endeavours to explain the circumstance of our Lord's appearance by making the women generally return from Jerusalem to the sepulchre, in which return they met the Lord, but for which the scripture gives no warrant whatever; neither he nor any other commentator notices the plain intimation given by St. John, that Mary Magdalene alone, of the women, did return to the sepulchre, after she alone had given information to the two apostles. St. John's account of this first visit of the apostles to the tomb, expressly confines it to the two to whom Mary Magdalene gave information. And in this account, though he does not state that the other women were not with Mary at her first visit, yet he does state that she was the sole party who gave information of the state of things at the tomb. And the reason of this is quite apparent, from St. Mark's account of the matter, "that the women generally were so frightened at what they had seen and heard, that they were afraid to mention them." The relation of circumstances so extraordinary, for which they had nothing to shew, they might well apprehend might be charged to them as a cloak to cover their own removal of the body: "for they fled from the sepulchre," says St. Mark, "trembling and amazed," and instead of delivering the angel's message to the disciples, "they said nothing to any man, *because they were afraid*" (Mark xvi. 8). Mary Magdalene alone had the courage to overcome the fears in which they all participated, and ventured to speak on the subject to the two favourite apostles. But the nature of her report to these two, shews that she did so with great caution and under the reserve arising from great apprehensions: for instead of mentioning the true circumstances and giving the angel's message, she only informed Peter and John that the stone was removed from the mouth of the sepulchre and the body of the Lord taken away. "She runneth and cometh to Simon Peter, and the other disciple, whom Jesus loved, and saith unto them, They have taken away the Lord out of the sepulchre and we know not where they have laid him."

The manner in which St. John relates this communication, in the plural number, "*We* know not where they have laid him," plainly intimates that Mary spoke of a common visit made by herself and the other women; while the confining of her communication to the bare fact of the body being removed, as well

as the delivery of that information by herself alone and not by the women generally, and to the two apostles alone and not to the disciples generally, all indicates a reserve and caution in the proceeding which tallies exactly with St. Mark's account of the general terror and silence of the women on their return homewards.

That Mary Magdalene's account was a feint on her part is apparent from her having returned to the sepulchre with the apostles, when they ran thither on receiving her information: for if she had believed the body was really taken away by the Jewish priesthood, she would not have gone back thither. But she knew that the Lord was risen, as the angel had told her, and that knowledge operated (as it does upon other affectionate dispositions, where the sanctity of the depositary has not been violated), to lead her to the place of her Lord's last repose, to indulge in her natural sorrow at her separation from Him: a sorrow which would none the less possess her, because she had a knowledge that he was in blessedness. The fact of her thus returning to the sepulchre is only in keeping with a knowledge by her, that her own account to the apostles was not true, and that the Lord was *not taken away* by the authorities, but was risen, as the angel said; and her going to indulge in meditation at the tomb was the natural effect of such a communication upon a sensitive mind under such circumstances. The other women, indued perhaps with a less sensibility of nature, did not return, but gave way to their fears in secret, till the report of the disciples who went to visit the tomb began to be bruited, and by degrees gave them courage to make their story known.

It must have been in this period, after the two apostles' return to Jerusalem, but before Mary Magdalene had come back from the second visit, and with some interval for the propagation of the first rumours of the angelic visions by the other women, that the two disciples left the city for their journey to Emmaus. For these disciples, in their account of what had happened in Jerusalem, state the fact of the women's visit to the sepulchre, and of the vision of angels which they saw there, "Who told them that he was alive:" they state the visit of Peter and John also to the sepulchre, who, the evangelist adds, found matters to be as the women had said; "but him they saw not." In which account, it is plain, the whole that was known when these disciples left Jerusalem was by the report of what the angels said, in which no mention would have been made of their having seen the Lord; and Mary Magdalene would not have returned with the report of her having seen him. It may be concluded from that narrative of St. Luke that the appearance of our Saviour

could not have happened at all early in the morning; and that it is probable his first appearance to the Magdalene was by a noon-day vision.

St. Matthew's account is, that after the women had received the angel's message who sat upon the stone of the sepulchre, they "departed quickly with fear and great joy; and did run to bring his disciples word: and as they went to tell his disciples, behold, Jesus met them, saying, All hail: and they came, and held him by the feet, and worshipped him;" upon which he gave them the same message as the angel had done relative to his meeting his brethren in Galilee.

Could this appearance have happened without being mixed up with the accounts which were promulgated of the women's visit to the sepulchre, so as to have been totally unknown to the travelling disciples at Emmaus? Or can we, by any just interpretation, convert that plain account into one which intends not a meeting, as the women returned to Jerusalem from the tomb, and went to convey the angel's message to the disciples, but a counter return from Jerusalem back to the sepulchre, after their first return home from their early visit? The words appear as plain as words can well be. "They departed quickly from the sepulchre, and did run to bring the disciples word; and *as they went*," &c. Surely such a perversion of a common account as is necessary to make these words and context mean, not "as they went from the sepulchre to Jerusalem;" but "as they went back again from Jerusalem towards a second visit at the tomb," must proceed from some great fallacy in those rules of interpretation by which it is brought about. There is no doubt the difficulty is raised by the rule I have above referred to, as Dr. Macknight states it, that the sacred historian "cannot have recorded anything but what is strictly true;" and so, as it must be strictly true that our Lord appeared to the women generally, and there are insurmountable difficulties in regarding that appearance to have happened on their return from the tomb at their first visit, it must be assigned to another period, and the whole context and sense of the account be set at nought to satisfy that difficulty.

In all other testimonies it would be said that the account given by St. Matthew was an erroneous account. Our Lord was not seen by the women at all, nor did any women embrace his feet; but the statement that they did so must be a mistaken version of the true appearance to the one favoured woman at a later period of the day of resurrection, when the colloquy occurred in which he had specially prohibited Mary from touching his body. There is something extremely suitable to the old relations of the parties, which gives this occurrence to Mary Magdalene by a

sort of prescriptive right, and not to the other women: for it seems very probable that she who had in his life washed our Saviour's feet with her tears, and wiped them with the hair of her head, should have fallen down and again prepared herself to embrace his feet on the unexpected and glorious confirmation of his divine nature; but there is nothing which gives the same probability of such an action by the other women.

St. Matthew's account is certainly an imperfect one in several particulars, and a mingling together of the incidents which happened by an erroneous combination. If collated with the accounts of the other evangelists, it appears like a gathering of small particulars out of a multitude of reports, all having a basis of truth, but distorted in their representation, and connected together in a wrong series or order of incidence. Such a collation will shew that there are all the elements of the true story, but wrongly applied; there is an appearance to the female part of the disciples—two messages to the women, one to the *disciples*, and one to the *brethren*—a reference in these messages to our Lord's visit to Galilee, and something about a worshipping by the old female homage of embracing his feet. It is true the female was Mary Magdalene, and not the women generally; the second message not as to the going into Galilee, but of our Lord's ascent to the Father; and the circumstance as to the worship paid to him, a prohibition to touch him in doing so, instead of the actual embracing of his feet, as was probably attempted.

There are some undesigned coincidences with the other accounts, in these erroneous conceptions, which shew the common source of both accounts. For while the want of correct information compels St. Matthew to put the same message into the mouth of our Lord as was given by the angels, and to assign its delivery to the women generally at the only visit to the sepulchre he was acquainted with, instead of to Mary Magdalene, (although such a second message on the same subject must have been useless, and was wholly beneath the dignity of our Lord's personal communication, if we may judge by what the true message really was,) yet it is highly remarkable that he observes in the two messages that distinction which is preserved by the other evangelists, that the angel's message was directed to be given to "*the disciples*," the Lord's to "*his brethren*;"—a circumstance which, small and apparently unimportant in itself, is one of extreme importance in helping us to form a true judgment on the nature of these testimonies.

Taking it to be that such is the nature of St. Matthew's narrative, the mischief of the above "canon" of interpretation cannot be more forcibly demonstrated than in the effect of it upon



the elucidation of this history. Its recognition completely destroys the force of a natural judgment honestly applied in its consideration of the evidences on this most important historical fact in the whole volume of sacred writ. Luckily there is a native vigour in the truth which is able to cast off the trammels of injudicious criticism, as other strong natures do the obstacles that oppose them. And however deferential the minds of well-ordered men may be to the authority of professional expounders of holy writ, though they may be told that the whole circumstances were true as stated, they will perceive that the truth may be viewed without admitting impossibilities, and will set aside a dogma which is only calculated to disturb their minds, by the native force of the truth that is within them. It is impossible the account of St. Matthew and the other evangelists can both be strictly true; but the accounts properly analyzed will shew that they were both "*materially*" true in the way we have stated them. We will therefore draw out this analysis, under these different heads.

I. It was the three women, Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James, and Salome, or Johanna, who brought the spices to the tomb at early dawn after the sabbath, which in that climate would not have been much before sunrise, or about six o'clock, for the purpose of embalming the Lord's body (Mark xvi. 1; Luke xxiv. 10). There may have been more women, for St. Luke speaks of other women that were with these; but St. Matthew shews at the beginning of his account an imperfect information on the subject, in confining their number to the two Marys. St. John's account did not require a reference to the purposes of the first visit or the assemblage of women who made it, and he confines his notice therefore to Mary Magdalene, with whom the business of his narrative is alone concerned. This is no contradiction of the other accounts, nor an imperfection in his own; but St. Matthew's is both, since he counts part of the assembly only, yet for the sake of connecting their visit with circumstances in which the whole number were participators, which would only happen from a want of information, he omits also to state the cause for which they visited the tomb, namely, to embalm the body, which fact also appears to indicate very spare intelligence on the subject.

II. As the women approached the sepulchre, they felt the earthquake, and before they came in sight of the tomb, discussed the question of their capability to remove the stone that covered it.

III. On approaching it, they found the stone removed, and beheld an angel sitting upon it, who announced to them the fact

of our Lord's resurrection, and gave them the message to "*the disciples*" to go into Galilee (Matt. xxviii. 2; Mark xvi. 4; Luke xxiv. 2; John xx. 1). The different accounts of this vision are sufficient to shew how varied the reports were on the circumstances of this event, and that no exactly true account was ever delivered of it. St. Matthew states that the angel of the Lord, with raiment white as snow, sat upon the stone, and having told the women that Christ was risen, bade them come and see the place where the Lord lay (Matt. xxvi. 8). St. Mark says that the women entered the sepulchre, and found the angel (a young man) clothed in a white garment, sitting on the right side of the sepulchre, who made the same announcement as St. Matthew describes. St. Luke relates that the women entered the sepulchre also, as St. Mark does, and as they were much perplexed, two men in white garments stood by them, who spoke to them in the same way as St. Matthew and St. Mark both describe.

In all three the material facts so far are the same—the announcement that Christ was risen, with a reference to his promises in connexion with Galilee. The "two angels" in the sepulchre appear to be a misapplication by St. Luke of the later appearance to Mary Magdalene to this first visit of the women generally.

The probable truth is, that the women saw the same two angels as Mary did at a later part of the day, the first vision being seen as St. Matthew and St. Mark jointly relate it—the one angel on the stone, the other in the sepulchre, but both being within the sepulchre when Mary Magdalene returned.

IV. The effect of the visions was to terrify the women, who fled hastily away to Jerusalem, and at first mentioned not the circumstances to any one at all, nor had courage to deliver the angel's message, except only Mary Magdalene, who, overcoming her fears, related matters so far only as was self-evident, and invited the two apostles to go and inspect the tomb; hoping, no doubt, that they would see the angels also, and would then proclaim the astonishing event which had taken place.

St. Matthew states the giving of the message to the women by the angels, and another message by our Lord himself to the same parties, and both relating to his visit to Galilee; but he takes no notice of what occurred afterwards, or whether the women delivered the message at all. But St. Mark says plainly that the women did not deliver the message at all; he says, "*They said nothing to any man, because they were afraid*;" while St. Luke says that they returned from the sepulchre, and told all these things to the eleven and all the rest: which can only be true (in concurrence with the testimony of St. Mark

and St. John) by reference to a final disclosure by the women of the circumstances to the apostles, which no doubt did take place at a later period of the day. St. Luke says also that it was upon this general report of the women that St. Peter arose and ran to the sepulchre, and stooped down and saw the linen clothes laid by themselves; which again it cannot be doubted is a misapplication of the true account given by St. John of St. Peter's and St. John's visit, upon the information given by Mary Magdalene alone; the circumstances of St. Luke's record are identical with St. John's, only that St. John accompanying St. Peter is omitted. The running of the apostle to the tomb and his observation about the linen clothes stamp the account as the same with St. John's, while the stooping down into the sepulchre is, as St. John's act, transferred by misconception to his brother apostle.

V. After the return of the women, St. Peter and St. John were led, by what Mary informed them, to hasten to the sepulchre, whither they were accompanied by her.

VI. The apostles found the body gone, as Mary had related, and after having satisfied themselves on that point, they returned to the city. On their departure *Mary remained*, and there, after long mourning over the vacant tomb, saw the bright visions of the two angels again within the tomb, while without it the Lord himself stood to welcome and cheer her, as she turned back from the angelic presence.

VII. While she was occupied in this devotion and mourning at the sepulchre, the two apostles having returned to Jerusalem, made the disappearance of our Lord's body known to all the brethren, and upon their assembling and discussing the subject, and as the fears of the women gradually died away and their confidence returned, the events which had happened at their first visit would have been declared, as St. Luke says they were, by the women who first visited the tomb. In this state of things, and towards the afternoon of the day, the two disciples set forth from Jerusalem on their journey to Emmaus.

VIII. After the meeting our Lord in the garden, Mary Magdalene returned to Jerusalem, and declared what had happened to her, and was at first disbelieved; but the afternoon of that day brought other events of the same kind, and confirmed her testimony; one of these was the appearance of our Lord to the disciples travelling to Emmaus; another to Peter by himself; and the third to the assembled brethren, late in the evening.

In this brief statement, every part is reconcilable with the words of Scripture, and nowhere is the context of the historical narrative violated. The one sole irreconcilable fact in the whole of the accounts is the appearance of our Lord to the women and

their embracing his feet—a fact which is not only impossible consistently with the truth of the other parts of the history, but is wholly at variance with the injunction which St. John so particularly relates in the more certain meeting of our Lord with Mary Magdalene, that she “should not touch him because he had not yet ascended to the Father.”

It is as plain as can be, therefore, judging the matter by the common rules of interpretation, that St. Matthew wrote from confused reports respecting the first appearance of our Lord, and that in the recallings of the events to his remembrance by the impulsions of the Holy Spirit, they were so remembered by him as he had himself received and understood them to have happened, when the reports were rife in Jerusalem and he a listener only to the general rumours relating to the events recorded.

The evidence he gives is not less valuable however, on account of this discrepancy, if truly estimated ; for it is corroborative of the other accounts, as the memorial of a witness whose source of information was the floating rumours of public reports and reputation. The items of incident which he records are so stamped with the certain forms of the broken pieces of a true entire mould, from which the whole occurrence proceeded, as gives a most satisfactory assurance that they were genuine emanations from the traditional records of the very days in which the occurrence happened ; and they are more valuable evidence, in our opinion, in this form, than any counterpart statement of either of the other gospels relating to the same events would have been.

The canon of interpretation laid down by Macknight, “that the sacred historians have recorded nothing but what is strictly true,” cannot therefore, we think, be maintained ; and if it is not correct, the setting forth such a rule as at all worthy of observation in estimating the sense of the sacred volume must be highly prejudicial, as giving cause of scandal and reproach to that truth by the enemies of the truth. It is better, surely, to say that the testimony of the evangelists is a human testimony, given under the strongest possible influences of the Holy Spirit, but liable, as all nonomniscient agencies are, to error and misinformation.

So much may be said on this subject, arising out of the uncertainties always attendant upon the traditions of human testimony ; but there is another source of objection to the canon we are considering.

The *bias* of men’s minds is a sufficient cause why things should be differently represented, and erroneously too, where the knowledge of them is derived from the common sources of public information. The tendency to pursue objects in a particular line

of interest will cause some to take a very different course from others in their contemplation of or inquiry into the same subjects of consideration ; and the elucidation of facts or circumstances under such different bias, will lead men into very different representations of things, wherever they have occasion to work upon common ground. We may refer briefly to Dr. Macknight's interpretation of our Lord's charge to his apostles, mentioned in the first pages of this paper in further elucidation of this part of the subject.

Dr. Macknight, somewhat against the common sense of general minds, persists, "as the sacred historian cannot record anything but what is strictly true," that it must follow that the two apparently contradictory statements of St. Matthew and St. Mark on this subject must nevertheless mean the same thing.

The best way to judge of this matter is to read the two accounts side by side. Here they are,—

#### MATTHEW X. 5.

These twelve Jesus sent forth and commanded them, saying, Go not into the way of the Gentiles, but rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel. Heal the sick, cast out devils, &c., provide neither gold nor silver, nor brass in your purses, nor scrip for your journey, neither two coats, neither shoes, nor yet a staff; and when ye come into a house, salute it, &c.

#### MARK VI. 7.

And he called unto him the twelve and began to send them forth by two and two, and gave them power over unclean spirits, and commanded them to *take nothing for their journey save a staff only*, no scrip, no bread, no money in their purses: but be shod with sandals, and not put on two coats; and in what place soever ye enter into a house there abide, &c.

The whole is plainly one command to observe an order in their going forth, which should distinguish them from common wayfarers. Dr. Macknight's idea is, that the command only intends to forbid those who had not staves to furnish themselves with any,—those who had them might retain them, but they were not to *provide them*, which is St. Matthew's word, if they had them not. To common understanding it appears as clear as can be, that the true command was misapprehended by one or other of these two writers, and that a discrepancy exists in fact in their accounts; but who could think the account less genuine or the history less authentic because such an item of intelligence might be misconceived? No doubt St. Matthew's account is the true account, as he was one of those who received the Lord's command and went upon the mission. St. Mark received his account from others, probably St. Peter, whose recital of the event he somehow misapprehended. Considering the figurative

use made of "the wayfarer's staff" in all the sacred Scriptures, it is not impossible that this might have proceeded from a mixing up in the original tradition of the circumstances of some allusion to the spiritual staff, in contrast to the denial of the use of the temporal staff in the contemplated journeying of the apostles. Might not St. Peter, in discoursing with his friends (and St. Mark among them), have spoken somehow in this fashion. "The blessed Lord bade us go forth and carry nothing with us, which might seem like forethought or provision for our journey; not even the staff of the traveller, or a change of raiment. He wished us to trust to 'that staff' which is our spiritual support, and is sufficient to stay the steps of the faithful; as the psalmist declares of it, 'Thy rod and *thy staff* they comfort me.'" And so far Mark's version would grow up that they were to bear with them no support, "save that staff only," while the true command was that they should take neither scrip nor staff. St. Mark's account would be materially a true account, though a plain contradiction in words as it stands. And so other matters incidental to the principal events must continually have arisen where misconception may have existed, and yet the account given be "*materially true.*"

*Hitcham.*

H. M. G.

## VINDICATION OF THE TRANSLATION OF EXODUS xv. 8.

MISS CORBAUX in her *Supplementary Analysis of Exodus* xv. 8, says that she "could not have selected in the whole Bible a fitter example of the futility of arguing on points of fact from a translation." Does she then suppose that those who have drawn her attention to this verse, have trusted to a translation only? But let us follow her through her notice of the three lines into which this verse is divided.

Line 1. וַיִּקַּח מֹשֶׁה אֶת-רֹדְפֵי הַיָּם וַיִּגְבְּרֵם, "And with the blast of thy nostrils the waters were gathered together." She says that the translation of this line is unobjectionable. Had she analyzed this line as closely as she has analyzed the second line, she would probably have found in one of the words a latent meaning, which it would not suit her purpose to develope. That word is the verb וַיִּגְבְּרֵם, translated in the authorized version, "were gathered together." Now the expression "gather together," does not transmit the full force of the verb וַיִּגְבְּרֵם.

Referring to the lexicons of Simon and of Gesenius, (and in this retired spot others are not accessible,) we find that both those authors explain the niphhal of  $\text{נָּחַ$  by "coacervatus est," "was heaped up." This verb then surely implies that the waters were "heaped up," so as to form an actual (not merely a metaphorical) "wall to the Israelites on the right hand and on the left." Following Gesenius through his observations on this word, we find that he renders this verb in kal by "altus fuit," "was high:" and he names several cognate verbs  $\text{נָּחַ$ ,  $\text{נָּחַ$ ,  $\text{נָּחַ$ ,  $\text{נָּחַ$  and  $\text{נָּחַ$ , all of which convey the same meaning of height. Now if  $\text{נָּחַ נָּחַ$  convey the notion of the waters being *high*, how can they express that remarkable *subsidence* of the waters, which is an essential part of the theory of Miss Corbaux? Gesenius names also some cognate words in the Syriac and Arabic, which convey the idea of "heaping up;" and he gives as a derivative  $\text{נָּחַ$ , "a heap." Surely the inspired penman would not have used a word implying height and heaping up, if he had intended us to understand that at remarkably low ebb tide, the waters were driven lower still by a strong north (?) wind. Yet Miss Corbaux, fancying that she has ascertained the exact day and hour of the passage, and the exact state of the tide at that hour, would have us believe that the waters were then very low indeed, whereas the Hebrew words certainly convey the idea of their being high relatively to the bed of the sea, on which the Israelites trod. We say nothing about the exact spot at which they crossed the Red Sea. This, notwithstanding the positive assumption of Miss Corbaux, has been, and is likely still to be, a *veraxata questio* among the learned, as well as among those who have personally examined the topographical and geological features of the neighbourhood of Suez.

Passing to line 2,  $\text{וַיִּשְׁתָּקֶם הַיָּם$ , "the floods stood upright as an heap," Miss Corbaux writes, "The translation of the second line contains just as many misrepresentations as words;" rather a strong assertion! We hope that Miss Corbaux will excuse us if we hesitate to accept her dictum, when our predecessors and contemporaries generally have not discovered any such great flaw in the translation,—and the Bible has been microscopically examined too. To begin with  $\text{וַיִּשְׁתָּקֶם}$ : she attacks the translation "stood upright." Now even if "stand upright" is not the distinctive meaning of the verb  $\text{וַיִּשְׁתָּקֶם}$  (as distinguished from  $\text{וַיִּשְׁתָּקֶם}$  and  $\text{וַיִּשְׁתָּקֶם}$ ), yet we must demur to the distinctive meaning "stand apart," which she would attach to this verb. Neither Gesenius nor Simon explain  $\text{וַיִּשְׁתָּקֶם}$  by any Latin word which signifies standing *apart*: and we do not remember in our own reading to have met with any passage in which this is the distinctive meaning of

this Hebrew verb. In the passages noticed by Miss Corbaux,  $\text{קָם}$  does not necessarily convey this meaning. In each passage "stand *upright*," is at least as good a rendering of the word as "stand *apart*." In Gen. xxi. 29, we do indeed find the words "set by themselves;" but then the word  $\text{בָּיָדָם}$  is added to express the "apart" or separation. The verb  $\text{קָם}$  means only "Thou hast set," or, "Thou hast placed." The idea of separation would not have been conveyed by this verb alone without the addition of  $\text{בָּיָדָם}$ . Neither is the idea of separation conveyed by this verb in either of the other two passages which Miss Corbaux notices, Gen. xxxvii. 7, and Ex. xxxiii. 8. In the former of these two passages it is at least as legitimate to say that Joseph's sheaf stood upright, as that it stood apart: for his sheaf certainly must have remained upright, while the other sheaves bowed in obeisance to it. As for Ex. xxxiii. 8, it is true that the men must have stood apart from one another, if each stood in the door of his own tent; but, if it had not been for the addition of these words  $\text{אֵלֶּיךָ יָדָם}$ , we should not have known that each stood apart from the others. The verb  $\text{קָם}$  would not, of itself, have conveyed this idea. We still cling to the idea that our authorized translation of Ex. xv. 8; "the floods stood upright," is at least as good a version of the Hebrew words as "the flowing waters stood apart," which Miss Corbaux would substitute for it.

This remark brings us to the second word in the line, or the second "misrepresentation," as Miss Corbaux would have it. In our authorized translation the word  $\text{קָם}$  is rendered "the floods." She thinks that "*floods* suggests a violent and false idea of this word;" and forasmuch as  $\text{קָם}$  comes from  $\text{הָלַךְ}$  to flow, she would render it by the participle of "to flow"—viz., "flowing (waters)." By these "flowing waters," she means "the upper tidal current in and out." If this be the meaning, the miracle would be scarcely any miracle at all: we might wonder, indeed, that Moses should sing of it; for, according to Miss Corbaux, the Israelites passed over during "the dead lull of the ebb," when there was no flow at all, either in or out. Therefore, it was no such great wonder that the waters should be then standing still. We only wonder that the word  $\text{קָם}$  was used at all, if the waters were not flowing. But, after all, why quarrel with the word *flood*? Surely there is analogy enough between the words "flow" and "flood" to express the relationship between  $\text{הָלַךְ}$  and  $\text{קָם}$ . Can it be that Miss Corbaux is afraid that the word "flood" should convey the idea of *flood tide*? This idea would not suit her at all; for she wishes to shew that it was the "dead lull of the ebb" at the time in question—viz., at the early dawn on the 21st day of the month. Yet, singularly enough, she herself



shews that it must have been high water at that very period of the lunar month: and that the passover was regulated by the moon, is the generally received opinion of those who have investigated the subject, including Mr. Greswell, the result of whose learned investigations into all the early cycles and calendars has lately been given to the public. Without following Miss Corbaur through her remarks on this fact, and on the *Historical Origin of the Passover*, we shall venture to retain an affection for the old translation, "the floods stood upright," until we see more convincing arguments than those which she has adduced, to shew that this translation is inapplicable to the facts of the case.

*En passant*, we would ask Miss Corbaur whether she really believes that upwards of six hundred thousand men, besides their wives and children, certainly not fewer than two millions in all, (to say nothing of cattle and baggage,) could cross a narrow shoal in the two hours—from 3 to 5 A.M.—which she allows for this transaction. Could Lord Raglan defile two millions of disciplined troops in that short space of time? The hosts of Xerxes—a somewhat similar number—were seven days and seven nights in passing along the bridge over the Hellespont.

Proceeding to the third word, *וְהָיָה*, Miss Corbaur objects to the translation "as a heap." She says that "the root *וה* being a verb *to be in a state of motion* (locally or morally), the noun *ו* itself formed from it can only denote the idea of the verb-root attached to an object—some *thing* removed, displaced, transposed." Now, it is true that the verbs *וה* and *וה* imply motion: but, while such learned lexicographers as Gesenius render it "heap," we shall not easily reject their authority at the arguments of one who has an evident object to serve in attaching a different meaning to the word. It must be remembered that the meaning of a Hebrew noun is to be sought, not only in the kindred (or apparently kindred) Hebrew verbs, but likewise in the cognate words of other Semitic languages. Now, in the Arabic, "the same letters convey the same meaning with the same difficulty about the root." Besides, as it has been suggested by one deeply versed in Oriental lore, "the origin of *וה*, as of sundry other biliteral Hebrew roots, may, perhaps, be sought, not in the Semitic, but in the Indo-germanic tongues. *Knot*, *nodus*, and *naddha* (Sanscrit), are possibly cognate. There is a similar metaphor in the words *וְהָיָה*—*וְהָיָה*, in Arabic meaning to be knotted, like a cloth after "washing and wringing." Can it be that *וְהָיָה* ought to be separated from the second line, and attached to *וְהָיָה* in the third line? "The waters were knotted together as a heap in the heart of the sea." *וְהָיָה* would give a perfectly good sense without *וְהָיָה*.

Another way of investigating the meaning of a word of doubtful origin is to examine the translations. Miss Corbaux has thus appealed to the Septuagint for the meaning of the word  $\sigma\tau\alpha$  as applied to a wind. It is a pity that she did not turn to the same translation when investigating the meaning of the word  $\tau$ . In not one of the six passages to which she has alluded do the LXX. render  $\tau$  (divers as are their ways of rendering it), by any expression indicative of motion; while, in at least three of these passages, they use expressions more or less suggestive of "a heap:" and it is remarkable that these three passages are those which speak either of the crossing of the Red Sea, or of the corresponding miracle which took place at the end of their wanderings—the division of the waters of Jordan. In Josh. iii. 16,  $\pi\eta\gamma\mu\alpha$  is the word used. Now,  $\pi\eta\gamma\mu\alpha$  certainly is not expressive of motion or removal, as Miss Corbaux suggests. It rather implies that the waters were congealed or inspissated, fastened together,  $\sigma\tau\alpha$ . In Ps. lxxviii. 13,  $\alpha\sigma\kappa\acute{o}\varsigma$  is the word used; and that implies that the waters were held up, as in a bottle. In Ex. xv. 8, the passage under our review, the Septuagint translation is even less favourable to the views of Miss Corbaux: for  $\tau\epsilon\iota\chi\omicron\varsigma$  is the word used, implying that the waters were built up high, as a wall; whereas she is singularly averse to the notion that the waters were a wall to the Israelites on the right hand and on the left.

As to line 3, Miss Corbaux allows that it is "less open to etymological objections than the preceding one."

On the sole objection which she does raise we need offer no remark, for it does not materially affect the meaning. We will, therefore, sum up our remarks on her supplementary analysis as follows:—In the first line the Hebrew words are more suggestive than even the English translation, of such a congestion of the waters as we have been accustomed to understand; for, while the English translation says that "the waters were gathered together," the Hebrew verb  $\sigma\tau\alpha$  implies that they "were gathered together in a heap." In the second line we shall rest satisfied with the authorized translation, until we meet with more convincing arguments than those which Miss Corbaux has adduced. To the translation of the third line no material objection is raised. Under these circumstances we still believe that the old traditional idea of this wondrous miracle is the correct one. We believe that, through the agency of a strong wind, the waters actually were parted asunder so as to form an actual wall to the Israelites on the right hand and on the left.

So much for the supplementary analysis. Through the other portions of her essay, *On the Miracle of the Passage of the Red Sea*, we do not intend to follow Miss Corbaux; but, while on the

subject, we cannot forbear to notice two of her arguments. She labours to shew that the word  $\text{צָפוֹן}$  does not necessarily mean an *east* wind. Her main argument is, that the Septuagint never renders it by a word signifying an east wind, but almost invariably by either *κάνισον*, "a burning wind," or *νότος*, "a south wind." Now, even granting that  $\text{צָפוֹן}$  does not necessarily mean an east wind, we do not see that it can mean a *north* wind, such as she requires as a necessary part of her theory. Granting that "the Alexandrine Jews of the third century B.C.," "certainly understood Moses and the other prophets to mean by a  $\text{צָפוֹן}$  just what a modern Arab means by a Shurkiyeh, or "south" wind, not a wind blowing from a certain quarter, but a wind possessing certain meteorological qualities, and producing certain outward effects, a hard, dry, destructive, parching wind:" even if we should grant all this, yet we do not see how Miss Corbaux's theory of a north wind is advanced by it. The Khamseen, or fifty days hot wind, the *κάνισον*, of Egypt, is really a southerly wind, a *νότος*, as the Septuagint expresses it. Therefore, we do not detect any "idiomatic usage" which can justify us in supposing that, by  $\text{צָפוֹן}$ , Moses meant a *north* wind. We ought to bear in mind, also, that Moses knew, at least, as much of Egypt as did "the Alexandrine Jews of the third century B.C.," while he knew next to nothing personally of the land of Canaan. Therefore, we cannot comprehend why he should have used the word  $\text{צָפוֹן}$ , an east wind, if he really meant a north wind.

In page 117, Miss Corbaux says:—

"I found, by the physical geography of the locality of the exodus, that the exodus wind, possessing those qualities of blowing violently and contrary to the tidal current, and producing the effect of temporarily drying up the bed of the sea, must have come from a northern quarter; and I notice that a Psalm, referring to that wind, actually does give the direction of the opposite wind that brought the returning flood—from the south. I require no more."

We presume that the Psalm to which she alludes is the seventy-eighth. Now, it is true that, in the thirteenth verse of that Psalm, the psalmist does speak of the dividing of the waters of the Red Sea: and it is true, likewise, that, in verse twenty-six, he speaks of the  $\text{צָפוֹן}$  wind: but Miss Corbaux ought in fairness to have added that that part of the Psalm, in which the  $\text{צָפוֹן}$  is mentioned, has no reference whatever to the Red Sea. The miracle, of which the  $\text{צָפוֹן}$  is mentioned as the agent, is the wonderful supply of quails. The Bible translation of verses 26 and 27 is, "He caused an east wind to blow under heaven: and by his power he brought in the south wind. He rained flesh also

upon them as dust: and feathered fowls like as the sand of the sea." What has this to do with the miraculous parting of the waters? We believe that the inference of Miss Corbaux is, that since the  $\aleph$ , or south wind, is mentioned in the second distich, the wind mentioned in the first distich—viz., the  $\aleph$ , must have blown from a directly opposite quarter; therefore, that it must have been a north wind. She thinks that the  $\aleph$  being "the second exodus wind, which brought the waters back," the  $\aleph$ , or "first exodus wind, that made the bed of the sea dry," must have been from the directly opposite quarter—that is, the north. But we have already seen that this part of the Psalm has no reference whatever to the crossing of the Red Sea. It is the miraculous supply of quails of which the psalmist here speaks. In the words of the psalmist there is nothing whatever which implies that the  $\aleph$  and the  $\aleph$  were winds which blew from opposite quarters. On the contrary, we should rather infer that they were from neighbouring quarters, for they combined to produce the same effect—they combined to bring in a most wonderful supply of feathered fowls.

Miss Corbaux ends the paragraph with words which she, no doubt, means to be conclusive:—"I require no more." We hope that she will excuse us, if we tell her that some of her readers will, probably, require a great deal more before they will be induced to abandon a long received idea, in order to embrace a notion, which is not only new, but which also materially lessens the significance of this the great miracle of the Old Testament—a miracle in which the Almighty declares that he especially displayed the power of his arm. We are no servile adherents of any long-received idea; indeed, we have ourselves tried to point out the fallacy of more than one such old idea. But, if a notion be old, this is *prima facie* evidence that it is true. If it has been handed down for many centuries without being impugned, it is not to be abandoned without some very strong reason. Such very strong reason we cannot think that Miss Corbaux has adduced. So far are her arguments from being strong, that we think that we can detect many weak points in them. If, like her, we would enter into particulars, we have before us a wide and dark field of research. The different Egyptian cycles, the Hebrew calendar, the geological changes in that part of the world, all present many points on which it is not likely that the learned will be unanimous. Even on the meteorology and geography of the subject, questions might be raised. We hope, therefore, that Miss Corbaux will excuse us if we decline to accept her theory, and venture to think that there may be some other way, besides that which she has suggested, of "filling up with its

geographical, meteorological, chronological, and astronomical details, the general outline given by Moses of his beautiful hymn,"

And with the blast of thy nostrils the waters were gathered together,  
The floods stood upright as an heap,  
And the depths were congealed in the heart of the sea.

*Burton Pedwardine.*

H. H. B.

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### THE SCENE OF THE MIRACLE OF THE FIVE LOAVES AND FIVE THOUSAND.

THE writer of an article, *On the Scene of the Miracle of the Five Loaves and Five Thousand*, in *The Journal of Sacred Literature*, for October last, who signs himself T., has betrayed such a lack of modesty, both in advancing his own views, and in criticizing those of others, and has, moreover, fallen into so many inaccuracies, some of them altogether inexcusable, especially in one who assumes a tone so dogmatic and dictatorial, that we feel it incumbent on us to offer a few strictures on the most prominent topics involved in this discussion.

He begins by, at once, *assuming* that—

"Dr. Robinson is, undoubtedly, mistaken in placing the scene of the miracle in question on the east side of the Lake of Tiberias, and his mistake has betrayed him into several others worse than itself, and they have all been copied by other writers, who relied upon his accuracy."

This mode of commencing the discussion is not calculated to conciliate those who, until this "new light" arose above the literary horizon, have been wont to consider this matter tolerably well settled. Nor is the reader likely to be reassured, when he learns the grounds on which he is called upon to abandon his cherished opinion, and acquiesce implicitly in the novel hypothesis here propounded.

T. evidently considers John vi. 23, as the key of his impregnable position. He observes, with mingled triumph and complacency, that "the Doctor and his followers have all overlooked it;" and, as if to make amends for this omission on their part, he himself repeatedly refers to it. We readily admit that, if this passage is to be understood in the sense here assumed by T., the whole question is at once decided in his favour, and no further

argument need be adduced. Let us see, then, if his view of this text, so essential to the truth of his theory, is capable of being substantiated. He takes for granted that the words ἐγγὺς τοῦ τόπου are to be construed with Τιβεριάδος, and not with ἡλθε; and that the object of the inspired writer was, to explain parenthetically, that *Tiberias was near* the scene of the miracle, and not (as most, if not all, expositors understand him) simply to state that other boats came from Tiberias *to the neighbourhood of* the place where the miracle had occurred. It will not, probably, concern T. much to be told that a vast preponderance, if not an absolute unanimity, of authority is in favour of the latter construction; or that the natural impression of an unbiassed reader would bring him to the same conclusion. We will, therefore, endeavour to shew that, in a strictly critical point of view, his interpretation is indefensible. Now, in order to ascertain what meaning the evangelist really intended to convey, let us examine all those passages in the New Testament which may be fairly compared with the one before us—i.e., in which ἐγγὺς occurs as an *adverb of place, followed by a genitive, and preceded by a verb of motion*. A careful analysis of the thirty texts in which ἐγγὺς is found, gives the following result:—ten are at once dismissed as adverbs of *time*; seventeen are irrelevant, either as being used *absolutely*, or as being joined to a verb (generally εἰμι) *not* implying motion; there remain, then, only two which can be regarded as coming under the same category as John vi. 23. One of these (John vi. 19) occurs in immediate connexion with the disputed passage; and, as its meaning is perfectly clear, it will be of great service in aiding our present inquiry. For it is difficult to suppose that a writer like St. John, distinguished for the simplicity of his style, would employ precisely the same construction, in two almost consecutive sentences, in a totally opposite manner. The other passage (John xi. 54) is equally free from ambiguity, and will tend yet further to determine the import of vi. 23. For the sake of extending our generalization, and thereby adding to the certainty of our induction, we may fairly compare with these texts, John iv. 5, where the analogous term πλησίον is found under exactly the same circumstances. It will have been observed that this construction is peculiar to St. John's Gospel. We make no remark as to its elegance, or otherwise; but content ourselves with pointing attention to what we believe to be the fact, that it is not found in the works of the other inspired writers, nor even in the other productions of St. John himself. Under these circumstances, our only alternative is to collate the four examples above specified, and thus to decide the single doubtful passage by the three clear ones. It will be at

once admitted, we conceive, that in iv. 5, vi. 19, and xi. 54, the adverb rendered "near" or "nigh" refers to the *termination*, and not to the commencement, of the journeying implied in the preceding verb. Are we, then, justified in departing from this clearly established usage in the single instance of vi. 23? Or are the sacred writers in the habit of employing words and idioms in so lax and uncertain a manner? We believe the very reverse to be the case: and we prefer, therefore, to class all four texts under the same category, rather than, with T., to establish an exceptional meaning which could only have been suggested by the exigencies of a theory.

The meaning, then, of John vi. 23, appears to be this:—that other boats, belonging to Tiberias, had come, in the course of the night, "to the neighbourhood of" the locality where the miracle of the five loaves had been wrought. These mariners from Tiberias (as Professor Blunt, in his *Undersigned Coincidences*, beautifully shews) had found the *westerly* wind<sup>b</sup> (so *adverse* to the *disciples*, who were sailing in an *opposite* direction), altogether *favourable for themselves*. The fact of their exemption from the dangers and obstacles which the disciples had encountered, is thus satisfactorily explained. But, on T.'s hypothesis, this solution of the difficulty is not available; and that which has hitherto been regarded as a most striking, yet delicate, proof of authenticity in the sacred narrative is ruthlessly swept away. It appears, then, that the multitude were at a loss to account for the absence of Jesus. They had seen the disciples embark for the western shore, the previous evening, without him, in the only vessel that was there at the time. True, indeed, other vessels had since made their appearance; but as they had all come *from* the west, he whom they sought could not have availed himself of them in order to return to Capernaum.

We submit, therefore, that every consideration, whether arising from external or internal evidence, condemns, as unsound,

<sup>a</sup> Such, and not simply "near," seems to be the force of the adverb in these passages; as will be seen by applying the above phrase to each separately. If we may be allowed to coin an expression, in order to explain our meaning, it is as if St. John had written *ἐκ Τιβεριδὸς εἰς τὸ ἐγγὺς κ.τ.λ.*, cf. the full construction in iv. 30, 47, 54.

John iii. 23, might appear, at first sight, to favour T.'s views; but it will be seen, on a careful inspection, that, as the verb conveys no idea of motion, *ἐγγὺς* is not, as in the other passages, thrown, as it were, into the *accusative* by the force of the verb; and therefore is nothing more (to recur to our illustration,) than if written *ἐν τῇ ἐγγὺς κ.τ.λ.*

<sup>b</sup> See Dr. Robinson, *Bibl. Res.*, iii., 276, for an interesting illustration of this very point: "We rose early this morning in the hope of a pleasant excursion upon the lake so often honoured by the presence of our Saviour. But a *strong south-west wind had been blowing all night*, and still continued; so that the boat had not returned, nor could it be expected."

the interpretation on which T. chiefly rests his theory. We cannot but think that, if the Apostle had intended to inform us that Tiberias was near the scene of the miracle, he would have written either *ἦν δὲ ἡ Τιβεριάς ἐγγὺς τοῦ τόπου κ.τ.λ.*, as he does in xi. 18; or, *ὅτι ἐγγὺς ἦν τῆς Τιβεριάδος ὁ τόπος οὗ κ.τ.λ.*, as in xix. 20; or, he would have interposed *ἡ ἐστίν* between *Τιβεριάδος* and *ἐγγὺς*, as in Acts i. 12; or, at the very least, *τῆς*, as in John xii. 21; not to mention the genitive absolute in Acts ix. 38 (which might be thought too artificial for St. John's style), or the dative construction in xxvii. 8.

Another argument adduced by T. in support of his peculiar view is, the alleged diversity of meaning in the term *πέραν*. In his usual style of confident assertion, he tells us that Dr. Robinson has not only been guilty of "overlooking" John vi. 23 (the true meaning of which it was reserved for T. to propound to a deluded world), but that he has been "misled by another mistake about the use of *πέραν* in the New Testament;" and after informing us that *πέραν* "occurs in all the three accounts of the miracle" (not seeming to be aware that the miracle is recorded by every one of the evangelists), he quotes the learned Doctor's remark, that this expression "is, in the New Testament, applied almost exclusively to the country east of the lake and the Jordan," "which," he subjoins, "is not the case." Having thus summarily disposed of his antagonist's opinion, though supported by authorities in a foot-note, he next favours us with his own, as follows:—"It (*πέραν*) occurs twenty-three times in the New Testament, and in ten of these it certainly refers to places on the west of the lake and the Jordan, and is at least doubtful in eight more, so that there are only four passages in regard to which the Doctor is right." Now, we venture to observe that, in the sentence just quoted, the only accurate statement is as to the number of times in which the word occurs; and even here, T. has maintained his consistency; for, in his analysis, he only accounts for twenty-two, thus altogether ignoring one important element in the inquiry. We are well aware that a writer like Dr. Robinson needs not our feeble advocacy, on this or any other point; nevertheless, the interests of truth and justice constrain us to expose assertions, as fallacious in their matter as they are flippant in their tone. We, too, have drawn up an analysis of the twenty-three examples of the use of *πέραν*; and the result proves, at least to our own mind, that Dr. Robinson is fully justified in the opinion he expresses. After deducting one passage (that omitted by T.)—viz., John xviii. 1, which refers to the brook Kedron, there remain twenty-two texts, of which *twelve* are at once, from internal evidence, assigned to the *east* of the lake and river—viz.,



Matt. iv. 25, viii. 18, 28, xvi. 5; Mark iii. 8, iv. 35, v. 1, x. 1; Luke viii. 22; John vi. 1, 22, x. 40; *five* are as clearly referrible to the *west*,—the context in each case obviating all possibility of error,—viz., Matt. xiv. 22 (cf. ver. 34); Mark v. 21 (cf. verses 1, 20), vi. 45; John vi. 17, 25 (cf. ver. 24); while the most liberal allowance will set down but *five* in the list of those which may be considered *doubtful*, judging merely from internal evidence and the immediate context—viz., Matt. iv. 15, xix. 1; Mark viii. 10—13; John i. 28, iii. 26. But even these last only require to be examined in detail, in order to swell the number of instances in favour of Dr. Robinson's much maligned opinion. Passing over, for the present, the first on the list of doubtful ones, we find, by comparing Matt. xix. 1, with the parallel passage, Mark x. 1, that the former evangelist, one of whose chief characteristics is conciseness, has so compressed his narrative as to omit the preposition *διὰ* which governs *πέραν*; the insertion of which by St. Mark, not only converts obscurity into clearness, but adds another instance of the use of *πέραν* as signifying the trans-jordanic region. From our ignorance of the position of Dalmanutha, we might be at a loss to which side of the lake to refer *τὸ πέραν* in Mark viii. 10—13; but in this case, St. Matthew (xv. 39), affords to his fellow-evangelist the help which before he had received from him. Although we have not recovered any traces of Dalmanutha, we are more fortunate in regard to Magdala; which being, as we know, on the west side of the lake, enables us to remove this also from the list of doubtful instances. The scene of the Baptist's early labours may not be determined with certainty, if we confine our attention to John i. 28, or iii. 26; but a reference to x. 40, xi. 7, proves unquestionably that it was that side of the Jordan which was further from Jerusalem, and moreover that it was beyond the boundary of Judæa, *i. e.*, east of the river. There remains now but one of the passages which we marked as doubtful—viz.: Matt. iv. 15; and we believe an equally good account may be given of this also. We apprehend that the evangelist does not confine the application of Isaiah's prophecy to the simple fact of our Saviour's taking up his abode at Capernaum (cf. ver. 12), but to the whole of his movements in Galilee, which, destined to be the scene of his principal labours, might well, therefore, be singled out for special mention by the inspired seer. In this 15th verse, we seem to possess an epitome, both chronological and topographical, of the successive phases of our Lord's Galilæan history. First, we have his doings "in the land of Zabulon:" in which lay Nazareth, where He opened his mission in so remarkable a manner, "and all bare him witness, and wondered at the gracious words which proceeded out of his

mouth" (Luke iv. 14—22) ; and Cana, where he wrought his first miracle, "and manifested forth his glory" (John ii. 12, vi. 54). Then, as the prophet gazes on the unfolding vision, the scene shifts to "the land of Nephthalim;" and he sees Jesus now established at Capernaum, where, together with the neighbouring cities of Chorazin and Bethsaida, "most of his mighty works were done" (Matt. xi. 20). "The way of the sea" at once calls up before our mind's eye his journeyings along that western shore; where he summoned humble fishermen to forsake their nets, and become his followers,—and evoked demons from the loving heart of Mary Magdalene,—and "sighed deeply in his spirit," when he encountered the captious unbelief of men in the "parts of Dalmanutha" (Matt. iv. 18, &c.; Mark viii. 10, &c.; Luke viii. 2). Anon, we are transported "beyond the Jordan;" and there, we see him displaying his divine attributes, in the country of the Gadarenes, the desert of eastern Bethsaida, the towns of Cæsarea Philippi, and the regions of Decapolis and Peræa. The whole is wound up by the comprehensive terms, "Galilee of the Gentiles;" which comprises all the foregoing particulars, and seems intended to teach us that the prophet had in view the entire ministry of our Lord in the northern portion of the Holy Land, including those wider circuits which he took from time to time in the interior districts of the country (Matt. iv. 23; Mark i. 39; Luke iv. 44, &c., &c.).

The result, then, of our examination of these apparent exceptions to the general rule which regulates the meaning of *πέραν* is to extend still more widely the application of that rule, and establish on a firmer basis its truth and importance. We would only observe further, that T. does not appear to be aware that *πέραν*, like its Hebrew equivalent *עַל*, does not in its very essence and of necessity signify east or west, north or south: it simply means 'over' or 'across;' for its actual import in any given passage, it is altogether dependent on a knowledge of the context, or the situation of the writer. In process of time, however, it came to be used absolutely for the eastern side of the Jordan, merely because the majority of the Hebrew writers and people lived on the western side. But without taking into account this conventional use of the word, we believe we are justified in asserting, that, after all, the context alone is sufficient to guide us to its real meaning in every individual instance. Doubtless T. is correct in supposing that *πέραν* might be used in reference to the other side of a bay or headland, or indeed, of any other object. There is nothing in its essential meaning to prevent such an application of the term; on the contrary, we see, in the case of the brook Kedron

(John xviii. 1), that it was by no means restricted to the Jordan and lake. But T.'s error lies in this; that he would look for a limited meaning of this kind, while joined to the extended term sea or lake. Let him find a passage in which *πέραν* is followed by some such word as "bay" or "headland;" and we will at once admit that he is justified in narrowing the signification of this adverb in the way which he advocates; but we altogether protest against his interpreting *πέραν*, when not so restricted, in any other than its natural sense.

Having thus endeavoured to do justice to the two arguments on which T. principally relies for the maintenance of his hypothesis, we do not purpose dwelling at equal length on his subsequent remarks; which are, for the most part, dependent on one or other of these his leading positions. We would observe, however, that his citation of Lamartine's language respecting the shore of the lake is most unfortunate, that writer being notoriously useless as an *authority* for any point bearing on subjects out of the shadowy domain of poetry. Nor is it necessary, as so many travellers, infinitely more trustworthy, have published the results of their observation on this very question. And assuredly the impression conveyed by the best books and maps is by no means in favour of the imaginative Frenchman's statement, that the shores of the Lake of Tiberias are "indented with a number of bays or inlets running in between projecting headlands or promontories;" more especially that portion of the coast where T. lays the scene of the miracle and its accompaniments. The fact appears to be, that there is nothing deserving the name of headland or promontory along the whole extent of shore from the south of the baths of Tiberias upward to the Khan Minyeh. We can only explain T.'s evident misconception of this matter, by supposing that he has confounded the mountains which alternately come down to the shore and recede from it with points of land running out into the sea, and thus forming a succession of bays and headlands. But the two things are totally distinct; and we suspect that T. has been leaning on a broken reed in trusting to Lamartine's habits of accurate observation for supplying him with the means of carrying out his theory.

We are at a loss to understand on what grounds T. asserts that our Lord had but recently returned from Jerusalem when the miracle we are considering took place. No system of chronology, or harmony of the gospels, with which we are acquainted admits either the possibility or probability of a visit to Jerusalem for almost a year previously.

It is urged by T. that the scene of the miracle cannot have been on the eastern side of the lake, inasmuch as the multitude

would have been physically unable to reach the spot *before* our Lord and his disciples who went by water; "and more especially," he adds, "at the time of the passover, when the Jordan was in flood, and not fordable at either end of the lake." The first of these apparent difficulties is removed by T.'s own hypothesis as to the identity of Tell-Hûm with Capernaum (in which we confess we are inclined to agree with him). From this point the people who, we are told, "ran" out of all the cities when they saw him, would not be more than three quarters of an hour in skirting the northern shore, and arriving at the Desert of Bethsaida, a little beyond the river—a distance of about three miles; while those who were in the vessel, having no motive for unusual haste, and meeting, possibly, some obstacle of wind or water, might well be supposed to have occupied an hour, in sailing or rowing across the lake, landing, securing the vessel, and then walking some little distance into the interior. It is worthy of remark, too, that our Lord could scarcely have been "seen and recognized" by the inhabitants of the different cities along the shore (Mark vi. 33), if he had been merely crossing over from one side of a bay to the other.

To the objection as to the Jordan's being in flood at the time of the passover, and, therefore, not fordable, we reply: 1. It was *not* yet the time of the passover. That feast, indeed, was "*nigh*," as St. John tells us; but how long an interval yet remained we know not. It might have been several days or even weeks before the passover, and yet it would have been strictly correct to describe it as approaching. 2. "The Jordan," says Joshua iii. 15, "overfloweth all its banks all the time of harvest." Now if there is any principle which regulates in common these two phenomena of nature, or if this statement hold good throughout the entire course of the river, we should expect the Jordan above the lake of Galilee to be in flood much later than it is near its mouth; for we know there is a difference of more than a month in the harvest at these two points. So that, on this supposition, the river would present no obstacle during the period in question. 3. But as we have seen that the state of the country adjoining one portion of the Jordan's course is no criterion of its state at another; so, in the same manner, we may reason with respect to the river itself. No evidence, as far as we are aware, has yet been adduced to shew that the upper Jordan is rendered impassable even during the rainy season. Dr. Robinson's party "forded the Jordan not far from the Tell [site of Bethsaida, or Julias], where the water reached no higher than the bellies of the mules;" and he adds on the same occasion, "the Jordan, as we saw it here, is less broad, less deep, less

rapid, than where we had come upon it near the Dead Sea. . . . There are many bars and shallows, where the river may occasionally be forded.”<sup>c</sup> 4. Finally, it seems impossible to believe, that, in the time of our Lord’s ministry, when Bethsaida, under the name of Julias, had risen into importance as one of the capitals of Philip’s Tetrarchy, and when the region west of the lake was crowded by a busy population, all regular communication by land between these two friendly countries was for several weeks in the year entirely interrupted. We seem compelled, therefore, to conclude, either that the sand-bars and shallow fords existed then as now, and were available throughout the year; or that one or more bridges crossed the river at that point, as we know to have been the fact at the other extremity of the lake (where there would seem to have been less necessity for them than here), and as is yet the case a few miles above Bethsaida.

T. is mistaken, we think, in supposing the Bethsaida of Mark viii. 22 [he erroneously writes, vii. 22], to be the western city of that name. He correctly remarks, that—

“Our Lord had come from the north to the lake, ‘through the midst of the coasts of Decapolis,’ which were chiefly on the east of the lake and the Jordan, and he must therefore have arrived on its eastern shore, from which he came over by water from [to] Magdala, in the plain of Genesareth, Matt. xvi. [xv.] 39, and from Magdala he came to Bethsaida.”

Here we must profess ourselves unable any longer to agree with T., who adds, “in its neighbourhood.” That the Saviour went from Magdala to Bethsaida, is clear: but that it was the *eastern*, not the western Bethsaida, is, we maintain, equally clear; for Matt. xvi. 4, and Mark viii. 13, distinctly assure us that, immediately after encountering the Pharisees, he retraced his course across the lake; and then comes the mention of Bethsaida, which, coupled with the subsequent visit to Cæsarea Philippi, is surely decisive in favour of Bethsaida of Gaulonitis. Moreover, even assuming the correctness of T.’s identification of the Galilean Bethsaida, how could our Lord have *sailed* from Mejdel to Irbid? T. must indeed be “hard up” for arguments in support of his view, when he adds that, “Mark represents our Lord as *coming to* Bethsaida, and as *going from* it to Cæsarea Philippi, from which it may be inferred that the courses were opposite.” Will it be believed that ἐρχεται and ἐξῆλθεν are the words respectively employed?

T. appears to lose sight of the fact that the disciples were “in the midst of the sea” (Matt. xiv. 24; Mark vi. 47), when the

<sup>c</sup> *Bibl. Rev.*, iii., 308, 309.

Saviour came to them; and not, as his theory obliges him to suppose, coasting along the shore northwards. He also overlooks two important considerations which influenced our Saviour's movements on this occasion. His fame had lately reached the ears of Herod Antipas, whose inquiries threatening to prove inconvenient, Jesus determined, his hour not being yet come, to withdraw for a while from his usual haunts. Where, then, we ask, would he be so likely to find the security he sought, as in the neighbouring dominions of the milder Philip? Again, the apostles had just returned from their mission, and our Lord saw the importance of repose and seclusion on their account. But where could such desiderata be realized on the populous shores of Gennesareth? Here, too, as before, we seem driven of necessity to the more sparsely peopled district, north-east of the lake, which presented exactly the retirement they needed. Nay, the very terms of the narrative would appear to indicate this *opposite* character of the two shores. The people are said to have crowded after our Lord "*from all the cities* (πόλεις); this is remarkably characteristic of the western shore, which all accounts represent as being densely populated. But mark the difference, when we reach the scene of the miracle. There is no further mention of cities; we read only of "surrounding fields and villages" (εἰς τοὺς κύκλῳ ἀγροὺς καὶ κώμας). No words could more accurately describe the fertile plain, north-east of the lake and south of Bethsaida. Julias, now called el-Batfheh, which, extending three miles along the shore, and half that distance inland, consists partly of cultivated fields [cf. ἀγροὺς], and partly of pastures [cf. ἐρημον τόπον], with here and there a village skirting the shore [cf. κύκλῳ κώμας]; the whole being shut in on the east by the high table-land of Jaulâr [cf. τὸ ὄρος]. Thus we have every requirement of the sacred writers fulfilled to the very letter in this interesting spot; a "desert (i. e., pastoral) place, apart" from all the bustle of cities, and beyond the jurisdiction of Herod,—yet easy of access, both by land and sea, to his subjects; an extent of smooth surface affording ample accommodation for assembled thousands; "there is much grass in the place," and that of the richest "green;" there are fields under cultivation, and a few scattered villages round about; and there is the mountain close at hand, commanding a view of the opposite shore as far as Tiberias.

After this enumeration of minute coincidences with the inspired narrative, we leave it to the reader to determine whether T. is warranted in affirming that his arguments "shew decidedly that the scene of the miracle was near Bethsaida of Galilee," and therefore on the western shore of the lake.

We are sorry to have occasion again to animadvert on the self-confident and even contemptuous tone which T. thinks proper to assume, and which so ill becomes one whose own arguments, as we have seen, are none of the strongest, and whose reckless assertions, and palpable blunders in simple matters of fact, are really astounding. After again quoting Dr. Robinson, he thus writes :—

“From what has been already shewn, the attentive reader will see at once that this is a false gloss upon the text. None of the disciples relate that the scene of the miracle was on the eastern shore, and *John does not say* either that they set off from the eastern shore, or *went over the sea*, but only towards Capernaum.”

It is surely unnecessary to do more than ask T. to read for himself John vi. 17; and he will perhaps learn for the future a lesson of caution.

We purpose inflicting on the reader but one more specimen of T.'s peculiar style. In order to render his theory more probable, he endeavours to prove that *διαπράσσαντες* in Matt. xiv. 34; Mark vi. 53 (which, if taken in its natural sense, is, of course, fatal to his argument), “may mean no more than ‘they passed along coastwise.’” His mode of proof is as follows: “It is used in this way Acts xxi. 2; for a voyage from Miletus in Asia Minor to Phœnicia in Syria, on the same continent, *must be coastwise*; and Josephus used it in speaking of one from Tiberias to Tarichea, on the same side of the lake, and only about three miles distant.”<sup>d</sup> With regard to Josephus, we cannot speak with certainty, not having the original at hand; nor, indeed, is the position of Tarichea (not three miles but thirty stadia from Tiberias) so absolutely fixed as to justify our resting any theory exclusively upon it. Nay, so certain do we feel that *διαπράω*, from its composition, never can mean “to coast along,” that if Josephus really uses the word in the passage referred to, it were almost enough to convince us that Tarichea lay on the eastern shore, or at least on the east of the Jordan, and not, as generally supposed, at el-Kerak. But however this may be, there is no doubt that T.'s criticism on Acts xxi. 2, is a piece of most ludicrous misconception. The word *διαπράων* is there used in connexion with a voyage, not from Miletus, but from Patara, to Phœnicia. This voyage, so far from being of necessity coastwise, was not coastwise at all, but as *directly across* the open sea as the most scientific navigator of the nineteenth century could desire. It is distinctly stated (ver. 8,) that when Cyprus

<sup>d</sup> *Life*, 58, [59].

was sighted, it was passed on the *left* hand ; so that a line drawn on the map between Patara and Tyre (whither the ship was bound,) would scarcely be more direct than was the actual course of this ship, which T. condemns to creep ingloriously along the mainland. And even in the previous voyage from Miletus, which T. so strangely confounds with that from Patara, the vessel did not keep close to shore. Nay, the very reverse is emphatically affirmed : “ when we were gotten from them (the elders at Miletus), and had launched, we came, *with a straight course* (*ευθυδρομήσαντες*) unto Coos, and the day following unto Rhodes, and from thence unto Patara.”

Garlieston.

E. W.

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### THE NINEVEH INSCRIPTIONS.

THE history of Nineveh is so bound up with that of Israel and Judah, that the decipherment of the Assyrian inscriptions has become one of the most important philological problems of the day. Every reader of the *Monuments of Nineveh* must be convinced that these memorials of the long-buried city tend remarkably to illustrate Old Testament history. However attractive these sculptured forms of human-headed lions and eagle-headed deities may be to the artist and the antiquarian, our attention will be fixed solely on the inscriptions with which they are adorned. We must assume that the reader of this paper is familiar with those facts of the case, which are placed within the reach of all by the elaborate works of Messrs. Layard and Botta. The discoveries of the former at Koyunjik and Nimroud, and of the latter at Khorsabad have already become a portion of the current literature of the day; while “the palace of Sennacherib” and “the tomb of Sardanapalus” are already as household words among the students of biblical history. We must further assume that the reader is familiar with the topography of the Assyrian and Babylonian empires, as it is found in the Old Testament, and in those portions of Herodotus and other classical authors, who treat of the early sovereigns of Assyria, the conquests of Cyrus, and the empire of the Medes and Persians under his immediate successors.

We will now state *the case as it is*. On the various slabs which formed the walls of these disentombed palaces, and which are now deposited in the Louvre and the British Museum, there



are many thousand lines of arrow-headed writing. This writing bears a great resemblance to other similar inscriptions which have long been known to exist on the ruined palace at Persepolis, and upon other rocks and pillars within the limits of the ancient Persian empire. Fifty years ago, neither the name of the language in which they are written nor a single letter of the alphabet was known. No European scholar had given more than a guess at their meaning; and the subject would have been confined to the regions of speculative conjecture, had not Mr. Layard discovered a black obelisk in the central palace at Nimroud, A.D. 1849, and transmitted it to the British Museum. The ever active mind of man has for the last few years been attempting to read what was once pronounced utterly illegible; and the present position of the subject is this. Two systems of reading have been proposed and followed out with the greatest acuteness and diligence. The results of each method have been submitted to the judgment of the learned world. Each hypothesis leads to its own conclusion, and the two conclusions are essentially diverse. They cannot both be true. There is room enough for as long and as warm a literary controversy as ever excited the wrath of scholars. One system is distinguished by its supposed discovery of the names of the scriptural kings, places, and persons on the walls, obelisks, and statues of the Nineveh palaces. The names of Sargon, Hezekiah, Jerusalem, Jehu, Hazael, and Askalon are supposed to be determined. The scholars responsible for these results are Colonel Rawlinson and the Rev. Dr. Hincks, and their method may be called *the historical* method of decipherment. The other method of reading denies the existence of the names of kings, persons, or places. It determines the words of the legends to be descriptive of the pictures with which they are accompanied. The Rev. Charles Forster is the author and advocate of this second method, which may be described as *the pictorial*. Although some eminent scholars have aided in building up the historical scheme—as Grotefend, Lassen, and Hincks—yet for the sake of brevity, the two opposite methods may be properly designated by the two names of Rawlinson and Forster. Colonel Rawlinson's conclusions are found in various communications to the Royal Asiatic Society, and to the Athenæum; and Mr. Forster's method is contained in his Part III. of *The one Primeval Language*, entitled *The Monuments of Assyria, Babylonia, and Persia*. These are the chief sources from which are derived the statements which will occur in the present paper. We are desirous that the reader should criticize most freely the reasonings which we shall found upon them, as it is of the utmost importance that biblical scholars

should form a correct estimate of the conflicting merits of these two systems.

To make the subject as intelligible as possible within the reasonable limits of a single paper, we shall endeavour to state, first, the results obtained by each hypothesis: and then explain the methods by which those results have been arrived at. We will confine our attention to three specimens, and state the effect of each hypothesis on the same specimen. The examples selected for testing both methods of reading shall be—

*a.* The Black Obelisk from Nimroud.

*β.* The Rock of Behistun.

*γ.* The Tomb at Mourgh-ab.

Rawlinson's results shall be stated first with a short narrative of the gradual progress of his decipherments. Forster's readings shall then be presented. We will then proceed to explain the methods by which these two opposite results are produced; and, lastly, bring forward some arguments against the suppositions upon which *the historical* system rests, and state our impression that the truth will ultimately be found on the side of *the pictorial* method. It will thus be perceived that inscription reading is at present only a tentative science, and involves the rigid principles of the inductive philosophy. Like geology in its earliest stages it has to pass through many phases before it can arrive at scientific certainty: and the very difference of opinion among its cultivators should tend to repress all hasty dogmatism, and should warn us to pursue it in the earnest and chastened spirit of seekers after hidden truths.

*a.* In the British Museum there is an obelisk of black basalt, discovered at Nimroud by Mr. Layard during his second excavating visit. It is six feet six inches in length, and sculptured on its four sides; there are twenty bas-reliefs, and above, between, and below them there is an inscription two hundred and ten lines long. The bas-reliefs represent a king with his ministers of state and eunuchs, a prisoner at his feet, and various figures of men and animals in procession carrying objects of tribute and trophies of victory. Colonel Rawlinson pronounces these cuneiform characters to contain the record of the wars and victories of King Temenbar II., the founder of the central palace of Nimroud, for a space of thirty-one years. The same name is found on the large human-headed bull from the same palace, and on the only sitting statue yet discovered at Kalah Sherghat. This king is made to call himself the son of Assur-adan-pal, who is assumed to be identical with Sardanapalus. He speaks of his father as the servant of Bar, and chronicles the exploits of his ancestors as far back as Hevenk, through a line of six continuous kings.

As we are anxious to confine ourselves to what illustrates Holy Scripture, we pass over further details respecting other kings recorded on this monument, and pass on to the date of the obelisk. It was first thought to belong to the fabulous period of Assyrian history, about the eleventh or twelfth century B.C. But the manner in which its date has lately been fixed, adds the greatest possible importance to its correct decipherment. Dr. Hincks fixes its date at B.C. 875, in the following way. We quote his letter to the *Athenæum* of Dec. 27th, 1851 :—

“The king, who is represented in the second line of the sculptures on the obelisk, is no other than Jehu, king of Israel. He is called *Ya'ma*, the son of *Kh'u um r'i'i*; that is *um* the son of *um*, or according to the English version, *Jehu*, the son of *Omri*. As a corroboration of this identification, I observe that Hazael, the king of Syria, the known contemporary of Jehu, is repeatedly mentioned on the obelisk, and in the bull inscriptions of the same king.”

On the third of Jan. 1852, Dr. Hincks states that he reads the name of Menahem king of Israel “in the Nimroud inscriptions published by the British Museum.” In plate 50, line 10, the name of Menahem of Samaria is read “proving that the slabs belonged to Pul, who is mentioned in 2 Kings xv. 19, 20, as having imposed tribute on Menahem.” In the *Athenæum* of March 27th, 1852, Colonel Rawlinson endorses these supposed determinations, and finds the name of Ithbaal, the father of the notorious Jezebel. “I am now satisfied” he says, “that the black obelisk dates from about 860 B.C. The tribute depicted in the second compartment of the obelisk, comes from Israel; it is the tribute of *Jehu*.” Now the bare possibility that such readings are correct, renders the subject intensely attractive to the student of Holy Writ; at the same time he ought not to be hastily led away by positive assertions; he should determine to sift most carefully every particle of evidence on which such assertions rest, and to render himself master of the main key by which such treasures may be unlocked.

β. The next inscription to which we shall refer, is that on the rock of Behistun. This rock rises from the plain to the height of 1700 feet, and is near Kermanshah, on the borders of Persia, and on the high road from Babylonia. Colonel Rawlinson describes it in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, vol. ix. The writing is 300 feet above the plain, and the ascent so steep as to require a scaffolding, first to engrave, and now to copy it. Colonel Rawlinson has copied a large portion of it, as seen in the plates of the *Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. x., Part I. and II. There are 400 lines said to be in three distinct languages

—the Babylonian, the Median, and Persian; the latter of which the Colonel supposes he has deciphered. Connected with the inscriptions is a sculpture of a king with captives before him, tied together by a rope, and above the king is the figure of a man seated in a kind of car of wicker-work. Colonel Rawlinson supposes this king to be Darius Hystaspes; its date to be 516 B.C. in the fifth year of his reign; and the figure over his head to be the Persian deity Ormuzd, in a car of sunbeams. The first lines of the great column, which are repeated over the effigy of the monarch himself, are, "I am Darius, the king, the great king, king of kings, the king of Persia, the king of the dependent provinces, the son of Hystaspes, the grandson of Arsames, the Achæmenian." It is unnecessary to pursue this method of reading any further; the remainder describes the various conquests of this Darius, as well as the persons and places subdued. The details are easily accessible; they will be found, for instance, in chap. x. of Vaux's *Nineveh and Persepolis*. It is enough for our present purpose to add that the interpretation of the whole is consistent with the original assumption.

Amidst the tombs of Mourgh-ab, which is about forty-nine miles from Persepolis, there is a single block of marble about fifteen feet high. The whole length of the north-west side of the pillar is occupied by a sculpture in bas-relief. It is the figure of a man, clothed in a long close-fitting tunic, with four wings, and two rams' horns projecting from its head, and on these horns is a singular Egyptian ornament. Over this figure is an inscription which has been read by Grotefend and Lassen, on the system adopted by Colonel Rawlinson, as, "I am Cyrus, the king, the Achæmenian." In consequence of this reading, the tomb is familiarly known as that of Cyrus, and it is supposed to mark the site of the ancient Pasargadæ, which tradition assigns as the burial-place of that renowned monarch. We refrain from all discussion of this point at present; we have stated enough for our present purpose; additional information will be found in Vaux, chap. ix. We recommend the whole chapter to the perusal of those who may not be familiar with the facts of the case, as it contains extracts from Sir R. K. Porter's *Descriptions of Persepolis and Mourghab*, which will amply repay perusal.

Having selected these three instances of the historical method, we will glance but very briefly at other readings on the same system. On June 25th, 1849, Dr. Hincks read a paper before the Royal Irish Academy, "On the Khorsabad inscriptions," in which he identified the builders of the Koyunjik palace with Sennacherib (San-ki-rib); and the builder of the south-west

palace at Nimroud with Esarhaddon (Athur-ka-than) his son. In the *Athenæum*, of August 23rd, 1851, the Colonel writes, "The king who built the palace of Khorsabad, excavated by the French, is named *Sargina* (the *pro* *Sargon* of Isaiah); but he also bears, in some of the inscriptions, the epithet of Shalmanezzer, by which title he was better known to the Jews." He then proceeds to read the names, Samaria, Hezekiah, Jerusalem, and Judah, as well as Libnah, Pharaoh, Hebron, and Ascalon.

In the report of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1853, we find that the Colonel has read the name of Semiramis on a statue of the god Nebo, dug up from the ruins of the palace of Nimroud. She appears on a legend on this statue, to have been the wife of Pul, the king who was contemporary with Menahem, king of Israel. This would place her a hundred and fifty years before Nebuchadnezzar, and leads to the conclusion that the Nitocris of Herodotus was the wife of Nebuchadnezzar. On some tablets found by Mr. Loftus at Warke, the Colonel states that he has read the names of Seleucus and Antiochus. A similar account is given by the Colonel in a letter dated Bagdad, April 4th, 1854, in a paper read by Mr. Vaux before the Royal Society of Literature.

I now proceed to give the results of the *pictorial* method when applied to these three examples.

a. The Black obelisk yields easily enough to the alphabet and the language which Mr. Forster applies to it. The characters over each compartment describe the scene immediately below them. "The action" says he, "of the great majority of the figures on the Nimroud obelisk tells its own story. That of the carriers of provision trays, water jars, and water skins" is evident enough. "The rest for the most part are bearers simply of the bales of goods and other burthens delineated on the monuments." "In the third tablet on the second side, the group consists conformably with its legend, of a two-horned and one-horned wild ox, and a wild goat or antelope." The words for each of these animals occur immediately over it. "The inscription further describes these oxen as in the act of lowing, and the attitude and expression, especially of the one-horned animal, strikingly corroborates this particular of the legend. In column 1. tablet 1., the great king, the captive bowing his head below his back, and the attendants striking both hands, appear in the words as well as in the picture. The camels, the elephant-tusks, the water carriers, the paunches filled with gold dust, are visible to the eye, while the arrow-headed words above simply describe this representation. On this principle the whole legend is read, without the slightest recognition of the names of any

kings, or of the annals of conquest and triumph over any specified nations, countries, persons, or towns.

β. The Behistun Rock. One sentence occurs fifty-eight times in the four hundred lines. Rawlinson's words for it are

*Thátiya Dar(a)yawush K'hsháyathiya.*

Forster's words are

*Wakar. wakd. karnin. namak. kuki.*

and his reading is "a cut-short man engraving many captives fastened by a single rope by cutting and striking with a mallet." This sentence consequently describes the engraver himself, and the figure supposed by Sir R. K. Porter and others to be the Persian god Ormuzd, is the figure of the sculptor himself, suspended in his palm-leaf crate before the cliff. The iron cap on his head was probably used to protect him from any falling fragments, and the hoop round his waist with the coil of rope round it was to prevent him from swinging against the rock. He holds a ring in his left hand "which is a *tambourin* or *cymbal* upon which he is beating with his right hand, in accompaniment to his voice, with which, commemorating the completion of his great work, he is singing vociferously the burden of the song forming the contents of the inscriptions." The writing states "that he worked by moonlight and was elevated by wine." The last figure is an Armenian chief: the king is snapping his fingers at him: the words for "snapping the fingers" are there. "One thing is certain," Mr. Forster adds, "that by an alphabet of known forms and powers and by experimental decipherment, the name of Darius Hystaspes is not discoverable on this monument. The principal figure seems to be described only by his style and title as king, or king of kings. To look for the history of the Persia of the Achæmenides in such a document, is about as reasonable as to look for the history of the England of the Plantagenets in the ballad of *Chevy Chase*."

γ. The winged figure at Mourgh-ab covered with rams' horns and an Egyptian ornament, is supposed to have faced the gateway of some public edifice at Pasargadæ. The inscription upon the pillar, says Forster, is common-place, and without any self-evident connexion with the figure. "Instead of the name of Cyrus we meet once more with the *kuki*, or cut-short stonemason, designing ornamentally the *royal eagle* with outstretched wings and expanded hands in the act of swooping upon its prey: being the subject represented pictorially upon the face of the pillar under the inscription." On comparing the characters at Behistun and Persepolis, they have several key words in common, "such as *rakan*, a book or record written with closely ruled lines, or with

closely ruled lines ornamented with points; *namak*, writing ornamentally or calligraphically; *kukt*, a dwarf or cut-short man; *wakd*, hammering, pounding, striking with a mallet." These words "all relate alike to the manual execution of the engraving: the fidelity of the reading being certified by the actual phenomena." The inscriptions at Persepolis appear to be equally trivial and unimportant, being mainly explanatory of the execution of the sculptures. Like those of Behistun, they are written with closely ruled lines, and (only in a different manner) ornamented with points. One example alone of decyphrement claims insertion here, from the extraordinary coincidence which it brings to light between the ancient and modern Persian appellation of the palace of Persepolis. *Chehel Minar*, the palace of forty pillars is its actual denomination, and *wakari minar*, "the metropolis of pillars," is its name in its own arrow-headed inscriptions, as read by my experimental alphabet."<sup>a</sup>

We now propose to explain the methods by which these two opposite results are produced. Colonel Rawlinson's method is based upon the supposition that the names of certain Persian kings are to be found on the tri-lingual legends of Persepolis, and that the old Zend language will correctly interpret them. Mr. Forster applies the Hamyaritic or old Arabic, and tests his words continually by the Arabic lexicon and by the picture connected with the legend. The question then is, whether the language is old Zend or old Arabic; whether it belongs to the Indo-Germanic or the Semitic family of languages? Hypothesis of some sort is necessary: otherwise, as there is no clue to either the letters or the words, these sculptured scratches would remain utterly unmeaning. They need that mental discipline and acuteness which alone can shape them into permanent consistency, and cause them to utter to listening Europe the original sense intended by the gravers. The sagacity of the interpreter chiefly consists in determining the right key to begin with. We must apply to the subject what the historian of the inductive sciences appositely calls "the colligation of facts," and the "consilience of incidences." The reference of the facts to the right fundamental idea is as necessary in philology as in astronomy. The science of inscription reading is somewhat in the position of astronomy in the time of Kepler, and the question recurs—Is Rawlinson or Forster the Des Cartes or the Newton of the science? The interpreter of these archæological treasures, requires like Newton, "the selection of the idea, the construction of the conception, and the determination of the magnitude." In

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<sup>a</sup> Vol. iii., p. 233.

a lecture delivered at the Royal Institution by Dr. Whewell, on *The Use of Hypothesis in Science*, the important distinction is pointed out between *conscious* and *unconscious* hypothesis. Leonardi da Vinci has well remarked—Facts are the soldiers, and theory the general; and in investigating a subject at present so vague as that of the Assyrian alphabet and language, we are apt unconsciously to discipline the soldiers after the measure of our own credulity.

Having taken some pains to understand the manner in which both the old Zend and the old Arabic are applied to this subject, having acquired that familiarity with details which the pursuit of Oriental languages for many years may be supposed to confer, and being mindful of the supreme importance of every possible illustration of biblical history, we have come to the conclusion that the historical system is fallacious and that the pictorial one is correct.

We will now furnish the reader with some elementary data by which he may judge for himself.

In the year 1802, Professor Grotefend read a paper on cuneiform inscriptions before the Literary Society of Göttingen, and in 1814-15 he published a series of papers in the *Fund-gruben des Orients*. Niebuhr had published two of the Persian ones at Persepolis,<sup>b</sup> and Grotefend conjectured that a particular word often repeated must signify "king" and that the names and titles of Persian kings would probably be found there. He first tried the Greek words Cyrus, Darius, Cambyses, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes, and found they would not suit. He then made use of the *Zend-avesta* which had been published at Paris<sup>c</sup> by M. Anquetil du Perron. He there found that Hystaspes would admit of being changed into Gushtasp, Kishtasp, and Wistasp. Xerxes, too, according to a paper in the *Memoirs de l'Acad. Roy. des Inscriptions*, tom. xxxi., might be changed to Wrorokeshe, Warakshe, or Kharsha at pleasure. With this initiatory assumption and these flexible materials, Grotefend obtained twelve characters, which are now deemed erroneous by Colonel Rawlinson. The next attempt was that of M. Bournouf, who in 1836, by the assistance of the Zend, read twenty-four names of one of the legends of Persepolis; and subsequently Professor Lassen of Bonn between 1836 and 1844, pursued the same system with more apparent success. Colonel Rawlinson was at that time copying from the Behistun Rock, and when Professor Lassen's alphabet reached him, it nearly coincided with his own, as they

<sup>b</sup> Vol. ii., lib. xxiv., B. and G.

<sup>c</sup> 1771, 4to.



both assumed the correctness of Grotefend's guess and followed it by reference to the Zend. It is further believed that the languages are threefold, viz., the Persian, Median and Assyrian; and the Persian text is said to contain forty distinct letters and the Assyrian one hundred and fifty. The number of primitive characters is still under debate. The sum of all the primitive characters never exceeds forty said Grotefend.<sup>d</sup> The alphabet contains above one hundred characters said Rawlinson.<sup>e</sup> "The alphabet of the Persian cuneiform contains but thirty-nine or forty letters; in the Assyro-Babylonian inscriptions there are about three hundred different characters." "Many of these characters are undoubtedly what are termed 'variants' that is, merely a different way of forming the same letter; but even admitting a large number to be so, and to be interchanged arbitrarily, still there are between one hundred and one hundred and fifty letters, which appear to have each their distinct phonetic value."<sup>f</sup>

Every Oriental scholar who is accustomed to the simplicity of the alphabets and the precise exactness of the wording of the Semitic languages, must be struck with the vagueness of these numerous conjectures. The inductive process of reasoning seems to have no scope, for the foundation on which it is here based is ever shifting and uncertain. We feel surprised that it never occurred to the members of the Royal Asiatic Society to whom Colonel Rawlinson's ingenious papers are addressed, to object *in limine* to the whole scheme, and to apply their knowledge of the Indo-Germanic languages to the discovery of an alphabet by the strictness of analogical reasoning. And when we remember that this arbitrary key has been applied to the Nineveh discoveries, and has produced words similar to Sargon, Hezekiah, Jerusalem and Jehu, and has led to the supposed identification of Semiramis and Nitocris, Antiochus and Seleucus, the importance of the question can scarcely be overrated. If it were only an exercise of critical skill in Eastern languages, it might be left to those who disport themselves with these elegant recreations, but as it trenches upon the domain of scriptural history, we ought to guard ourselves against self-deception, and put every assertion to the severest test before we admit an additional element among undoubted and well-established truths.

It may now be asked, How came the names of Darius, Xerxes, and other kings to be introduced into the very first

<sup>d</sup> *Ap Heeren*, vol. ii., p. 323.

<sup>e</sup> *Royal Asiatic Society's Journal*, vol. x., pt. i., p. 33.

<sup>f</sup> *Layard's Nineveh and Its Remains*, vol. ii., p. 171.

“construction of the idea?” The reply is as follows: the Rosetta stone had lately been discovered, and its value for the decipherment of Egyptian monuments was then beginning to be appreciated. The name of Ptolemy in the Greek suggested the probability that it might be found in the enchorial and hieroglyphic portions of the tablet, and this conjecture was rewarded with success. But that pillar was erected B.C. 196 after the coronation of Ptolemy Epiphanes at Memphis. There is no necessary similarity between this comparatively modern *stèle* at Memphis, and the ancient cuneiform engravings at Behistun and Persepolis. The argument from analogy fails altogether, and the suggestion of a fallacious analogy only leads the inquirer still further from the truth. Not one letter of either of the three Asiatic languages was known with certainty, and there was no single philological reason to fix on the name of any Persian king. There is no certainty that either Darius or Xerxes built any portion of Persepolis. Herodotus, who visited Babylon and Susa, and gives ample details of the magnificence of Darius Hystaspes and of the extent of his twenty satrapies, never mentions it. Ctesias and Xenophon are equally silent. No writer within many hundred years after their times alludes to it. Now Herodotus visited the Eretrian captives at Susa fifty years after Darius had planted them there: this capital of the Persian empire was not far distant from Persepolis; so that his silence is very significant, and is hardly consistent with the belief that this splendid “metropolis of pillars” was really constructed or enlarged by Darius Hystaspes.

Again; the first erroneous hypothesis leads to a mistaken method of interpreting the Persian characters by means of the Zend. To assign forty letters to the Persian alphabet, and more than one hundred, besides “variants,” to the Assyrian, is very unphilological. The oldest Asiatic languages have the fewest characters. Colonel Rawlinson, in his *Commentary on the Cuneiform Inscriptions*, published in 1850, was then so dissatisfied with his own efforts, that he was disposed “to abandon the study altogether in utter despair of arriving at any satisfactory result.” This was before the supposed discovery of Jehu, the son of Omri, on the black obelisk; and no one who peruses the conjectural guess-work of the notes to that pamphlet would have been surprised at his doing so. Besides, the first error as to the Persian kings has blinded the view as to the correct use of the Zend-avesta. When this work was first brought to Europe by Anquetil du Perron, it was confessedly in a most corrupt and imperfect state. Its genuineness was denied by Sir W. Jones and the best oriental scholars of the time; it was then

supposed to be a modern forgery in the patois of the country. Foreign oriental scholars have now allowed that it holds the same position among the Parsees as the Vedas do among the Brahmins. Bournouf first purified the text, and Westergaard, one of the most exact of Sanscrit scholars, has restored the purity of the language by rigidly basing its structure on the Sanscrit. Its utility in reading the Persian tablets may be judged from the following extracts from Grote and Wheeler. "The Zend language was spoken in the space of country comprised between the Indus on the east, the Oxus and the Caspian Sea on the north, the Persian Gulf and the Indian ocean on the south, and the line of Mount Zagros to the west."<sup>9</sup> Wheeler in his new manual of the Geography of Herodotus, correctly states that the old Persian dialects were spoken between the Tigris and the Indus. The Zend was used in Media, the Pehlvi in Mesopotamia, and the Parsee in Persia. The Semitic or Syro-Arabian dialects were spoken between the Halys and the Tigris, and from the heights of Caucasus to the south of Arabia. Foreign scholars have prepared ample materials by the various editions of the Zend-avesta, and of the comparative grammar of the various cognate languages. For instance, Bournouf's *Yaçna*, 1843, Paris, contains a purified text, and has already been much used in these investigations. J. Romer's illustrations of the Zend in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. iv., p. 352, may be consulted; as well as Benfey's *Zerdušt*, 1850; N. L. Westergaard's *Zend-avesta*, 1852 (Copenhagen), and the *Bundebesh*, 1851; and Brockhaus' edition, Leipsic, 1850, and Spiegel's, Leipsic, 1852. Such publications afford the groundwork for a better reading of the Persian portions than has yet been given.

The Assyrian and Nineveh inscriptions are, we think, Semitic, and the ease and apparent accuracy with which Mr. Forster reads them, sanctions this conclusion. That eminent orientalist, the late Hebrew Professor at Cambridge, Dr. Mill, was of the same opinion. Speaking of the Semitic languages in a letter to the Royal Commissioners for the University of Cambridge, he says: "The recently-discovered remains of the ancient Assyrian empire have indeed afforded to our own times an accession, which no preceding age had anticipated, to our means of exploring the ancient Aramæan language as it existed prior to its records in the books of Daniel and Ezra."

There is also a very strong *à priori* argument against Colonel Rawlinson's explanation of the Nimroud obelisk. Ancient Asiatic monarchs never wrote history backwards from themselves

<sup>9</sup> *History of Greece*, vol. iv., chap. xxxiii.

to their sixth ancestors. Such a supposition violates all the known laws of the philosophy of history. The conquerors of Western Asia, who carved their way by their swords to extensive empire and to a world-wide renown, are all formed upon the same historic type; and Asiatic history has its laws, which are as permanent in operation as those of gravitation in astronomy or of definite proportions in chemistry. For instance, had astronomers been told that the unseen planet Neptune revolved round the sun, according to a law varying inversely as the cube of the distance, they would never have believed in either the planet or the planet-finder. Similarly, no archaeologist conversant with the records of ancient Asia can believe that Temenbar II. inscribed upon that black marble pillar the exploits of his various predecessors. The typical character of "the great king" is precisely that attributed in Daniel to Nebuchadnezzar: "This is great Babylon which I have built." It is invariably compounded of three fixed principles; viz., warlike energies, religious shew, and the utmost sensual enjoyment. Such men universally leave their forefathers to die out of remembrance, and set up "golden images," as on the plains of Dura, to their own personal magnificence and ambition. All the traditions of ancient Nineveh which have come down to us through Diodorus Siculus, Eusebius, and Justin, concur in establishing and confirming this well-known law of Asiatic monarchy.

Again; there is the greatest possible danger on Grotefend's assumption of finding what you beforehand expect ought to be discovered. When once you conjecture that Darius and Xerxes ought to appear, and then invent a method by which they shall be displayed, the mind suggests how all the rest must be developed. The details of battles, the names of places and persons and countries already known to us, gradually reappear in the midst of similar interpretations altogether new to us. If, too, *Ya'u'a* and *Kh'u'um'r'i'i* are allowed to be significant of *Jehu* and *Omri*, the mind naturally travels along the scriptural road: other coincidences suggest Hezekiah and Hazael, Sargon and Sennacherib; and knowing what ought to be found, we are unconsciously led to imagine that it is there. This method of interpretation is somewhat analogous to the schemes of some expositors of the dates of Holy Writ. They begin with the year-day theory, and thus stretch the prophecies of Daniel through the history of Europe down to our own days. Even if we allow their principle to be correct, its development gives rise to the most fanciful delusions. Each expositor has his own method of fixing a few permanent points of coincidence between the prophecy and the history, and afterwards needs the greatest

ingenuity to adjust his scheme to the obstinate facts which intervene. Every original thinker has his own method of reconciling the history with the prophecy, and thus we have an endless variety of dates, each advocated with tenacious pertinacity. Let any one reflect upon the number of expositions of Daniel's seventy weeks, and of his "time, times, and half a time," upon the year-day hypothesis, and he will then judge of the number of possible solutions of the Nineveh difficulties on the scheme of Grotefend. At present, indeed, so very few are competent to judge of the correctness of the solutions offered them by Rawlinson and Hincks, that the majority of readers take for granted whatever is submitted to their notice. But when biblical scholars have taken the pains to acquire sufficient Zend to follow these leaders in this new field of research, they will soon become competent to strike out new paths for themselves, and to display as many kings, victories, triumphs, and nations as the records of Asia afford from Sardanapalus to Antiochus the Great.

We have now only to explain briefly Forster's method of proceeding. He assumes that the Assyrian belongs to the Semitic or Syro-Arabic family of languages, and that if a correct alphabet can be formed, its words will be similar to those of the Hamyaritic or old Arabic. Having long been familiar with such pursuits, he has no difficulty in forming a simple alphabet, and he trusts to the Arabic lexicon for the meaning of the separate words. Wherever there is a device, as on the Nimroud obelisk and the Behistun rock, he expects to find those words which are the Arabic names for the things and actions represented to the eye. His alphabet of the Nimroud obelisk consists of twelve letters, and every sentence turns out explanatory of the picture over which it stands. When the picture contains camels or captives, elephants' tusks, horses, or grooms, then the alphabet supplies the words which are the Arabic names, and may be shewn to be so by the use of the lexicon. Thirteen letters are required for the Behistun rock, slightly different in form, and making intelligible sense, which is verified by the sculpture presented to the eye. Thus, the sentence repeated fifty-eight times has been quoted: its separate words are—

wakar	وَقَر	cutting, cleaving.
wakā	وَقَعَ	striking with a hammer.
karnin	قَرْنَيْنِ	fastening captives together by a single rope.
namak	نَمَقَ	engraving.
kuki	كُوكِي	a cut-short man, a dwarf.

We must refer the reader to Forster's own work for similar examples, simply stating our impression that his principle is the correct one.

Another specimen may be given from a short sentence in Layard's *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii., p. 180. Ten letters of a hammer-shaped character occur on some painted bricks in the earliest palace of Nimroud. Forster divides them into three words, thus:—

rasā رص joining, cramping together.

toob طوب a baked brick.

laht لاط to paint.

Hence the clause becomes, "painted bricks cemented together,"—the sense which Layard has unconsciously suggested as appropriate to the occasion.

Having already given an account of the two methods of reading the Mourgh-ab tablet, we now offer some reasons why that of Grotefend is untenable.

Professor Lassen, in his *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, records it thus: "*Adam Qurus Kahdjathija Hakhdamisija. I am Cyrus, the king, an Achaemenian.*" First of all, there is no sufficient authority for the assertion that Mourgh-ab is really the burial-place of Cyrus. Nothing in the East is less trustworthy than the traditional sites of the tombs of celebrated persons. Christians, Mahomedans, and Jews have for successive ages united in veneration for the supposed burial-places of celebrated characters. Yet scholars see no reason to believe that Jonah's tomb really exists at Mosul or Rachel's at Ramah, or those of Esther and Mordecai at Hamadan, or that of the mother of Solomon at Moughab. Mr. Buckingham has described his visit to that of Rachel, and Sir R. K. Porter has narrated his travels to those of Esther and Mordecai and the mother of Solomon. The tomb of Ajax is still said to exist at Troy and that of Agamemnon at Mycenæ. Yet no one supposes there is any proof that these are their real burying places: it is all as fabulous as the tomb of Sardanapalus within the mound at Nimroud. We are in truth exceedingly ignorant of the real occurrences of the life of Cyrus, and of the manner and place of his death. The three historians who lived nearest to his age all differ irreconcilably. It is quite a matter of opinion whether Herodotus or Xenophon or Ctesias is most worthy of credit; but if we select one of them as our authority, we must reject both the others. Herodotus is usually thought to have obtained the best information, but he states that Cyrus was killed in

battle with queen Tomyris, and gives no countenance whatever to his burial amid the sacred sepulchres of Pasargadæ. Grote in his *History of Greece*, vol. iv., p. 288, follows this tradition, and adds that "his tomb was honoured and watched till the breaking up of the Persian empire." He quotes as his authorities Arrian, v., 4, 14; Justin, i., 8; and Strabo, xi., p. 312; but it must be remembered that Strabo lived in the time of Augustus, five hundred years after the death of Cyrus, and Arrian and Justin one hundred years later still. Arrian indeed relates that Alexander the Great ordered Aristobulus to repair the tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadæ; but two hundred years had elapsed before Alexander was there, and tradition had then been busy with the venerable name of the founder of the Persian monarchy. The cuneiform characters might have been incised after the tradition became prevalent, but all is conjecture without the slightest foundation for its superstructure. Allowing, too, that some artist living many years after the decease of Cyrus desired to perpetuate his memory, it is highly improbable that he would use the Greek form of the word. The Persian historians call him Kai Khosru. Sir W. Jones says: "I call him without fear of contradiction Cai Khosrau; for, I shall then only doubt that the Khosrau of Ferdousi was the Cyrus of the first Greek historians, and the hero of the oldest political and moral romance, when I doubt that Louis Quatorze and Louis XIV. were one and the same French king."<sup>a</sup> Grotefend's introduction of the word "Achæmenian" is more fanciful still. Bryant has great probability in his favour when he states that this word, Achæmenes, denotes the "solar race" as descended from Ham (Cham), and takes the Greek Achæmenidæ for the sun-worshippers.<sup>4</sup> Pasargadæ, says D'Herbelot, signifies son of the house or prince of the blood royal of Persia.<sup>k</sup> Such derivations warn us that we are not hastily to adopt the Greek forms of Persian words, and to expect them to reappear in their Greek clothing upon the engraved monuments of ancient Persia. The more the subject is critically examined, the less reason is there for believing that the Mourgh-ab tablet was intended to refer to Cyrus the Great.

In conclusion, then, we think there is more evidence in favour of Forster's theory than for that of Grotefend, Hincks, and Rawlinson. The deep interest which all biblical scholars must feel in the subject, makes us anxious to know the opinions of those who are qualified to pass an enlightened judgment; and our object in

<sup>a</sup> Works, vol. iii., p. 106.

<sup>i</sup> Vol. i., p. 105. 8vo.

<sup>k</sup> Vol. iv., p. 551.

writing this paper will be answered if it should elicit any remarks which may throw fresh light on this attractive feature of the Nineveh discoveries.

T. M.

*The Vicarage, Sheriff Hutton, near York,  
March 1st, 1855.*

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\* \* While the Editor does not agree with the view taken in the above paper, he hopes its insertion will lead to a fuller discussion of the subject. The following article will shew that the labours of Dr. Hincks and his coadjutors proceed on a scientific basis.

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## ON ASSYRIAN VERBS.

### SECT. I.—*Introductory.*

1. **THERE** are five things to be considered, in respect to which Assyrian verbs may differ. I will first state what these are; and I will then proceed to consider them in the order which appears to me most advantageous, having respect to the peculiar circumstances by which our knowledge of them is at present limited.

2. The first thing to be considered is the form of the root. Roots have for the most part three letters. A few have a greater number, but I think not so many as in the cognate languages. According to the best estimate which I have as yet been able to make (which, however, is a very rough one), two thirds of the Assyrian roots occur with the same significations in some one or more of the three cognate languages, Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic.

3. It has been the custom with Hebrew grammarians to take a triliteral verb as a standard, and to use the forms of it to denote all analogous forms of both regular and irregular verbs. This method presents obvious advantages, and it has been followed by many who have treated of the verbal forms in the cognate languages. I wish to follow the same method as far as it is practicable, and I therefore choose a root which comes as near to that which was selected by the old Hebrew grammarians as I could choose, consistently with the condition that it should contain no letter of indistinct or uncertain sound, or which did not admit of being doubled. Such is the root of which *apkul* is a form. I am not aware that it existed in the old Assyrian lan-



guage; but this does not appear an objection to its being used as a standard; and it may be translated, if necessary, by the auxiliary verb "to do." Irregular verbs may be described as they usually are by Hebrew grammarians; only that the second radical must be called *kaph*. I will use also a description which is not known in Hebrew. By a "defective in *weak lamed*," I mean one in which the third radical disappears, but in which it does not *yet* appear what that radical was. It is a name which implies ignorance, but which will be useful till that ignorance is removed.

4. The second thing to be considered in respect to verbs is the alteration which they undergo in the different conjugations. Assyrian verbs admit all the seven conjugations recognized as regular by Hebrew grammarians, and certain others also; how many it is as yet impossible to state. Of these seven, the first four are almost identical in form with the corresponding Hebrew ones; but in the last three there is an important difference; the Assyrian has *sin* in place of the Hebrew *he*, as a characteristic; and this is not displaced, as the Hebrew characteristic is, by the preformatives of the persons.

5. The third thing to be considered is the change which verbs undergo, in order that they may express action in different times and under different circumstances. The changes to which I allude are called moods and tenses; and, putting aside these forms which are more properly nouns than verbs; I mean, of course, infinitives and participles; there remain seven simple tenses in the Assyrian verb. Five of these are indicative, one optative or precativ, and one imperative. The subjunctive mood is expressed by adding an enclitic to the tenses of the indicative.

6. Of the five indicative tenses, one expresses continued or habitual action, and is formed, like the Hebrew preterite, by additions made at the end only. The third person singular masculine of this tense in the first, or *qal*, conjugation may be considered to be the root. The four other indicative tenses express transient action, and all take preformatives, like the Hebrew future. I call them the aorist, or simple preterite, the present, the preter-perfect, and the future. The two last are secondary forms, being derived from the two first by certain additions.

7. The fourth thing to be considered is the change in verbs, which fits them to denote action by different persons. Each tense, with the exception of the imperative, appears to admit ten forms, of which five are singular and five plural. The first person has one form of the common gender; the second and third persons have two forms, a masculine and a feminine.

8. The fifth thing to be considered is the modification which the simple form of the different tenses may undergo from what may be considered accidental circumstances. These modifications are of three kinds, which I propose to distinguish as augment, affix, and enclitic. They are all additions at the end of the simple form; and all three, or any two of them, may occur together. When this happens, the augment always precedes the affix, and the enclitic always terminates the word.

9. The order in which I propose to proceed is the following. I begin with the aorist of the *qal* conjugation. I give its forms in the assumed regular verb, *pakil*; and I then consider their modifications by the addition of augments, affixes, and enclitics. I then illustrate these forms by examples taken from regular verbs and from irregular verbs of different classes. Having treated of this tense, which is the most common, and therefore the most important of all, I proceed to the other tenses of the *qal* conjugation; and then to the other conjugations.

## SECT. II.—*The Aorist of Qal.*

10. The aorist or simple preterite, which is translated by the English simple preterite, as “I saw,” “I burned,” approximates in form to the Hebrew tense which is commonly called the future, but by some grammarians the present, or the aorist; to the Syriac tense which is called by Jahn the second aorist; and to the Arabic tense which De Sacy calls the conditional aorist. In the inscriptions of the Assyrian and Babylonian kings, it is by far the most common tense; occurring most probably as frequently as all the other tenses taken together.

11. In regular verbs, and in verbs which are only irregular as to their first radical, the aorist of *qal* admits three varieties, as in Arabic; the vowel which follows the second radical being sometimes *u*, sometimes *i*, and sometimes *a*. Generally speaking, the same vowel is used in all the numbers and persons; and I account for apparent exceptions to this rule by supposing that certain verbs admitted two of the three varieties indifferently. It may be the case also that the addition of a vowel, and especially if a *u*, to the third radical may have suggested a euphonic change of the vowel preceding the third radical, so as to make it identical with that which followed it. In this manner, while the singular was always *ʔpkal*, the plural might have been *ʔpkulu* as well as *ʔpkalu*. These observations having been made, I consider it sufficient to give the standard forms of the *u* variety, which is the most common. It will be understood that *i* or *a* may be substituted for

*u* between *k* and *l*. Of course, when I come to give examples of actual verbs, I will give them with the vowels that I find them to have had.

12. Of the ten forms which the aorist assumes in the different numbers and persons, three are very common; those of the first person singular, and of the third person masculine singular and plural. A tolerable number of instances of the second person masculine singular has been met with; and a few of the third person feminine singular and plural, and of the first person plural; just sufficient to verify what might be inferred from similar forms in the cognate languages. The remaining three forms are as yet only inferred from their analogy to other forms in Assyrian, and to the corresponding forms in the cognate languages; but the grounds of inference are so solid that no reasonable doubt can exist as to these forms being the true ones. I enclose them, however, for distinction with brackets.

13. I place by the side of the standard forms of the Assyrian aorist of *qal*, for convenience of comparison, the corresponding Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, and Arabic forms; and also the commencement and termination of the Ethiopic forms. I do not give the whole of the Ethiopic forms, because they do not correspond to those of the Assyrian aorist, but of the present.

1. c. s.	ápkul	epkol	epkul	epkul	apkul	.'—l
2. m. s.	tápkul	tipkol	tipkul	tepkul	tapkul	t—l
2. f. s.	[tápkuli]	tipküli	tipkülin	tepkülin	tapküli	t—li
3. m. s.	ípkul	[y]ipkol	[y]ipkul	† nepkul	yapkul	y—l
3. f. s.	tápkul	tipkol	tipkul	tepkul	tapkul	t—l
1. c. p.	nápkul	hipkol	nipkul	nepkul	napkul	n—l
2. m. p.	[tápkulu]	tipkülu	tipkülin	tepkülin	tapkülu	t—lu
2. f. p.	[tápkula]	tipkolna	tipkülin	tepkülon	tapkulna	t—lá
3. m. p.	ípkulu	[y]ipkülu	[y]ipkülin	†nepkülin	yapkülu	y—lu
3. f. p.	ípkula	†tipkolna	[y]ipkülin	†nepkülon	yapkulna	y—lá

14. A few observations on the preceding forms appear to be needed. It will be seen at once that I use *ü* to express the moveable or sounded *sheva*, *;*, of the Hebrew and Chaldee, and the short Syriac vowel which is pronounced in certain cases, but not written. This appears to me as proper a mode of expressing it as could be adopted. I have prefixed an obelus, †, to one Hebrew, and three Syriac forms, which, being contrary to the analogy of the cognate languages—the Assyrian, as well as those previously known—are almost certain corruptions. I have

inserted in brackets the initial *y* of the third person in Hebrew and Chaldee, believing that these forms, if properly pronounced, would begin with *i* and not *yi*. It appears to me that *i* may denote *i* as well as *u*; and I am induced to give it this value partly from Assyrian analogy; (I cannot, however, assign my reasons for writing *ip* rather than *yap*, till I have treated of the aorist of some irregular verbs, and of the present tense;) and partly from thinking that the corrupt Syriac form *nip* is much more easily deduced from *ip* than *yip*. To prefix *n* to a word beginning with a vowel seems a very natural process. Witness our common abbreviations *nan*, *ned*, *nol*; our *newt* for *eft*; and the Anglicised Irish proper names *Neagh*, *Newry*, and *Nore*. On the other hand, the change of *y* to *n* seems a very unnatural one.

15. It will be observed that I have marked the first syllable of all the Assyrian forms as accented. My reason for so doing is this—I have observed that in defectives in *Pe-nun*, where *apkul* becomes *akkul*, for *ankul*, the form *akul* is very frequently substituted. Now, it appears to me that, while these forms are very similar in sound if the accent be on the first syllable, they would not be liable to be confounded if it were on the last. If this case stood alone, I should probably not have laid much stress on it; but I have observed that there is generally one syllable in each form, where if a vowel be followed by a single consonant, that consonant is liable to be doubled; or if it be followed by a consonant which by analogy should be double, that consonant is liable to be expressed but once. A careful examination of such cases has enabled me to determine the accented syllable in almost every form. As an instance of the reverse process to that in the last example, I will mention the present in *qal*, *apákil*, which is liable to be written *apákkil*; as in the word *iqábbi*, “he says,” which occurs so very frequently in the Persepolitan inscriptions. It is from a defective in “weak lamed” which does not seem to have been in use in any of the cognate languages, but which may be connected with our “quoth.” I have found this verb written with a single *b* in several Assyrian inscriptions; and it is certainly not a Pihel form, as I at first supposed it to be; as will be abundantly manifest when I come to treat of that conjugation.

When I say that a word is liable to be written in a certain manner, I would by no means be understood to imply that that is an equally proper manner. I regard *áqqur* as the only correct mode of writing the word signifying “I dug up,” from *ṣ*; and *iqábi* as the only correct mode of expressing, “he says,” from *ṣ*; but from the corrupt orthography *áqur* and *iqábbi*, I infer the position of the accent, just as from the bad spelling of a

Greek manuscript, the mode of pronouncing some of the vowels may be inferred.

16. I now come to speak of the augment which is attached to certain verbs, and to verbs generally under certain circumstances. There are two distinct augments, which I propose to call the augment of locomotion and the augment of regimen. They are identical when appended to a verbal form which ends with a consonant; but they differ when the forms which they augment terminate in a vowel. The augment of locomotion is appended under all circumstances to the great majority of verbs which expresses locomotion. It consists of the syllable *á* after a form ending with a consonant, and of *ní* after one ending with a vowel. Thus we should have *apkulá*, *ipkulá*, *ipkuluní*. The augment of regimen is appended to a verb transitive if its regimen follows it, whether that regimen be a noun or an affix of the first or second person. Affixes of the third person are attached to the verb without this augment, as *áskun-sunu*, "I placed them," *immaru-su*, "they saw him;" both which occur in the sixty-third line of the Behistun inscription. Analogy seems to require that the accent in such cases as these should retain its place, the affix or its first syllable probably receiving a secondary accent. This augment of regimen is the same as that of locomotion for forms ending in a consonant; but after those which end in a vowel it is *hí*, in place of *ní*. It is so generally the case that I consider it a rule, that this augment of regimen is added when a noun in the accusative follows the verb and not when it precedes it. Neither part of this rule is, however, invariably observed: and there are certain forms which are exceedingly common, in which a dental is inserted after the first radical, to which this augment is never appended. This has led me to think that these forms do not constitute a distinct conjugation, but are rather to be considered as *qal* forms with a medial augment equivalent to the ordinary augment at the end. I will treat of these medially augmented forms, after I have spoken of the other tenses in *qal*, because it is evident that they belong to different tenses, and are not all aorists.

17. I next come to the affixes, of which there are ten. Of five of these I have met numerous instances; namely, *ní*, "me," *su*, "him," *si*, "her," *sínu*, or, when men are spoken of, *sínuti*, and *sína* "them," masculine and feminine. The first of these can only be joined to the augment of regimen just spoken of; and between the two a second *n* is *invariably* inserted; so that the affix always appears under one or other of the two forms *ánni*, *hinni*. The three forms, *nu*, "us," *ku* and *ki*, "thee," masculine and feminine, have been found (the two last of them, at least) though rarely; and to

these the same rule applies ; they always follow the syllable *án* or *hín*, *ák* or *hík*. The plural affixes of the second person have not, I believe, been met with ; but I presume they were *kunu*, *kina* ; that is, *ákkunu*, *híkkina*, or the like. Whether the duplication of the consonant was solely owing to the accent (Sect. 15), or was occasioned by the insertion of what is called by Hebrew grammarians an epenthetic *nun*, can only be inferred from analogy. Such an inserted *n* would become *k* before a syllable beginning with *k*.

18. A comparison of the affixes with those of the cognate languages, similar to that of the personal forms in Sect. 10, is here subjoined.

1. c. s.	án-ni	êni, enni, anni	innani	ani	ni	ni
2. m. s.	ák-ku	ka, ekâ, ekka	inâk	ok	ka	ka
2. f. s.	ák-ki	êk	inêk, inêki	eki	ki	ki
3. m. s.	su	êhu, enhu, ennu	innêh, êh	iyu	hu	hu
3. f. s.	si	ehâ, enna	innâh	îh	ha	hâ
1. c. p.	án-nu	ênu, ennu	inâna	an	na	na
2. m. p.	[ák-kunu]	kem	inûkôn	kûn	kum	kemu
2. f. p.	[ák-kina]	ken	inûkên	kîn	kunna	ken
3. m. p.	sunu	êm, âm	innûn	Inûn	hum	homu
3. f. p.	sina	ân	innên	Inîn	hunna	hon

I only give those affixes in Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac, which are attached to the persons of the future, which terminate with a consonant. It appears to me more probable that the double consonant before the affix is due to the accent than to a *nun*, which was supposed to be inserted ; and I am confirmed in this opinion, by observing that when verbs which take the augment of locomotion attach to themselves an affix of the third person, or the enclitic *va*, its initial consonant is doubled. Examples will be presently given.

19. I have as yet observed only two enclitics, which may be called the subjunctive and the copulative. The former is added to verbs after certain particles, as *kî*, "when, while," and when the verb has for its object a relative pronoun. This last case may be divided into two. The relative particle *sa* prefixed to the verb may combine with an affix of the third person which is attached to it, to represent the pronoun "which." In this case the enclitic follows the affix. Or the relative particle *sa* may be the sole object of the verb. It must then be translated "what" or "whatever," and the enclitic follows the verb.

20. When this enclitic is added to a verb ending with a consonant, it has the form *u*, and the consonant of the verb is generally doubled before it,—a proof that it draws the accent to the syllable immediately before it. Thus *ápkul* with this enclitic would become *apkúlu* or *apkúllu*. The meaning of *ápkulu* is different. After a vowel, whether it belong to the verbal form or to an affix, this enclitic has the form *ni*. I give a few examples of this enclitic in other tenses than the aorist. In the inscriptions from the north-west palace, at Nimrúd, the king frequently says, *uchbáku*, “I was stopping,” in the tense which denotes continuance. The root is *ṣṣ*, which is used in Arabic, and which corresponds to the Hebrew *ṣṣ*. Sometimes we have *kt uchbákumi*, which means “while I was stopping.” In many of the lesser inscriptions from this palace we have, after the ideographic plural for “countries,” which is feminine, *sa ábilu-sina-ni*; that is, “which I have subdued, or possessed.” The verb is *ṣṣ* in the preter-perfect tense, the regular form of which would be *ápkulu*. Then follow the affix of the third person feminine plural and the enclitic. I would place a secondary accent on the first syllable of the affix. A third example is taken from the Nimrúd Obelisk, l. 40. The king speaks of a city on the far back of the Euphrates, “which the people of Khatti call *Pitru*,” evidently the “Pethor,” *ṣṣ* of Scripture.\* He writes *sa - - - Pitru iqábu-su-ni*. Here we have the present tense and the affix masculine singular.

21. The other enclitic which I have observed is the copulative *va*. The conjunction “and” between two nouns is expressed by *u*, which may perhaps have been considered as a prefix, as in Hebrew; but I prefer taking it as a separate word. This, however, is not used to connect sentences. These are joined by attaching *va*, as an enclitic, to the last verb in the preceding sentence, which is not necessarily the last word in it. If the verb have augment or affix already attached to it, the enclitic is placed after them all. Examples of the use of this enclitic will be found in the sequel. I may, however, mention here that if the sentence which follows contains a negative, but that which precedes does not, it should be translated “but.”

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\* Mr. Birch has identified this city with a town named in the statistical tablet of Karnac, which is said to be on the *Murnâ*. If his identification be correct, this must mean the Euphrates. I question much, however, whether he gives the true value to the first hieroglyphic character in the name. He reads *Pet. r. t.*; but the initial character expresses the name of Heliopolis, *pt*. We know that the Egyptians used *ṣṣ* to express *t*; as in the name of Elusa, which Jerome says was in Hebrew characters *ṣṣṣṣ*. This was written with hieroglyphic characters corresponding to *ṣṣṣ* *Select Papyri*, 56, l. 6. Why then may not *ṣṣṣ* have been used for *ṣṣṣ*, giving the name Elath, and making the Gulf of Akaba to be the *Murnâ*? I throw this out for Mr. Birch's consideration.

## SECT. III.—On Assyrian writing ; introductory to the examples.

22. I will first give examples of this tense, taken from the trilingual inscriptions of Darius and Xerxes, and accompanied with their Persian translations. From these I will pass to examples taken from the inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar, and of the Assyrian kings, of which no translations exist. It will be my object to exhibit sufficient specimens of this tense with all its modifications ; as they appear in regular verbs first, and afterwards in the different classes of irregular verbs.

23. As an account of the Assyrian verb would be very imperfect and unsatisfactory, if it did not exhibit the mode of writing the different forms as well as the mode of transcribing them into Roman or Hebrew characters, I must now speak of the manner in which Assyrian characters were used. None of these expresses a consonant standing alone, but a syllable pure or mixed.

24. The form *apkul*, that of the first person singular of the aorist, is generally expressed by three characters, having the values *ap*, *ku* and *ul*. It is best to write such a combination of characters with dots between the transcriptions of the several characters ; and an apostrophe may be employed when a vowel is expressed twice over, as in the present example. Thus, the first person singular would be written by *ap. ku. u'l*. The third person masculine singular would be formed from this by changing the first of the three characters, and would be *ip. ku. u'l* ; while the third person masculine plural would be formed from this last by changing the last character. It would be *ip. ku. lu*. The second person and the first person plural prefix *ta* or *na* to the character which begins the first person singular *ap*. Sometimes characters were used, having the values *tap* or *nap* ; but as complete series of these did not exist. Sometimes also the forms which terminated with the third radical were represented by two characters only, as *ap. kul*.

25. If all possible combinations, such as I have described, had distinct characters to represent them, the number of these would be inconveniently great. Each of twenty consonants in connexion with each of their vowels would produce one hundred and twenty simple syllables, and no less than twelve hundred compound ones. Many of these last, however, could only be represented by combining the characters which represented their component parts ; and the same character was moreover used to represent two or more different syllables.

26. This was partly occasioned by extending its proper syllabic value, so that it represented also syllables which, though



not the same, did not much differ from it. Thus 𐎶 properly represents the syllable *ap*, 𐎶, "a nose," which the wedges were intended to represent; but this value was extended to *ab*; the proper character for which, 𐎶𐎶 was much more difficult to form, and admitted also other values which were totally different, such as *kuv*, "fire," from 𐎶, and *dha*, 𐎶. For these reasons it was seldom used for *ab*, unless in cases where it was particularly desired to distinguish between this and *ap*. The value of this character is also capable of being extended initially. Judging from analogy, it might be used to represent *hap*, *hab*, and even *yap*, *yab*; for when *y* preceded another vowel, it was often omitted.

27. In like manner the character 𐎶, which properly denoted *cha*, 𐎶, was extended to signify *ja*, 𐎶, which had no character of its own. And so *da*, 𐎶, was extended to signify *dha*, 𐎶; the proper character for which, already given, was objectionable on account of its length and its ambiguity. This letter 𐎶 is very difficult to recognize in Assyrian roots. It seems to have had only two characters which distinctively denoted combinations of it; that for 𐎶, which was rarely used, and 𐎶𐎶 𐎶, *dhu*. 𐎶, *dhi*, was expressed sometimes by *di*, but much more frequently by 𐎶 𐎶, *khi*, or, as it was probably sounded, *ghi*; *adh*, *idh*, and *udh*, were not distinguished from *ad*, *id*, *ud*, nor indeed from *at*, *it*, *ut*. This, of course, occasions much confusion. It is hard, for example, to recognize the three forms *Urardhu*, "Armenia," in the nominative, *Urarkhi*, the same in the dative, and *Urardaya*, "Armenian," the derived adjective, as modifications of the same root, and to read them as 𐎶𐎶𐎶, 𐎶𐎶𐎶 and 𐎶𐎶𐎶. *Dab* for "good," *khikhi* for "sin," and the like will always startle, if they do not puzzle the Assyrian student.

28. Cases, however, in which values of characters are extended to values which are phonetically similar are not the only cases in which characters admit of more values than one. There are a great many instances in which a character admits of two or more values which are totally different; such as *bar* and *mas*; *ub*, *up*, and *ar*. This is so inconsistent with our notions of propriety that it could not be admitted to have been the case without the clearest evidence. Such, however, we possess. I observed in 1852, among copies of inscriptions which Mr. Layard shewed me, one which contained a series of Assyrian characters with their values. See *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 345. The tablet, of which this was a copy, has since been found in the British Museum, and also fragments of two other similar tablets. In all these syllabariums, the character to be explained occupies the

middle column ; on the left of it, it is resolved into more simple characters ; or, if it be a simple syllable, it has the vowel which inheres in it added ; and on the right is sometimes added the plural form, which is obtained by adding *u*. It may be presumed that when this was the case the character in question expressed a noun ; and that the plural form expressed the value of the same character with the addition of 𐎶, which forms the plural idiomatically. One example of a character with a double value may suffice.

𐎶 𐎶𐎶	𐎶	𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶		ba.a'r	} 𐎶 {	b'a.aru.
𐎶 𐎶	𐎶	𐎶 𐎶 𐎶		i.e., ma.a's		m'a.a.su

The characters here used as explanatory have all well-defined values with the exception of the second, which here signifies *ar*, but more frequently *ub* or *up*. The first value as a noun is probably 𐎶 *bahr*, a large sheet of water ; I cannot even conjecture what the second is.

29. It may be expected that I should say something as to the origin of these double values. There appear to be two ways of accounting for them. In some cases the character may have had two distinct origins ; that is, it may have been intended to represent two distinct objects, the representations of which were confounded. Such was probably the case with 𐎶, which, when it stands alone, is used for 𐎶 *pi*, "the mouth ; but when it is accompanied by the sign of duality, 𐎶𐎶, does not signify "the lips" as might naturally be expected, but "the ears," 𐎶𐎶, *ujnu*. We may suppose that originally the waved line 𐎶 came nearer to the vertical wedge in the former character than in the latter, and that the horizontal line came close to the indulation which here represented the opening between the lips. In practice, however, no such distinction is observed.

30. Another way of accounting for a character having two values is by supposing that the same character, representing the same object, may have been used for two words,—one the name of the object, and another what it metaphorically represented. There are many well known instances of this in Egyptian hieroglyphics. The figure of the sun represented the word *ra*, which denoted "the sun," and also the word *heru*, which denoted "a day." The figure of the heaven represented the word *pe*, which denoted "the heaven," and also the word *heri* (or *hir*?) which signified "over," "who, or which, is over." Thus 𐎶, which is the conventional representative of an eye, was used to represent not only *in*, 𐎶, "an eye," but *liv*, "sight," from the root

𐎶, "to see, which seems to have been the Assyrian equivalent of the Hebrew *ראה*.<sup>b</sup>

31. It is curious that this character representing the eye has for its most usual value the syllable *si*. This may be accidental; but the fact should be taken in connexion with two others. The character representing "teeth," and which ideographically denotes "a tooth" (whether or not it was pronounced *sin*, I have not as yet ascertained) was ordinarily used to represent the syllable *ka*. Now *seh-en* and *kau-en* represent the actions of the eye and of the teeth respectively in the same language—the German. Again, the ideograph for "one" had for its phonetic value *ana*, which is akin to the German. It is certain, however, that the Assyrians expressed "one" in the masculine by *ahd*, and in the feminine by *ihd* or *iht*. These facts, though they are not sufficient to establish the conclusion, evidently tend to shew that the Assyrian characters derived a portion of their syllabic values, and of course the oldest portion, from an Indo-European language, and probably from one of the Germanic branch. From a people who spoke such a language, the Assyrians derived their syllabic mode of writing, which is peculiarly ill-adapted to express the words of a Semitic language, like the Assyrian; and which is consequently not at all likely to have been invented by the Assyrians themselves. To the values of the characters which they possessed when they adopted them, they afterwards added other values suggested by their own language.

32. Not only has the Assyrian mode of writing two, and sometimes far more, values for the same character, but it has equivalent characters to express the same syllabic value. Some of the characters which are thus interchanged no doubt expressed different sounds, which were liable to be confounded by both the Assyrians and Babylonians, or by one of these people, or by a portion of one of them. Such are 𐎶 *mi*, "a hundred," and 𐎶 *wi* or *vi*; these characters are interchanged; and in fact *m* and *v* or *w* are scarcely distinguished in Assyrian. The connexion between these sounds is very close in many other languages, as in Greek, where the digamma is often represented by  $\mu$ , and the first person plural of the active voice is the same as the first person dual, though analogy shews that the former had originally *m* and the latter *v* or *w*. Many syllables beginning with *s*, and some ending with *s* have two forms; one of which seems to have

<sup>b</sup> Colonel Rawlinson says that this character also denotes *pan*, 𐎶; but I doubt this. I admit that it is interchanged with it in the compound proposition signifying "before;" but may not "to the eye of" and "to the face of" have been indifferently used in this sense; and yet "eye" and "face" have been distinguished?

expressed a sibilant which was cognate to the Chaldee, Syriac, and Ethiopic  $\gamma$ , and the other one, which in all these languages as well as in Hebrew and Arabic, passed into the aspirate  $\eta$ . The latter is used in the pronominal affixes and in the preformatives of causative verbs; the former in the relative pronoun and notably in the verb  $\text{ܐܕܝܢ}$ , "to make," which corresponds to the Chaldee  $\text{ܐܕܝܢ}$ . The Assyrians in general distinguished these sounds; but the Babylonians used the former series of characters for the latter, and the Persians did the reverse. This has led to much confusion. Probably the different sounds answered to our *s* in "rose" and in "sore;" the value of the character corresponding to  $\gamma$  being certainly double, either *dz* or *j*, that is, *dzh*.

E. HINCKS.



## CORRESPONDENCE.

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\* \* \* The Editor begs the reader will bear in mind that he does not hold himself responsible for the opinions of his Correspondents.

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MR. ALFORD, ON "THE BRETHREN OF OUR LORD."  
MATTHEW XIII. 55.

SIR,—Mr. Alford has under the above text an interesting note on "the brethren of our Lord." Much as I value the edition of the Greek Testament by this learned and thoughtful writer, I cannot help feeling regret at the opinions which he has deemed it his duty to put forth on the subject, and I venture to ask for admission into your valuable Journal of a few remarks on the special note to which I have referred.

1. Mr. Alford contends that James and Joses, Simon and Judas, were children of Mary the mother of our Lord. And in coming to this conclusion, he endeavours to "disencumber his mind of all *a priori considerations and traditions* and to fix attention on *the simple testimony of scripture itself*." I hope in this endeavour your readers will all join, whether their view agrees with Mr. Alford's or not.

2. Still they probably will bear in mind that as much prejudice may be raised *against* the view, that Mary was "ever virgin," as there can exist in *favour* of it. We know as a matter of fact, that at the time of the Reformation, many good men deemed it to be their duty to shun as much as possible the tenets of the Church of Rome. Their minds were prejudiced against all that the Romish Church taught. If, therefore, Dr. Mill in the present age or Bishop Pearson of an earlier one were *prejudiced* in favour of the tenet from their so-called "mediæval" notions, so may Neander and others be prejudiced against it by their anti-popish principles.

3. Moreover, there may be in the minds of Neander, Olshausen, and others (including even Mr. Alford), a little degree of tendency to lower the tone of scripture, because of the difficulties which Baur, De Wette and others have met in it. I mean this—in the struggle to maintain the truth that *our Lord was born of the Virgin Mary*, they may have given up, as encumbering their defence, the opinion that *she was ever virgin*. Neander's *Leben Jesu* is full of such accommodations: I am only surprised when I see it referred to as an authority.

4. Again, I fully agree with Mr. Alford that the silence of the scripture narrative leaves it free for Christians to agree with his opinion, and that the sentiment that his view *leads* to the denial of the miraculous conception of our Lord, is unsound and untrue. Such a denial is more likely to result from the claiming belief in the article of "the ever virginity" as in a point of the faith. If the two tenets are represented as

equally deserving of credit, and one is discovered to rest on insufficient and uncertain evidence, the conclusion in some minds will be, that the evidence for the other is insufficient and uncertain also.

5. I shall therefore merely contend that Mr. Alford's arguments are not as conclusive as he appears to consider them: and that, notwithstanding these, all who have been led to hold that "the brethren of our Lord were His near relations"—his kinsmen, his cousins—may hold that opinion still.

6. And I shall endeavour to discuss the subject only so far as it is touched upon in Mr. Alford's note.

7. Mr. Alford says that the brothers or brethren of Jesus are mentioned sometimes in the gospels and once in the Acts, and once in the epistles of St. Paul. The occurrences in the gospels and elsewhere may be classified as follows:—

1st.—Matt. xii. 46; Mark iii. 31; Luke viii. 19—in which we read of his mother and his brethren standing without, &c.

2nd.—Matt. xiii. 55; Mark vi. 3 (c. f., Luke iv. 22, for a different account of the same speech); where he is said to be brother of James and Joses and the rest.

3rd.—John ii. 12. He, his mother, his brethren, and his disciples, go down from Cana to Capernaum.

4th.—John vii. 3, 5, 10. His brethren urge him to go up to the feast.

5th.—Acts i. 14. The apostles continued in supplication with the women and Mary the mother of Jesus, and with his brethren.

6th.—1 Cor. ix. 5. "As other apostles, and as the brethren of the Lord and Cephas."

Upon these Mr. Alford observes, that "*in all the mentions of them in the gospels except those in John vii. they are in connection with his mother: the same being the case in Acts i. 14.*" At a subsequent point in the note he repeats this observation in the following terms: "these persons are found in *all places (but one)* where their names occur in the gospels, in immediate connection with Mary the Mother of the Lord." Still later he repeats in a form somewhat modified but less cautiously worded that "the brethren" are found "*always accompanying*" Mary the mother of our Lord (the italics are mine not his).

8. Permit me to draw your and Mr. Alford's attention to the manner in which he gradually loses sight of the passages in St. John which militate against his argument. We have the words, (1) "all the mentions except those in 1 John," (2) "all places (*but one*)," (3) "always." To my mind, this successive *omission* of unfavourable passages is ill-judged and unfair.

9. Next let me remark, that in one of these passages (Matt. xiii. 55), the brethren are connected not merely with Mary, but with Joseph. The words are "Is not this the son of the carpenter? Is not his mother called Mary? and his brethren James and Joses, and Simon and Judas? and his sisters, are they not all with us?" The account in St. Mark is different, but still if we consider the two passages as one, we can scarcely lay on these the stress which Mr. Alford does, for if this envious speech of the men of Nazareth proves *anything*, it will prove more than Mr. Alford

would wish it to do. Any one would have *as much right* to quote the words of Philip (John i. 45), "Jesus of Nazareth the son of Joseph," and the words of the Jews at Capernaum, "Is not this Jesus the son of Joseph, whose father and mother we know" (John vi. 42), and the similar expression in St. Luke iv. 22, to prove that Joseph was own father of our Lord, *as* Mr. Alford has to quote the passages in St. Matthew and St. Mark to prove that James and Joses, and Simon and Judas, were his own brethren.

10. On John xix. 26, Mr. Alford writes, "the reasons which influenced our Lord in his selection must ever be far beyond our penetration." But yet we must remember that on Mr. Alford's hypothesis, this selection of the evangelist involved the rejection of our Lord's own brothers, Mary's own sons. And yet notwithstanding this separation of her from them, Mr. Alford refers to Acts i. 14 as implying the close connection between her and them after this separation was made.

11. Indeed, the very *words* of St. Luke (Acts i. 14), "with the women, and Mary the mother of Jesus, and with his brethren," seem to me to disconnect her from them, rather than connect her with them. There seem to me to be three groups in this earliest assembly—(1) the apostles; (2) the women, including Mary; (3) the brethren of Jesus.

12. And the words of St. Matthew xiii. 56, "and his sisters, are they not all with us?" seem to me to extend the meaning of *sisters* beyond its nearest and closest signification. They were numerous enough to justify the use of the word "*all*." But yet they are never alluded to elsewhere. When we have women of Galilee coming up with Mary the mother of Jesus on his last journey, when amongst these we have his sister Mary, the wife of Cleopas (John xix. 25), who according to the older acceptance of the word would be deemed an ἀδελφή of our Lord—it is hard to believe that the true sisters of Jesus would not have been mentioned specially, if they were of the company: it is harder still to believe that some of these would not have accompanied their mother and their brother, if such sisters existed in such numbers.

13. Referring back therefore to 7, I think I have a right to modify Mr. Alford's statement considerably. I think I have a right to say that the passages which he should quote as indicating "an immediate connection between the brethren and the mother of our Lord," should be those of groups 1 and 3, and of those groups only.

14. And any hypothesis which would account for such connection under such circumstances, may be tenable.

15. Of these there are many, which I do not purpose yet to consider; I must rather point out the difficulties which hang around Mr. Alford's case. He considers that there were four brethren and no more. If our Lord therefore were about thirty-one years old, we must consider that his four younger brothers must have been between the ages of twenty-nine and twenty-four. Now it seems to me inconceivable that four younger brothers of such ages should attack—in the fashion mentioned (John vii.) and as we conceive is implied in group one (with which compare Mark iii. 21)—an elder brother who had wrought a miracle at Cana, at which (apparently) they were present, and whose fame had spread over the country after the feeding of the five thousand. Such conduct suits much

rather with the cooler modes of thought of an age above thirty-four, and with the jealousy of elder relations, than with the warm impressiveness of earlier manhood, and the respect usually paid by younger brothers to the genius and powers of a senior.

16. And I have a further difficulty still: I cannot conceive that the mother of our Lord, who had "kept all these things and pondered them in her heart," whilst others had marvelled and forgotten, could have failed to have imparted to her later offspring some portion of that reverence and awe with which she regarded their eldest brother. Yet this failure is involved in their conduct to him of which we read in John vii. 1—9.

17. The united mention of the brethren and the mother of our Lord in John ii., seems to me to be most easily accounted for on any of the ordinary hypothesis on this subject. Whether they were his half-brothers or cousins they had accompanied his mother to Cana, two hours from their home—Nazareth, to be present at the marriage of one whom all agree with Mr. Alford to consider "was a near relative." After these things the whole party went down to Capernaum.

18. Mr. Alford does not take any notice of the fact that these earlier events in which they appear in connection with our Lord's mother, are represented as taking place in Galilee, near their own home. The scene of the I. was near the Lake of Tiberias; of II. in Nazareth; III. Cana and Capernaum. It does not require us to suppose much exertion or self-denial on their part to be found near the mother of Jesus in such a neighbourhood. If we found their names coupled with hers as following her son to Judæa or beyond Jordan, we might be led to suppose that the bond between them was as close as Mr. Alford deems it to be.

19. I must, before I conclude, notice Mr. Alford's mode of treating the two hypothesis which have been proposed to meet the difficulty. The one is, that "they were sons of Joseph by an earlier marriage:" on this he says, "it has no countenance whatever in scripture, either in their being called sons of any other woman, or in any distinct mention of Joseph as their father."

20. On this I beg leave to remark, that the argument is an exceedingly dangerous one, and appears to me to be peculiarly out of place coming from Mr. Alford. For if silence as to "their being called sons of any woman," is a proof or a testimony to the fact that they were not so, the silence as to "any distinct mention of Joseph as their father," is a proof or testimony equally strong that he was not. Yet this is the very point which Mr. Alford seeks to establish. On the other hand it is equally competent for me to say that there is "no distinct mention of Mary as their mother," even when the opportunity was given to say so, if it were true: and that since, upon the hypothesis we are now considering, their mother must have died full one-and-thirty years before the event occurred, we could scarcely expect that her name would be mentioned. There is much to recommend this view. Their frequent connection with her who had been as a mother to them, save that she kept the things concerning her own child hid in her heart: their imperious and jealous conduct towards Jesus, reminding us of Joseph's brethren—the fact that the people of Nazareth classed them all together, "Is not this the carpenter's



son? deeming him to be like James and Joses and the rest, the child of Joseph—all these circumstances tend to support it.

21. At the same time, however weak Mr. Alford's arguments appear to be against the view that *these brethren* were the children of Joseph by an earlier marriage, I am not prepared to adopt it. But I should rest my objection on other and different grounds. I should ask, if there were such elder brothers, what became of them when Joseph and Mary travelled to Bethlehem to be enrolled? What became of them when the two fled to Egypt with their infant charge? Why are they not mentioned when we read the simple account, why Joseph chose to reside in Nazareth? why not in the account of their taking him up to Jerusalem when he was twelve years old? It seems to me that if St. Matthew and St. Luke regarded these *brethren* as the children of Joseph, it must have been extremely difficult to have avoided mention of them at these points of the narrative. It seems to me that the silence here is far more conclusive than the silence to which Mr. Alford refers.

22. Again, if "James the brother of the Lord" and "Judas the brother of James" were such well-known characters among the Jews as we know the former was at least, it seems to be at least worthy of a thought that in Mat. i. 16, they must have been named as sons either of Joseph or of Joseph and Mary. The silence there is an additional support of the view that they were neither own brothers nor half-brothers of our Lord.

23. Mr. Alford is not inclined to lay much stress upon the traditions of the church, that these were not *own* brothers; but I think we may consider that the *silence* of tradition as to their being so is valuable. If they were *own* brothers to Jesus, they would have furnished endless subjects for the marvellous additaments of early ages. As it is (so far as shewn) these marvels are pinned to the early history of Jesus and of his mother, and of them only. We have the child Jesus playing in the streets, but not playing *with his brothers*.

24. The other view is, that they were "sons of Alphæus (or Clopas) and Mary the sister of the mother of our Lord." There seems to be little doubt that Alphæus and Clopas were the same; although Olshausen (on Luke iv. 21, 22) denies it. The proof of their identity is this. St. John (xix. 25) speaks of "His mother's sister, Mary the wife of Clopas" [not Cleopas, for Cleopas and Clopas are *not* the same] standing near the cross. St. Mark describes her (?) as "Mary the mother of James the less and Joses," and this "James the less" is considered to be the same as "James the son of Alphæus." Now this identification is not very satisfactory, unless we look to the Aramæan meaning of both (Dr. Mill, p. 236), and remember that *Aloysius* and *Clovis* are both recognized representatives of the name *Louis* or *Ludwig*. Granting this, we shall have *James the son of Alphæus* and *Judas the brother of James*, both cousins of our Lord, numbered amongst the apostles at a time when it was said (John vii. 5), "Not even did his brethren believe on him."

25. *This* is the great difficulty of the view, but Mr. Alford increases it unduly, by adding that Matthew, if identical with the Levi of Mark ii. 14, "was another son of Alphæus." He states this in such terms that a young theological student might suppose that the identity of the father

of Levi and the father of James was undoubted to an old student. I need scarcely point out that very few commentators agree in this with Mr. Alford. It is unfortunate that he clogs his proof with such an assertion, so tacitly (and, may I add, unfairly?) introduced.

26. Leaving the difficulty as to John vii. 5 for the present, let me draw your attention to this. Mr. Alford makes no *direct* allusion to the fact, that St. Mark and St. Matthew both speak of the Mary who was at the foot of the cross as "Mary the mother of James and Joses;" nor that these are two of the names of the four mentioned in Mat. xiii. 55 and Mark vi. 3 as "brethren" of our Lord. He seems *indirectly* to refer to the well-known argument drawn from the identity of names by saying that these are "all of them amongst the very commonest of Jewish names." *So they were singly*: but the union of *two* of them was considered sufficient to identify a Mary: "Mary the mother of James and Joses;" yea, one was so well known, that he furnishes a medium of identifying a third—*Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου*, Jude (the brother) of James: the same person alone is enough to identify his mother, for she is called "Mary (the mother) of James" (Luke xxiv. 10). Thus we have a Mary the mother of a James, a Joses, and a Jude; sister to another Mary, who, according to Mr. Alford, is mother of another James, another Joses, another Jude; and yet whilst there were two such families undoubtedly living in Galilee, and undoubtedly mixing together, one and all of the evangelists deemed it sufficient to unite a Mary and a James, a James and a Jude, a Mary and a James and a Joses, to *remove every doubt* as to the identity of the party concerned; whilst, according to Mr. Alford's view, *not one of these combinations is sufficient for the identification*. Am I wrong in saying, that the view on this subject which Mr. Alford has adopted throws into utter and entire confusion these endeavours of the evangelists to simplify and clear up? Whatever then be the difficulties which remain behind, I have no hesitation in saying that at present the evidence is in decided favour of the view which is generally received—that the virgin Mary had a sister Mary married to one *ἄν* Alphæus or Clopas, and who was mother of James the less, or James the son of Alphæus, of Joses, of Jude the brother of James. It is demonstrated that our Lord had cousins who bore such names; and it is demonstrated also that the term *ἀδελφοί* used here will include such cousins. We have proved nothing in regard to "Simeon;" his name does not occur elsewhere in the New Testament. He may have been a son of Alphæus or no; he may have belonged to another family.\*

27. We have now to meet the difficulty that these two were apostles, even when the words of John vii. 5 were uttered. I acknowledge that the difficulty is a very great one; for I am unwilling to believe that there

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\* Mr. Alford indeed holds that neither was "James the Lord's brother" an apostle, although St. Paul calls him one (Gal. i. 19), nor "Jude the brother of James" who wrote the epistle, because he does not call himself one in the address, and because in ve. 17 "he seems to draw a distinction between himself and the apostles." On the former reason he does not lay much stress. I think on consideration he can lay as little on the last. The words of St. Jude are perfectly consistent with the view that he belonged to the twelve. He singly and individually repeats the warning which had been given to them "by the apostles" generally.

were many other brethren besides these four named above, of whom two are considered to be among the twelve; and I am unwilling to believe that there is any grand error in the sequence of St. John's narrative. Indeed, referring to the first three gospels, your readers will see that a similar difficulty appears on this hypothesis in them all. All three evangelists describe the coming to him of his brethren and his mother<sup>b</sup> as subsequent to the choice of James and Jude to be his disciples. We are driven therefore to this, which we had better state explicitly :—that *οἱ ἀδελφοί* in Mat. xii. 46; Mark iii. 31; Luke viii. 19, must refer to the Simon and Joses of whom we hear so little elsewhere. We are compelled to believe that, amongst his own nearest connexions according to the flesh, he had brought not peace, but a sword: "Five in one house divided, two against three, and three against two." And if at a later period we find them united (Acts i. 14) to the apostles, the lateness of their conversion, the faithlessness of their earlier life, may indicate a subsequent tardiness of spiritual growth—may account for the silence of scripture in regard to them.

28. Whatever then be the difficulty in regard to John vii. 5, we have the same difficulty in this passage; and we answer it in the same way :—that *after the two, James and Jude, had been joined to the twelve, their earthly bond of union was lost in their heavenly*. Comparing the one band with the other, he said, "Behold my mother and my brethren: for whosoever shall do the will of God, the same is my brother and sister and mother." The others remained "without."

29. It may be some confirmation of this view that we have no record of the *call* of James and Judas. We have Peter and Andrew, James and John called, Luke v. 11; Matthew or Levi, Luke v. 27; Philip and Nathanael or Bartholemew (?) John i. 48, 49. Thus we have records of the calls of *seven* of the *twelve*; but no record of the call of the other five. This has seemed strange to many readers of the New Testament. It would somewhat diminish their feeling if they considered that of these five two were *ἀδελφοί*, cousins of Jesus, and that their joining him may have dated from a very early period of his ministry—perhaps from the marriage of Cana of Galilee.

30. It would be scarcely fair in me to conclude without reminding your readers that it is generally believed that the Lebbæus or Thaddæus of St. Matthew and St. Mark are considered to be the same as "the Judas (the brother) of James" of St. Luke. It may seem strange to some that Judas should be spoken of by such a cognomen if he was of the brethren of our Lord.

31. I will now add, that in his notes on the lists of the apostles (Mat. x. 21), Mr. Alford seems to give way to the view against which he contends on Mat. xiii. 55, and to teach that "James the son of Alphæus" was the "brother of our Lord," and that "Jude" was his brother. On Mark ii. 14 he does *not* identify Alphæus the father of Levi with the father of James the less.

32. I have not taken much from Dr. Mill's valuable dissertation on

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<sup>b</sup> Is it worth while to notice that this is the order in which they are mentioned by St. Mark ?—"His brethren and his mother."

the subject, although I have referred to it. But it ought to be studied by every one who takes any interest in the question. On page 249 he suggests that the unbelief of the brethren in John vii. 5 was not of the worst kind or degree. The passage of the evangelist is deeply interesting, and has not met with the attention (so far as I know) which it deserves.

33. In conclusion, on Mat. i. 25 Mr. Alford says that there is nothing in Scripture to remove the impression which the words give, for "everywhere in the New Testament marriage is spoken of in high and honourable terms." On the same passage Scott suggests that we want no such "additional proof that marriage is honourable among all."

I am, dear Sir, yours faithfully,  
C. A. S.

*Chichester, March 3rd, 1855.*

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## THE PASSAGE OF THE RED SEA.

*To the Editor of the "Journal of Sacred Literature."*

DEAR SIR,—I trust you will permit me in turn to set myself right with the readers of your Miscellany, to whom Miss F. Corboux has I think rather misrepresented the grounds of my criticism. I have not "grounded a verbal objection to her argument upon a reference to the English version," as that lady imagines, but upon a fact which is entitled to weight; that two versions, one of which was written in the time when the Hebrew was still a living language, contradict the version she has favoured us with. This is a legitimate ground for distrust of her position, independently of any knowledge of the original; and as it has elicited from that lady, the whole volume of that critical discrimination, upon which the change of the simple word (*Kadim* East) to a conventional meaning has been determined upon, I think I have done good service to the cause in hand, as it will enable every one to form a tolerably accurate estimate of the value of the emendation. I must however be permitted to add a few remarks on the subject of these new disclosures. It is very clear that the Septuagint on every occasion of its use interprets the Hebrew word *Kadim*, when applied to the wind, by that which, in the language of the translators, meant a "*south wind*," and the instances produced by Miss F. C., shew that the original does admit of an acceptance diverse from its supposed etymology. But the "*notus*" or south wind of the Greek translators had no doubtful meaning; the word was never applied to any other wind than the south wind, and though the notion of an evil wind was attached to it, from its extreme heat, yet the source and direction of the "*notus*" was never doubtful. The quotation from St. Luke, by which Miss F. C. intimates that the word was used for any powerful wind, is not sufficient to divert its interpretation from its true signification of a wind coming from the south. The *καύσων*, or "*heat*" of the south wind, is there plainly put in opposition to the *ὄμβρος*, or "*rain*" of the first paragraph: when you see a cloud rising

from the west, you judge by that sign there will be rain: when you see the south wind blowing, you judge by that sign there will be heat.

The conclusions drawn from the narrative of the locust plague and its departure is hardly more conclusive. Again, in that account the "*Kadīm*" wind is translated by the Septuagint, the "*notus*" or south wind. It is a little remarkable that that is the wind which is still necessary for bringing those devourers to the coast of the Mediterranean Sea, from the hot countries of the African interior. Dr. Shaw, who witnessed their arrival on those coasts for two years, states that when they came the wind had been for some time from the south: "the miraculous agency in this case appears therefore to be assigned to the efficient cause of this visitation, in the *bringing up a south wind*," for the account confines the miracle THERE to that fact—"GOD BROUGHT UP a south wind, and that wind brought the locusts." Again, "the Lord turned the wind strongly from the sea, and took away the locusts and cast them into the Red Sea." This sea-wind, again, Miss F. C. will have to be a west wind, by relation to the later notion of the people when they dwelt in Palestine. But I would suggest here, the locality of the scene must be placed where the Septuagint intends it, which was in "the field of Zoan," or as the Septuagint renders that word "the field of Tanis," *Ἐν πεδίῳ Τάνως*,<sup>a</sup> and it very evidently refers that locality to a position on the Taniti branch of the Nile, and therefore lying pretty nearly north of the Red Sea; so that a wind from the Mediterranean would carry the locusts in that direction.

I cannot think therefore that Miss F. C. establishes any authority for referring the Septuagint νότος or south wind to any indefinite wind which fancy or an assumed necessity may dictate. The *Kadīm* of the Hebrew is shewn by my learned adversary to admit of a more desultory and convenient interpretation: but her application of that name to describe a natural wind blowing from the north, though more violent than usual, and giving it that name because that north wind was "a noxious wind," in which sense only the "*Kadīm*" can be applied to any other than an eastern wind: or that the Jewish historian, who was receiving life and deliverance from that wind, should so designate it, appears so contrary to the common reason of the matter, as must I think render that conception of it impossible.

Then we come to the *ἐν ἀνέμῳ νότῳ* of the contested passage. The Hebrew, says Miss C., admits of no other interpretation than "by a wind;" and no Greek scholar will admit the sense H. M. G. has put upon its exact equivalent, *ἐν ἀνέμῳ* of the Septuagint. With great deference to this remark I would rather Miss F. C. had favoured your readers with some example in contradiction to my proposition: which is not that the word "*ἐν*" is not interpreted on proper occasions by the word "*by*," denoting instrumentality: though I rather think that construction generally is more artificial than genuine; but my proposition was that the verb *ὑπάγω* which precedes it "is in no case found in connection with a sequent agency, but is always expressive of an instrumentality in its antecedent

<sup>a</sup> Ps. 77, 12, Sept.

nominative." If Miss F. Corbaux will produce one instance of the use of that word with the preposition *ἐν* applied to the intended agency, I have mistaken its meaning; but till then I must remain in the belief that I have correctly stated its nature.

The instance of the word *ἐν* in connection with the "*Kadim* or strong wind" by the 48th Psalm, to which Miss F. C. refers in support of her case, follows the verb *συντρίβω* to grind or crush to pieces, and not the verb *ὑπάγω*, to "bring asunder" subdue or remove. If your readers will refer to the passage of the Septuagint of the I. Book of Samuel, where David challenges his giant adversary, "Thou comest to me with a sword and with a spear and with a shield, but I come to thee in the name of the Lord"—they will find all these prepositions are expressed by the word *ἐν*—"Σὺ ἔρχῃ πρὸς μὲ ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ" &c. But they will not hold I think that David is here said after he had *subdued* his antagonist "*ὑπήγαγεν σε ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ*;" but that is the Greek Miss F. C. puts upon the Septuagint translators. David might have said he had slain him, or destroyed him, or vexed him, *ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ*, "*with the sword*," or any thing else that admitted the action to be carried on by a sequent instrument, but I am mistaken very much indeed, if any ancient Greek ever used that mode of expression in connection with the word *ὑπάγω*.

Then if the verb will not carry that preposition as an exponent of "*the agency*" intended, it must be taken in an adverbial sense, or at most as expressive of a concomitant only to the principal event. I should be very sorry to retort an imputation of a want of scholarship to so learned a person, yet the observation of Miss F. C. that the Hebrew is the exact equivalent of *ἐν* "*WITH A DATIVE*," has a strange forgetfulness about it, that the preposition *ἐν* has no other governance but of the dative; except by the help of some ellipsis, or understood word. The governance of that word is purely of the dative case, and Parkhurst gives its etymon from the Hebrew, denoting "the presence of an object," or "with."

The expression certainly means that God in that tempest which accompanied his presence, during all that night while the Israelites were in transition through the waters, withdrew the waters from their path, or as he enjoins Moses to do in verse 16, "*broke*" or divided the sea in sunder; for the word there used is *ῥήξον* or *ῥήγνυμι* frango: a pretty strong expression, and not applicable to a natural recess of the waters. The same expression occurs as to the same divine agency from the pillar of fire in verse 24, *ἐπέβλεψε κύριος ἐν στύλῳ πυρὸς καὶ νεφέλης*. "*The Lord in the pillar of fire and cloud*, looked towards the host of the Egyptians and took off their chariot wheels," &c. Both the storms and the fiery pillar were concomitants of a presence which on all occasions is shewn to have been manifested in conjunction with such displays of a divine power. But will Miss F. Corbaux attribute the Law of Mount Sinai to the thunders and blazing fires which enveloped its summit; or does she think that the sound of a rushing mighty wind which accompanied the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the apostles of our Saviour, was the essential instrument of the divine communion then consummated by some natural disposition of the elements, only made conducive to that great and mysterious visitation?

Miss Corbaur justly attaches a high importance to the acquirement of the Hebrew language: but I may be permitted to observe that there are other qualifications necessary to pass a judgment *ex cathedra* upon the meaning of the Scripture, besides a modern knowledge, such as it is, of the remains of the language it was written in: nor is the door quite closed to a very sufficient examination of its true sense to many who may yet be unacquainted with the original, but whose study has been in those deep waters of the written things of God. The many commentators on the Old Testament who have preceded Miss F. C. have surely not laboured so much in vain as to leave us quite in the dark on the true intent of its meanings—and when another and newer interpretation is offered to us, it is necessary to “try the spirit” that calls on us to surrender the old fortresses of our faith and to adopt a new and untried interpretation; untried, as our old ones are, by the test of long standing experience and the acquiescence of many generations of patient and earnest labourers in the schools of Hebrew lore and criticism. I cannot think Miss F. C. will bear this test of a spiritual sufficiency to deal in this matter. The numerous postulates which are assumed in order to give the least foundation for her hypothesis are alone sufficient to detract from an opinion of that sufficiency. She states that “there is nothing in the narrative of the Exodus implying that the means employed on the occasion, involved a suspension of the ordinary laws of nature.”<sup>b</sup> Can any one trust to a postulate so absolutely against all the common convictions of mankind; that a most prodigious miracle was performed on that occasion—that the sea was divided, that God himself was present in a fiery pillar, and in the storm that marked his divine power: that the sea was forced apart and stood up on the two sides of the retreating host, as a wall on their right hand and a wall on their left: that the new creed should be received against all the traditional and written avowals of the Jews through all their generations; that this event was brought about by the outstretched arm of God, and miraculously: not by any ordinary laws of nature, but against them? Can we abandon these opinions, upon a questionable hypothesis, that the wind which the ancients called the south wind was in fact a north wind, accidentally occurring at an unusual season, of which God in his pillar of fire availed himself like a good economist, and so worked his will:—that the Paschal month of Egypt was not such as the Israelites held it, though that month was to be the beginning of their future calendar: but a conventional month of the Egyptians of which no commentators yet ever ventured to predicate the nature before this new and more adventurous labourer in the old vineyard:—that a convenient causeway should have existed across the Red Sea just at the place required for this event, though such can no longer be found, as has been sufficiently attested by enquirers on the spot, a point which Miss F. Corbaur’s correspondent at Suez seems strangely to have left unresolved?

And if we distrust such a scheme of innovating opinion, from the wholesale assumptions of facts that are required, that feeling is increased by the want of discernment which is manifest in the illustrative parallels,

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<sup>b</sup> *Journal of Sacred Literature*, October, 1854, p. 32.

applied to the language of these sacred records; for surely the affecting to support her interpretation that there were no walls of the sea about the path of the Israelites but only waters subsided below their feet, on the opposite sides of the assumed ridge or causeway they were traversing, by paralleling it to the figurative expression that the people of David had been as a wall or defence to the labourers of Naboth, while they dwelt in their neighbourhood, displays such a want of discernment as to those great distinctions of language in its literal and figurative sense, as completely negatives that accessory of sound judgment which is so necessary to the task Miss F. Corboux has taken in hand. I must, with regret, apply the same observation to her more recent observations on the words of the 77th Psalm, of which she affirms<sup>c</sup> that those of the 26th verse "He caused the east wind to blow in the heavens: and by His power he brought in the south wind"—"*are a decided allusion* to the winds of the exodus event;" and upon that assumption builds up some conjectural conclusions in support of her theory. For surely to the commonest intelligence nothing can be more manifest than that the psalmist is recounting in that Psalm, in the order they happened, all the wondrous works which God had wrought in favour of his people and to the destruction of their enemies—from the "marvellous things in the field of Zoan" to the "taking of David from his sheepfolds to feed Jacob his people and Israel his inheritance"—and we find in the course of this memorial that the events of the exodus are clearly disposed of in the 13th and 14th verses:—that there the psalmist enters upon the events of the wilderness; the cleaving the rock to give them drink; then the repeated murmurings of the people; then the raining down of manna upon them, and then the coming of the quails; which happens in the 27th verse: and this he introduces by a recurrence of the wind which brought them. "He caused the east wind to blow," &c. "He rained flesh upon them as dust, and feathered fowls as the sand of the sea." In what way therefore the allusion to the winds in this 26th verse can be taken to apply to "the exodus event" is perfectly incomprehensible: but that it applies to the winds which brought the quails, as stated in the Book of Numbers, appears on the contrary very evident; for that account states "and there *went forth a wind* from the Lord and brought quails from the sea, and let them fall by the camp" (Num. xi. 31). Here again appears such a deficiency of judgment, as must prevent any great reliance upon such a commentator.

Perhaps Miss F. C. may think these strictures too severe, but the cause she has endeavoured to weaken, in my opinion requires that this proof should be put to a spirit which assumes the right, upon the strength of our acquaintance with the Hebrew of the modern schools, of determining (by a very determinate will too), that the miracle of the exodus was no miracle at all. I remember, forty years ago, a similar attempt was made by a Hebrew scholar of great pretensions, one Bellamy, in which he set about a new translation of the old books of the Bible under the new lights of a better critical acumen than had been shed upon the old translators or their commentators. The *Quarterly Review* was very busy with this new system of

<sup>c</sup> *Journal of Sacred Literature*, April, 1855, p. 115.



revelation, and deservedly cut it to pieces, and Mr. Bellamy sunk with Pharaoh and his chariots into the depths of the Red Sea: at least he disappeared and was no more heard of. But the extraordinary phases he presented of those ancient events, gave some amusement, as well as a very unfounded though momentary alarm for the safety of our ancient creed.

An observation of your contributor upon Chevalier Bunsen's work in your last number, in considering the Chevalier's explanations of the event of the Pentecost, is so suitable to my opinion of this lady's views upon the exodus, that no better comment can be offered upon them. "It seems that the only miracle in the descent of the Holy Ghost, was '*the wind*'" and the '*electric fluid*.' How much better to deny anything supernatural, than thus to rob of all its wondrous nature an event thought miraculous, wherever the gospel is known, by raising into the sphere of miracles mere natural phenomena."<sup>d</sup>

H. M. G.

Hitcham, 10th April.

## ARABIC MANUSCRIPTS AT DAMASCUS.

*To the Editor of the "Journal of Sacred Literature."*

DEAR SIR,—In a letter which I have recently received from the Rev. J. L. Porter, of Damascus, in reply to one I had written to him, making more enquiries respecting the work on Damascus and its environs which the monk Antone Bulâd has been many years in preparing, and which is mentioned in *The Journal of Sacred Literature*,<sup>e</sup> he kindly informs me, that, "while I consider the MS. of M. Bulâd as containing a large mass of valuable matter, yet I could not by any means recommend it for publication in its present form. The valuable antiquarian researches and statistical tables, are mixed up with a far greater mass of minute details and descriptions which can interest no one; and, unfortunately, while M. Bulâd is a good Arabic scholar and an indefatigable antiquary, he has neither the experience nor the judgment necessary to arrange his materials in a useful or attractive form. I have frequently attempted to explain to him the mode of writing for the public, but he is so totally unacquainted with European literature that I have given it up in despair. I know also that Professor Peterman, of Berlin, the celebrated Orientalist, has had him under tuition for a time, but failed as I did."

Mr. Porter, however, considers his work as likely "to throw *new light* on that part of Syria." The MS. is written in Arabic; and if it were put into the hands of an English scholar well acquainted with that language, I doubt not but he could, by a judicious selection of the subject matter,

<sup>d</sup> *Journal of Sacred Literature*, April, 1855, p. 9.

<sup>e</sup> p. 260, No. for July, 1853.

and by carefully extracting, and translating the most interesting portions, compile a very valuable History of Damascus and its vicinity, which might thus be made a very readable book for the English public.

Also, with regard to the other Arabic MSS. in Damascus, Mr. Porter mentions in the same letter—"I sometimes meet with MSS. in the Arabic language of rarity and value, as illustrative of the history of Damascus, Syria, and the Mahometan empire generally. I purchase as many as I can afford to do myself, but there are many beyond my means which would be great acquisitions to the library of any college, museum, or society in England. It is a pity to lose an opportunity of securing them. Many of them are at present being purchased for the Royal Library at Berlin.

I have thought it advisable to give you these fresh particulars respecting Arabic literature, in order that by appearing in your *Journal of Sacred Literature*, they may become more widely known, and in the hopes that our own country may be induced to follow the good example set by Prussia in purchasing some of the most valuable of the Arabic MSS. at Damascus, as they from time to time are offered for sale.

Damascus being one of the most ancient cities in the world, which is at this day existing and still populously inhabited, if we can hardly expect to obtain in any of the *older* Arabic MSS. any historical details of the early kings of that city, when it was the metropolis of a monarchy, or of its subsequent Assyrian, Babylonian, or Persian rulers, yet we can reasonably hope to meet with authentic, but now forgotten and unknown, accounts of the Grecian, the Græco-Macedonian, and Roman governors, as well as more copious notices of the comparatively Saracenic caliphs, or emirs, and of the still later Turkish pashas, or princes.

Indeed, it is possible that Holy Scripture may yet receive from some of these *more ancient MSS.* a further confirmation of some of its historical records.

I remain, yours very truly,

Norton House, Feb. 15th, 1855.

JOHN HOGG.

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## THE DIAL OF AHAZ AND SCRIPTURE CHRONOLOGY.

DEAR SIR,—In sending you a copy of a paper read by me, at the Royal Asiatic Society, in July last, on the subject of *The Going Back of the Shadow on the Dial of Ahaz*, and the date from thence to be deduced of the third year of the reign of Sennacherib, and the fourteenth year of the reign of Hezekiah, allow me to draw your attention to the important alterations in Scripture chronology which necessarily follow, on the assumption of the correctness of my conclusions with regard to the reigns of those kings.

Let me first observe, that no system of Scripture chronology can ever be satisfactory that is not based upon the division of time into Sabbatical

weeks, or seven-year periods, into which it was prospectively laid out by Moses, by decree from Mount Sinai, and which must, therefore, be involved in the history of the chosen people, from the time of their entrance into the Promised Land. Reference to this division may occasionally be traced in the sacred narrative, after the building of the first temple at Jerusalem, when, from time to time, we hear of the reading of the Book of the Law in the presence of all the people—of the renewal of the covenant—or of the manumission of the Hebrew slaves—all which were commanded to take place in the seventh year: and a most solemn warning was given to the Jews of the importance attached to the observance of the institution, at the time of the Babylonish captivity, when they were informed that their land should remain desolate for three score and ten years, that it might enjoy its Sabbaths which had been neglected for a long series of years: and again, when it was announced to the Prophet Daniel, at the time when the city of Jerusalem and Judea had remained desolate for nearly seventy years, and the land was approaching the completion of its seventieth penitential Sabbath, that from thenceforth seventy weeks of years, doubtless true Sabbatical weeks, should be accomplished upon the city of Jerusalem and the holy people till the anointing of the Most Holy.

The first link of the chronological chain consists of the reign of Sennacherib, comprising twenty-five years, from B.C. 692 to 668 both inclusive. The beginning of this period rests upon the grounds stated in the paper I have forwarded. The ending requires a few words of explanation. Colonel Rawlinson, we know, has discovered a clay tablet in Assyria, bearing an inscription referring to the twenty-second year of Sennacherib's reign; and this twenty-second year, if he began to reign in B.C. 692, would be the year B.C. 671. Colonel Rawlinson seems to consider that Sennacherib reigned no more than twenty-two years. But I think we may venture to conclude that he reigned three years longer, that is, to B.C. 668, because Assyrian inscriptions certify that, during his reign at Nineveh, he placed his son Esarhaddon on the throne of Babylon; and from Scripture we learn that Esarhaddon succeeded his father at Nineveh. Now, the Canon of Ptolemy places the last year of Asaradinus, or Esarhaddon, at Babylon, in B.C. 668, which year, therefore, we may reasonably conclude was that of the death of his father Sennacherib, at Nineveh. Granting, then, that the first link of the chain is thus established as ending in 668, we come to a second period of eighty-eight years, to be counted from that date to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar. This period is taken from Chaldæan annals. For Eusebius and Samuel Aniensis both inform us that the Chaldæan historians reckoned eighty-eight years from Sennacherib to Nebuchadnezzar. Eusebius, indeed, or his transcribers, have made sad confusion in their endeavour to reconcile Scripture with Chaldæan history, as regards this period, as I have pointed out in a paper read at the Chronological Institute, in December last. The very endeavour, however, to explain the period, though quite unsuccessful, declares the importance attached to it by the above writers.

Now, if we deduct eighty-eight full years from B.C. 668, we come to the year B.C. 579, which, as I have frequently pointed out, is the first year

of Nebuchadnezzar in conjunction with his father Nabopalassar—that is to say, the year concurrent with the third year of Jehoiakim. The fourth of Jehoiakim, we know, was concurrent with the first of Nebuchadnezzar's sole reign, B.C. 578. The termination of this second period of eighty-eight years is equally well-defined with its commencement. For the date B.C. 578, as the first year of the sole reign of Nebuchadnezzar, rests upon three solid arguments.

1st.—It is twenty-eight years after the year B.C. 606, when Nabopalassar ceased to reign on the joint thrones of Babylon and Nineveh, during which twenty-eight years the Scythians occupied the empire of Asia, and during which Babylon remained a subordinate kingdom.

2nd.—It is a few years after the fixed date of the eclipse of Thales, B.C. 585, which Herodotus tells us preceded the final destruction of Nineveh by Cyaxares; and the Chaldean historians inform us that Nebuchadnezzar began to reign at Babylon immediately after the fall of Nineveh.

3rd.—The year B.C. 578 is the very year assigned by the Jewish historian Demetrius, quoted by Clement of Alexandria, as the first year of Nebuchadnezzar. For Demetrius, writing in the third century before Christ, places the last captivity of the Jews, which was in the nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar, 338 years and 3 months before the reign of the fourth Ptolemy, B.C. 560; and the nineteenth year above that date is B.C. 578.

I must here point out a slight alteration in the usual arrangement of the reigns of the kings of Judah which will become necessary on the adoption of this eighty-eight year period of the Chaldean historians. The Hebrew Bible and Josephus both agree in assigning—

29	years to Hezekiah,
55	... to Manasseh,
2	... to Amon,
31	... to Josiah,

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and adding 3 more years of the reign of Jehoiakim, when Nebuchadnezzar began to invade Judea, we obtain a period of 120 years from the first of Hezekiah to the first of Nebuchadnezzar, in conjunction with his father. But, if Sennacherib reigned, as I suppose, 6 years after the death of Hezekiah, we must deduct 29 years + 6 = 35 years from 120, leaving a period of only 85 years, instead of 88, to the first of Nebuchadnezzar. There is an interval of 3 years, therefore, to be accounted for in the Scripture account. Whether this interval is to be made up by fragments of years in addition to the length of the reigns assigned to each king, or whether there may have been a short interregnum under Eliakim, between the reigns of Amon and Josiah, which I would suggest for consideration, may be a question. Josiah, we know, was only 8 years old when he began to reign, and the year before his accession, B.C. 614, falls in with the twelfth year of Nabopalassar, or "Nabuchodonosor who reigned at Nineveh," in which twelfth year, we read in the Book of Judith (according to St.

Jerome), the high priest Jehoiakim was ruling in Judæa, the name of no king being mentioned. It is not improbable, therefore, that there was an interregnum of a few years before Josiah reigned.

We are justified, however, in adopting the full period of 88 years with the Chaldean historians, because they are confirmed by Demetrius, who had the Hebrew text before him three centuries before Josephus, and who computes 128 years and 6 months from the last captivity, in the nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar, to the carrying away of captives by Sennacherib. And if we deduct 19 years and 6 months from that period, for the reign of Nebuchadnezzar from the time of his conjunction with his father, we are left with a period of 109 years, from which we have to deduct 21 years of the reign of Sennacherib after his retreat from Judæa, which leaves us with a period of exactly 88 years.

We now take up the third link of the chronological chain, consisting of 19 years, or more correctly of 18 years and 6 months, counted from the first year of Nebuchadnezzar's sole reign to the destruction of Jerusalem, as mentioned by Jeremiah, ending in August, B.C. 560. This date rests, as I have just stated, on the authority of Demetrius, and, though not in accordance with the canon of Ptolemy, must be received in preference to the date in the canon, which, in its present form, was compiled four centuries later than the time of Demetrius.

We next arrive at the well-known period of 70 years of desolation of the city of Jerusalem, spoken of by Daniel as about to expire about the first year of Darius, the son of Ahasuerus, of the seed of the Medes, and which the Prophet Zechariah informs us had expired in the fourth year of Darius, king of Persia: for then the fast instituted to commemorate the burning of the temple had been kept for three score and ten years. This fourth link of the chain commences, therefore, in B.C. 560, and brings us to the year B.C. 490, as the fourth of Darius. Now, the year B.C. 490 falls towards the end of the reign of the well-known Persian king Darius, the son of Hystaspes, and this result requires a little consideration. The result is far more satisfactory than that arrived at in the common Scripture reckoning, inasmuch as the 70 years' desolation of Jerusalem spoken of by Daniel, and the 70 years' fasting spoken of by Zechariah, both terminate at the same point—viz., in the reign of a king whose title was undoubtedly Darius, instead of the first-named 70 years, ending in the reign of a king called Cyaxares, and the second in the reign of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, which involves an insuperable contradiction. But it is apparently equally faulty, inasmuch as the year B.C. 490 falls towards the end of the reign of Darius, instead of towards the beginning, as would appear to be indicated by the words of the two prophets: and, moreover, Daniel describes the king, not as the son of Hystaspes, the Persian, but as the son of Ahasuerus, of the seed of the Medes: and Daniel, if any one, must have been well informed of the true lineage of this king.

Here I conceive to lie the great difficulty and enigma in sacred chronology, the non-solution of which has involved the whole of this period in the state of obscurity in which it stands. If we look again, however, to the words of Daniel, who, we know, spoke face to face with this king, and acted as one of his governors, and must have been perfectly cognizant of

every different change in the mode of administering the empire, during the long reign of the only known king of that title about that time—viz., the son of Hystaspes, we find that he is speaking, not of the time of his ascending the throne of Persia, but of the time when he “was set over the realm of the Chaldæans,” that is to say, when he took the throne of Babylon. The words, “*which* was set over the realm of the Chaldæans,” may, with equal propriety, be translated, “*what time* he was set over the realm, &c.,” indicating a time different from that in which he came to the throne of Persia; and Daniel has furnished us with two most significant marks, by which we may compute the exact year of his taking the kingdom of Babylon. In the first place, he tells us that the king, at the time of his accession, was about 62 years of age, which necessarily leads us towards the end of his life and reign: and, secondly, he states prophetically, that the first year of his reign over the Chaldæans should be 70 weeks of years = 490, before the coming of Christ. There cannot be two more distinct chronological characters than these, whereby to mark the date of the first year of Darius. His fourth year, according to the reckoning we are following, is B.C. 490, and his first year, therefore, by the same reckoning, is B.C. 493. These two distinguishing characters ought to be found united in the year B.C. 493. Moreover, this year should also be found in the series of Sabbatical years, as preceding the commencement of a series of 70 weeks of years, according to the institution by Moses.

Now, the year B.C. 493 is exactly 490 years before the date of the birth of Christ, according to the earliest authorities, in B.C. 3-2.

The year 493-2 is Sabbatical, in regular series, calculated from three known Sabbaths mentioned by Josephus.

And I have already shewn, in the work to which I have before alluded, that, according to Ctesias, who tells us that Darius, the son of Hystaspes, died at the age of 70, he must have been about 62 years old in the beginning of the year B.C. 493.

The only objection which remains to be disposed of is, that Daniel, who so well knew the age of the king, and who must equally well have been acquainted with his genealogy, speaks of him as the son of Ahasuerus, and of the seed of the Medes. This at first sight appears to be a serious difficulty. On consideration, however, I think we shall be disposed to admit, that the just and reasonable conclusion is, that Daniel has, in this instance, as in many others, given us the result of that more minute acquaintance with the concerns of his master Darius, which could not have been possessed by any heathen writer concerning his reign. No one, of course, would venture to deny that the father of Darius was Hystaspes, for this is indelibly graven on the rock at Behistun, by direction of Darius himself. Daniel, therefore, whose record I take to be as trustworthy as that of the rock, in speaking of Ahasuerus, of the seed of the Medes, can only have referred to the maternal ancestry of Darius as being derived from the Medes. From the last verse of the Book of Tobit we learn that Ahasuerus with the Jews was equivalent to Cyaxares with the Greeks. In some way, therefore, Darius must have been the descendant or representative of Cyaxares. The word “son” in Hebrew, and generally in the

East, may be taken with considerable latitude. It may signify lineal descendant, of which numerous instances may be given, or it may signify son-in-law, as we find in the case of David, son of Jesse, who had married the daughter of Saul, and who was addressed by Saul as "my son David" 1 Sam. xxiv. 16. There is no difficulty, therefore, in believing, if Daniel has declared the fact, that Darius, the son of Hystaspes, was either descended from Cyaxares, the father of Astyages, through his mother, or that he may have married a daughter of Cyaxares, the son of Astyages, another daughter of whom was married to Cyrus. Now, I submit that the connected chain of well-supported dates, by which we have been brought into the midst of the reign of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, to seek for a king of that name descended from the Medes, leaves us no escape from one or other of these solutions.

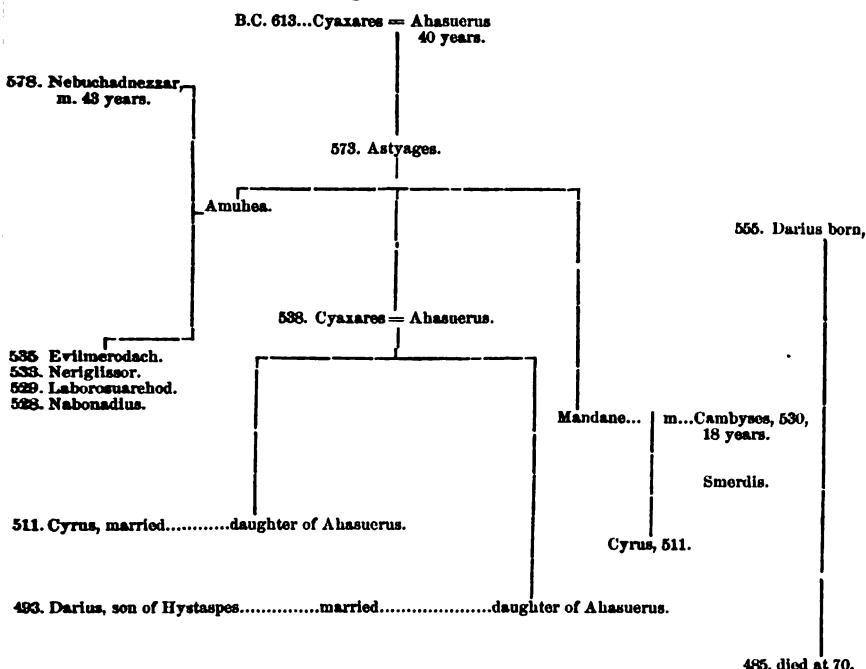
But why, it will be asked, should Daniel adopt this most unusual and unnatural mode of designating this prince by his maternal ancestor Ahasuerus, the Mede, instead of the ordinary mode, and that adopted by Darius himself, in the inscription at Behistun, of tracing his ancestry in the paternal line, through Hystaspes to Achæmines, the Persian?

The answer to this question I believe to be, that, in one case, he was desirous of gratifying that portion of his subjects which preferred to be governed by a Mede, in the other, that portion which vaunted the superiority of the Persian.

When the Assyrian empire was subverted in B.C. 579, by the final expulsion of the Scythians, after their 28 years of domination, by a confederacy of the Medes and Babylonians, this confederacy was strengthened by a marriage between the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar and Amuhea, the daughter of Astyages. This princess was sister of Cyaxares, or Ahasuerus the second, and, on the failure of the male line from Nebuchadnezzar, the throne would by right have descended in the Median line through Ahasuerus. Cyrus, indeed, possessed the throne of Babylon by conquest, as well as by right of his wife, a daughter of Cyaxares, or Ahasuerus. But, when again male issue failed in the line of Cyrus, the throne a second time reverted to those who could claim through Ahasuerus, the Mede. Darius, therefore, when he took the government of Babylon, at 62 years old, a most turbulent province and constantly in revolt, would naturally have claimed the throne, not by virtue of his Persian extraction, which gave him no legitimate title, but of his Median, if in his power to trace his connexion with Ahasuerus. I believe, then, that Daniel has made us acquainted with an historical fact, of which we find no notice in the Greek historians—viz., that Darius had married a daughter of Cyaxares, and has, therefore, as correctly designated him "son of Ahasuerus, of the seed of the Medes," as David, the son of Jesse, was designated son of Saul.

There is nothing forced or improbable in this solution, and by its adoption we are enabled to form a continuous and consistent chain of periods from the time of Sennacherib to the birth of Christ; while those who would adhere to the hitherto received chronology must put up with the hopeless contradiction that Darius, the son of Ahasuerus, was identical with Cyaxares, the son of Astyages.

I will conclude with a genealogical table, which will, perhaps, make this latter point more intelligible.



I am, dear Sir,  
Yours very truly,  
I. W. BOSANQUET.

Claymere, Enfield,  
23rd April, 1855.

# ON ACTS i., 18, 19.

To the Editor of "The Journal of Sacred Literature."

SIR,—We read in Acts i. 18, of Judas—οὗτος ἐκτίσας χωρίον ἐκ τοῦ μισθοῦ τῆς ἀδικίας—"this man purchased a field with the reward of iniquity." We know, however, from Matt. xxvii. 8, 5, that when the wretched man "saw that Jesus was condemned, he repented himself, and brought again the thirty pieces<sup>a</sup> of silver to the chief priests and elders, and cast down the pieces of silver in the temple, and departed, and went

<sup>a</sup> Worth about £3 8s., or (according to Dr. Prideaux) about £4 10s. (Zech. xi. 12, 13.)



and hanged himself." The traitor, as soon as he had become assured of the final condemnation of his Master, was at once stung with remorse, and having given back the price of blood, proceeded, without delay, to the spot where, in indescribable anguish of spirit, he closed his career of theft and treachery by suicide. We are thus taught that it was not until after the death of Judas that the chief priests purchased, with the thirty pieces, the potter's field, as a burial-place for strangers.

In a recent number of the *J. S. L.* are some interesting and instructive remarks upon the treachery and suicide of Judas. It may however seem desirable, if it can be done without offering violence to the evangelical record, to give a simpler meaning to the verb ἐκτήσατο (*he acquired, purchased*), than that which is there suggested as an admissible version, viz., "he became the cause of the purchase of a field." The present communication is to be considered rather as one of inquiry than assertion. My wish is to examine briefly the evangelical narrative, in order to see if there be room for a reasonable and not improbable supposition, that Judas may himself have at least bargained for a field, although without having actually paid the purchase-money.

It will be allowed that the more the mind dwells upon the language (ἐκτήσατο) of the original, in Acts i. 18, 19, the more must we be convinced that our version gives the obvious and natural meaning of the passage in question. "Now this man *purchased* a field (χωρίον), with the reward of iniquity." Hence, nothing short of absolute necessity should constrain us to have recourse to the almost violent method of interpreting the words Ιούδας ἐκτήσατο χωρίον ἐκ τοῦ μισθοῦ τῆς ἀδικίας, as if this clause really signified οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ἡγόρασαν τὸν ἀγρὸν τοῦ κεραμέως ἐκ τῶν ἀργυρίων ἃ ἔρριψεν Ιούδας ἐν τῷ ναυῷ. We know, indeed, from the recorded facts of the history, that Judas could not have given, as the purchase-money of a field, the pieces of silver which he threw down in the temple. But it may perhaps be seen, upon due examination, that there appears to be nothing whatever upon the face of the gospel narrative to forbid, or even to discourage, the supposition, that Judas, shortly before his last act of treachery, had found time and opportunity not only to become acquainted with the fact that a certain piece of ground (χωρίον) was to be sold, but also to agree to become the purchaser, and to do everything requisite to conclude the bargain, except actually laying down the purchase-money. And, on this view of the question, there can be no valid or reasonable objection to St. Luke's use of the verb ἐκτήσατο, in the passage quoted above.

I proceed to quote at length Acts i. 18, 19. "Now this man purchased a field (χωρίον,) with the reward of iniquity; and falling headlong, he burst asunder in the midst, and all his bowels gushed out. And it was known to all the dwellers in Jerusalem, insomuch as (ὥστε) that field (το χωρίον ἐκεῖνο) is called in their proper tongue Aceldama, that is to say, the field (χωρίον) of blood." Although it is not positively asserted, yet it seems almost certain, from these two verses, that the piece of ground which Judas is said to have purchased, was the place where he committed the suicide, and that the circumstances of his miserable end became so well known throughout Jerusalem, that the Jews in that city called the

spot Aceldama. It is also clear that if Judas really agreed to purchase a certain field, he must have done this before he returned to the temple, and cast down the price of blood there. To the plausible objection that it seems most improbable Judas should have discovered and bargained for a certain saleable field, in the short interval which elapsed from the Lord's betrayal—on the night of Thursday, to his final condemnation and crucifixion on Friday morning—a reply will presently be offered.

Now, in connexion with the brief narrative just cited, and in order to pursue the inquiry upon which we have entered, we may first notice what is recorded of the character of Judas, and of the special duties with which he was charged as one of the Lord's immediate disciples and followers. So early as in John vi. 70, 71, Jesus said, "Have I not chosen you twelve, and one of you is a devil? He spake of Judas Iscariot, the son of Simon, for he it was that should betray him, being one of the twelve." We have thus ground for believing that Judas, at the beginning (John xvii. 12), associated himself with Christ's disciples from selfish motives of ambition or avarice, or both. But the inspired evangelist does not leave us in doubt as to the system of deceit and dishonesty into which Judas had already fallen, before he had finally surrendered himself to the Evil One. For more definite language is afterwards used, and the following passage plainly declares both the character of Judas, and the office of trust which he held. "And Judas Iscariot saith, why was not this ointment sold for<sup>b</sup> three hundred pence, and given to the poor? This he said, not that *he cared for the poor*; but because *he was a thief* (κλέπτης), and had the bag (γλωσσόκομον), and bare what was put therein." It is a plain and obvious inference from this statement, that Judas was indifferent to the wants of the poor, that he had already been guilty of theft, in his capacity of keeper of the money given for Christ and his disciples; and that if the ointment in question, instead of being poured on the feet of Jesus, had been sold for the benefit of the poor, Judas would not have scrupled to appropriate to himself a portion of the money. The question also, "Why was not this ointment sold for three hundred pence?" suggests the idea of a shrewd, trafficking, and lucre-loving mind, aware of the value of the ointment, and knowing where to go to sell it to the best advantage. Another passage still further shews what opportunities Judas possessed for appropriating to himself portions of the money entrusted to his care. For when Jesus, after having given the sop to Judas, said to him, "That thou doest, do quickly; some of the disciples thought, because Judas had the bag, that Jesus had said unto him, *Buy those things of which we have need against the feast*; or, *that he should give something to the poor*" (John xiii. 27, 29). Now, our Lord attended at Jerusalem at least three times a year during his ministry, and Judas appears to have been the person entrusted with the purse, and employed in purchasing such things as, from time to time, were necessary. A shrewd and inquisitive person, like Judas, would thus, as a matter of course, become familiarly acquainted with much of Jerusalem and its environs, and at least with a few traders and dealers in the city and its suburbs.

<sup>b</sup> Between nine and ten pounds of our money.

We thus see the character and office and position of Judas; and we next proceed to ask what were the motives which induced the wretched man to indulge in what appears to have been systematic hypocrisy and theft. Did he wish to procure the means of secretly gratifying sensual appetites? His history does not give the shadow of a countenance to this supposition. And, indeed, if he had been a sensualist, he would scarcely have altogether succeeded in escaping the suspicions of his fellow-disciples. And how entirely, even to the last, these seem to have been free from all suspicion of moral delinquency in Judas, may be learned by comparing Matt. xxvi. 17, 25, with John xiii. 21, 30. Is it then to be thought that his criminal conduct proceeded from the mere desire of hoarding up what he might steal from time to time? This may possibly have been the case at first. Yet, we may not unreasonably believe that having subsequently, through a discernment sharpened by selfishness and the suggestions of the Tempter, come to the conclusion that Jesus had no real intention, at that time, of standing forth, at the head of his disciples, as a mighty temporal king of Israel, Judas had therefore resolved, sooner or later, to quit his Master's service, after having previously, by the abuse of his trust, appropriated to himself all the money that he could, with which to return into the world, where he might make a profitable use of his dishonest gains. We know that our Lord, from the manner in which he gave the sop (ψωμίον) to Judas (John xiii. 26), forced the traitor to see that his treason was well known to his Master; and the inward shame and bitterness which must have filled his heart at the moment, opened the way for Satan's final and triumphant entrance into the inmost soul of the wretched transgressor. And it may be easily believed that for some time previous to this open announcement, Judas had become conscious that his character was thoroughly understood by Jesus—a discovery which would make the presence and service of a holy and heavenly-minded Master increasingly irksome and distasteful to such a follower. He would also naturally fear that unless he should first forsake Jesus, he would himself be exposed and ignominiously expelled from the society of Christ and his disciples. And it is at least possible that when the traitor sold his Lord, he had a secret impression upon his mind that Jesus would again, as on former occasions, withdraw from, and disappoint, his enemies.

We are now to ask, what opportunities Judas enjoyed, just before the close of his career, for the accomplishment of his (probable) plan of forsaking his Master, and of returning once more into the world, and the pursuit of worldly gain. The evangelical narrative informs us that Jesus and his disciples came to Bethany, into the immediate vicinity of Jerusalem, *six days before the passover* (πρὸ ἑξ ἡμερῶν τοῦ πάσχα, John xii. 1), probably on the sixth day before the passover. It seems plain that during this brief interval (though brief, yet sufficiently long for all that Judas

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<sup>c</sup> Certain expressions which fell from the lips of our Lord not long before his death, such as, "*Against the day of my burying hath she kept this*" (John xii. 7), though not fully understood by Judas, would so far be accurately interpreted by him, that he would gather from them that Jesus had no idea of then establishing an earthly kingdom.

might desire to accomplish), Jesus and his disciples visited Jerusalem daily. Now, that Judas could quit the presence of Jesus, for a short time, and for his own private purposes, without exciting the suspicions of his fellow-disciples, is plain from the fact of his having gone to the chief priests to agree to betray Jesus, before the day on which the Lord's supper was instituted. And if we are to interpret, in its more simple and literal meaning, the ἐκτίσας of Acts i. 18, the evangelists would seem to leave us at liberty to suppose that the shrewd, inquisitive, and lucre-seeking Judas may have learned that the owner of the ground (χωρίον) in question, may have been willing to sell it at a certain price. And surely, the circumstances of the gospel narrative neither forbid, nor are inconsistent with, the idea that Judas may have determined to buy this particular piece of ground, previous to his interview with the chief priests; and that he may have concluded the bargain, with the exception of actually laying down the stipulated price, before he returned from that interview to the disciples, or at some time on the following day. Were it really necessary to support the argument, we might, perhaps, safely advance a step further and say that, if it should have been required to deposit a small sum, as an earnest, with the seller, the<sup>d</sup> history enables us to believe that the avarice and dishonesty of Judas had already provided him with the means of doing this. And when he finally quitted Jesus, on his mission of treachery, he doubtless took with him the money, from which the disciples thought that Jesus had told him to purchase what was proper for the feast, or to give alms to the poor.

The chief priests, we read, refused to put into the treasury the pieces of silver which the traitor, in his desperate remorse, had thrown down in the temple; but they took counsel, and bought with them the potter's field (ἀγρὸν) to bury strangers in. Wherefore that field was "called the field of blood unto this day." It is thus established that the ἀγρὸς αἵματος of Matt. xxvii. 8, is identical with the χωρίον αἵματος of Acts i. 19. And, if we think that Judas really agreed to purchase this field, and committed suicide in some part of it, it involves no inconsistency to suppose that the name Aceldama may have been used in reference to both transactions—to the suicide of Judas, and to the final purchase of the field for a strangers' burial-place, by the chief priests, with the pieces of silver, the price of blood. The tidings of the dreadful deed would speedily reach the chief priests, who might think it proper to purchase, with the rejected money, the field in question.

G. B.

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## ON THE GENESIS OF THE EARTH AND OF MAN.

SIR,—In the January number of *The Journal of Sacred Literature* appeared two letters, each of which treats of two subjects—the *Genesis of the Earth*

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<sup>d</sup> When the inspired evangelist tells us, not only that Judas was a thief, but also that he cared not for the poor, we seem to have reason to believe that he was guilty of theft from time to time in his capacity of purse-keeper and almoner; and that he selfishly hoarded what he had purloined.

*and of Man.* On the latter subject I do not intend to touch farther than to point out a passage of Josephus, which seems to have escaped the notice of R. S. P., the writer of one of these letters. After observing, most justly, that the ark is not said to have rested on Mount Ararat itself, but only on one of "the mountains of Ararat," or Armenia, R. S. P. alludes to two ancient traditions, the one of which represents the ark as having rested on the Kurdish mountains,—the other assigns the Phrygian Apamea as its resting place. He might have added that Josephus<sup>a</sup> names the country of Charraë as being the region in which are "the remains of that ark, wherein it is related that Noah escaped the deluge, and where they are still shewn to such as are desirous to see them."

Respecting the other branch of the subject I shall feel obliged if you will permit me to make a few observations. We all know the difficulty of reconciling the Mosaic account of the creation with the recent discoveries of the geologist. R. S. P. quotes from a pamphlet (privately circulated) which treats the account of the creation as a vision. This, to say the least of it, is but slippery ground to tread upon. We should be unwilling to cut the knot in this way, as long as there was any hope of untying it.

J. W., the writer of the above letter, remarks, most justly, that the Book of Genesis does not represent the earth as being created out of nothing. The second verse of the first chapter distinctly recognizes a pre-existent mass of matter, a sort of chaos, "without form and void." This state of things answered possibly to the boulder period, or period of the northern drift, which, as geologists tell us, immediately preceded the appearance of man upon the earth. J. W. might have added that it has long ago been remarked that the Hebrew verb *יצא* means to *fashion* or *shape* a thing, rather than to create it out of nothing; and that this meaning of the word tallies very well with what is written about the shaping of the earth. It is not even written that God made the earth. All that we are told is, that after the creation of light, and the separation of the waters by a firmament, he gathered the waters under the firmament into one place, so as that the dry land appeared (v. 9). This surely implies—not that he created the world out of nothing, but—that he fashioned the pre-existent chaos, so as to render it habitable by man and by certain other kinds of animals. So far then we should be disposed to agree with J. W.; but we fear that the sketch of the creation, presented in his table, will neither satisfy the enormous requirements of the geologist, nor will it be quite acceptable to those who love to receive the words of the Book of Genesis in their simple and obvious sense.

It is not to be denied that the advocates of a literal acceptance of this part of Scripture have been much startled by the results of geological researches. But let us not hastily throw aside the obvious interpretation of the words of Moses. Because we do not at first sight see how to reconcile science with revelation, it does not follow that there is not some way of reconciling them,—a way which will perhaps be found out on more patient investigation. On the one hand, we may have misunderstood the words of Moses. On the other hand, geology itself is but a science of

<sup>a</sup> *Ant.*, ix., 2, § 2.

yesterday; it has scarcely yet attained consistency. Recent discoveries have overthrown previous views; and recent views are frequently modified by still later discoveries. It is not long since granite was considered as a primitive rock. This idea is now, I believe, quite exploded. The discovery of certain fossils in the Stonesfield slate indicates that quadrupeds existed at an earlier period than was at first supposed; while certain remains in the old red sandstone caused geologists to modify their views respecting the existence of certain batrachians. May not still newer discoveries shake their present theories? It may be that some one will discover such remains of man or of his works, as will shew that certain geological strata were not deposited until after the creation of man. Considering that the East, the cradle of the human race, is as yet unexplored by the geologist, it is by no means improbable that an investigation of that interesting region may bring to light such fossils as will cause considerable modification of the views at present entertained. Already the discovery of human remains in caverns on the Meuse and elsewhere, has induced some geologists to maintain that man existed before the extinction of certain lost species of animals.

It is not however with the geological portion of the subject that we are so much concerned, as with the proper interpretation of the writings of Moses. Perhaps we do not yet understand them. Men were certainly mistaken in fancying that God created the world out of nothing. The Mosaic account, when closely examined, is quite at variance with any such idea. It plainly speaks of pre-existent matter. Further investigation will perhaps shew that others of our preconceived ideas were wrong; and that, after all, physical appearances are quite in accordance with the account which Moses has given us. Generations may possibly pass away without the difficulty being altogether cleared up; but let us not despair. Rather than hastily explain away the words of Scripture, let each do what he can to examine what Moses really meant. Most just is the remark of R. S. P. that "the most literal interpretation of the Sacred Scriptures is always the safest, and almost always the true one; and that our difficulties arise rather from imperfect criticism than from obscurity in the original."—p. 434. Possibly a small portion of these difficulties may be removed by the following remarks on the literal meaning of the words of Moses.

The first remark is, that it will simplify the inquiry, if we separate the astronomical from the geological question. It is said by some that astronomical, as well as geological, discoveries are at variance with what Moses has written. Now there may be such difficulties in the astronomical view of the subject, but if there be, they require a separate consideration from the geological difficulties. It is distinctly written that God *made* the heavenly bodies—the firmament, the sun, the moon, and the stars; but, as will presently be seen, it is not written that all terrestrial objects were made by him. The words of the 148th psalm also imply that the heavenly bodies were called into being in a manner very different from that in which terrestrial objects were brought into their present state. It is written, "Praise him, sun and moon; praise him, all ye stars of light. Praise him, ye heavens of heavens, and ye waters that are above the heavens. Let them praise the name of the Lord, for *he commanded, and*

*they were created.*" The psalmist afterward passes on to speak of terrestrial things, the deeps, fire, hail, mountains, beasts, creeping things, &c. He bids them too to praise the Lord; but he does not say that the Lord created them. This is quite consonant with what Moses writes about the creation. Both Moses and the psalmist declare that God called the heavenly bodies into being by the word of his mouth; but in neither the psalms nor in the Book of Genesis is the same general assertion made about earthly objects. We have already seen that the earth itself was not created (in the common acceptation of the word); but was fashioned only. We shall presently see that not even all the animal creation is said to have been made during the six days mentioned in the first chapter of Genesis.

This brings us to our second observation; and that is, that Moses says nothing whatever about the creation of *fish*. In verse 20 indeed, he writes, God said, "Let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature (יָרֵךְ) that hath life," and in the following verse he writes, "God created great whales, (וְכָל הַיָּם הַגָּדוֹל) and every living creature that moveth (וְכָל הַחַי הַיָּרֵךְ);" but none of these expressions represent fish (דָּג) in the proper acceptation of the word. If we are to trust to the high authority of Gesenius, the word יָרֵךְ means "creeping reptiles," the word וְכָל הַיָּם הַגָּדוֹל signifies "great sea animals," and וְכָל הַחַי הַיָּרֵךְ (and the verb וְיָרֵךְ, ver. 21, signifies the motion of such animals) means "reptiles," but differs from יָרֵךְ in including such reptiles, *e. g.*, lizards, as have feet. Now it is manifest that none of these expressions signify fish in the proper acceptation of the word. Yet that fish did exist on the sixth day is evident from the mention of fish among the living animals, ver. 28, over which man was to have dominion. "Have dominion over the fish of the sea, (וְכָל הַיָּם הַגָּדוֹל) and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth. It is evident therefore that there is nothing in the first chapter of Genesis to contradict the assertion of geologists, that fish existed before the period commonly known as the creation.

The importance of bearing this in mind will be evident, when we consider that the greater part of fossil remains are those of fish, chiefly of shell-fish. Now if one geological discovery, more than another, surprises the believer in the literal meaning of Scripture, it is that the same genera, which exist now, existed before the human period. There has been no sudden change during the tertiary period. The world has not passed all at once from an extinct to an existing class of fish. From the beginning of the tertiary period, when existing species first began to appear, down to the human period, the transition has been quite gradual. Old species have died out; but they did not die out all at once. First one, and then another, disappeared; and, as they disappeared, first one, and then another existing species began to appear, until at last the fauna became identical, or nearly so, with what exists in our own day. How are we to account for this on the supposition that in six days quite a new creation sprang into being? But the greater part of this difficulty vanishes at once, when we observe that the Mosaic account says nothing whatever about the creation of fish,—the very kind of animal, of which the fossil remains are most abundant. Fish, and fish too of existing species, or at least the

spawn of such fish, may very well have existed in the chaos of earth and water, which is represented as immediately preceding the human period. As far as the fossil remains of fish are concerned, there is nothing whatever in geological discovery which need shake our faith in the Mosaic account of the creation.

Our third remark has reference to another class of fossil remains—the fossils of the vegetable kingdom. Certain remains of existing species are imbedded in strata, which, as the geologist asserts, must have been deposited before the human period. Be it so: but this does not contradict the Mosaic account. Moses does not assert that on the third day God *made* the grass, the herbs, and the trees. The words which he represents God as uttering are these, ver. 11, “Let the earth bring forth grass, the herb, &c.,” and in ver. 12, he says, “The earth brought forth grass, &c.” May not the seeds of the grass, the herbs and the trees, have already existed in the earth? The remains of a former state of things may have contained the germs of a new vegetable kingdom. The seeds had already been deposited; the soil was prepared for their germination by being drained of its superabundant waters; and now all that was required was the voice of God to call these seeds into active vegetation. If this remark be correct, it may afford some clue to the meaning of that remarkable expression, “whose seed is in itself.”

That these few remarks will clear up all the difficulty, is not pretended. Far from it. Possibly these remarks themselves may not bear the criticisms of acute critics or geologists; but they are submitted in the humble hope that they may stimulate more able heads to inquire whether the Mosaic account, in its literal acceptation, is really so much at variance, as is commonly supposed, with the process through which the geologist represents the earth as passing at the period when the first traces of man were left upon its surface.

*Burton Pedwardine.*

H. H. B.

## THE NERONIC DATE OF THE APOCALYPSE.

SIR,—I AM sure that your correspondent P. S. D. would not consciously misrepresent the testimonies of antiquity on this important subject, and that he had not himself seen the words of Arethas when he penned the following sentence:—“Arethas, one of the earliest commentators on the Apocalypse, after mentioning the tradition of Irenæus respecting the Domitianic date (*which shews that he considered that tradition unworthy of credit*), explains the sixth seal of the destruction of Jerusalem,” &c. We should naturally expect from this that Arethas referred to the Domitianic date while explaining the sixth seal, and referred to it in order to condemn it. The fact is, that the reference occurs in his exposition of

<sup>a</sup> *Journal of Sacred Literature*, April, p. 186.



"the hour of temptation," predicted Rev. iii. 10. And how far he, at the time, considered the Domitianic date unworthy of credit, let his own words<sup>b</sup> testify.

#### ARETHAS.

"Ὅταν πειρασμοῦ, ἢ τὸν ἐπὶ Δομητιανοῦ διαγῶν λέγει, δεύτερον ὄντα μετὰ Νέρωνα, ὡς Εὐσέβιος ἰστορεῖ ὁ Παμφίλου· ὅτε καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς εἰς τὴν Πάτμου ἐκ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Δομητιανοῦ κατεκρίθη. ἢ τὴν ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τοῦ αἰῶνος ὅτε τοῦ Ἀντιχριστοῦ κατὰ χριστιανῶν ἐσομένην παγκόσμιον, ἀναρῶντος τοῦς Χριστιανούς.

"By this hour of temptation, he means either the persecution under Domitian, which was the next after that of Nero, as Eusebius Pamphilus has recorded; *when the evangelist himself was condemned to the Isle of Patmos by this very Domitian*; or that universal outrage against the Christians, which will be made at the end of the world by Antichrist, who will put the Christians to death."

But how careless Arethas was as a commentator may be gathered from his exposition of Rev. vii. 4, 8: "And there were sealed an hundred and four thousand of all the tribes of the children of Israel," &c. I transcribe the passage with Dr. Lardner's remarks upon it.

#### ARETHAS.

"For there were many, yea, a countless multitude from among the Jews, who believed in Christ: as even they testify, who said to Paul on his arrival at Jerusalem: 'Thou seest, brother, how many thousands of Jews there are which believe' (Acts xxi. 20). And he who gave this revelation to the evangelist, declares that these men shall not share the destruction inflicted by the Romans. For the ruin brought by the Romans had not yet fallen upon the Jews, when this evangelist received these prophecies; and he did not receive them at Jerusalem, but in Ionia, near Ephesus. For after the suffering of the Lord he remained only fourteen years at Jerusalem, during which time the tabernacle of the mother of the Lord, which had conceived this Divine offspring, was preserved in this temporal life, after the suffering and resurrection of her incorruptible Son. For he continued with her as with a mother committed to him by the Lord. For after her death it is reported that he no longer chose to remain in Judea, but passed over to Ephesus, where, as we have said, this present Apocalypse also was composed; which is a revelation of future things, inasmuch as forty years after the ascension of the Lord this tribulation came upon the Jews."

#### LARDNER.

"How can we rely on a writer of the sixth<sup>c</sup> century for these particulars; that John did not stay at Jerusalem more than fourteen years; that he left Judea upon the death of our Lord's mother, and then went to Ephesus; 'when we can evidently perceive from the history in the Acts, that in the fourteenth year after our Lord's ascension, there were no Christian converts at Ephesus? and that the church at Ephesus was not founded by St. Paul till several years afterwards? What avails it to refer to such passages as these, which, when looked into and examined, contain no certain assurance of anything?'"

I am disposed to agree with Dr. Adams, who observes that "the two assertions of Arethas are directly contrary to each other; as the author of

<sup>b</sup> I have taken both the Greek original and the English version, from a work entitled, *The Opening of the Sealed Book in the Apocalypse shown to be a Symbol of a Future Republication of the Old Testament*. By Robert Newton Adams, D.D., Fellow of Sidney Sussex College, and Lady Margaret's Preacher in the University of Cambridge, 1838. From this work I have also taken the second extract from Arethas, and Dr. Lardner's remarks.

<sup>c</sup> Arethas flourished cir. A.D. 540.

the Apocalypse himself informs us, that it was during his banishment to Patmos that these revelations were made to him. They prove, therefore, that their author was incompetent to decide upon the question, and that his testimony to the early composition of the prophecy is altogether worthless."

*Epiphanius* (who flourished cir. A.D. 370) states that the Apocalypse was written in the time of Claudius A.D. 50. But this is not so much the testimony as the blunder of *Epiphanius*. Paul had not yet visited Ephesus, while in Rev. ii. 1, 6, the Ephesian church is described as having been in existence some years.

*Andreas* (who lived cir. A.D. 500) says, "John received this revelation under the reign of *Vespasian*." The generally received date of St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians is cir. A.D. 64. *Vespasian* ascended the throne A.D. 69, and Jerusalem was taken cir. A.D. 70. Now it does not appear at all probable that between the years 64 and 70, and during a time of persecution and trial, the church of Ephesus should have so far declined as to need the rebuke and the menace of Rev. ii. 5. The apostle Paul was put to death cir. A.D. 67; the impression of such a loss could scarcely have so soon become feeble and faint. Again, if the view of your correspondent be correct, that among other things predicted in the Apocalypse was the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, this (supposed) fact must have been known to Mark, Timothy and Titus, to Linus and Clement, to Simeon who succeeded James in the episcopate at Jerusalem, to Ignatius and Polycarp; and indeed could scarcely have been lost, at least during the first century after the death of John: and we might reasonably expect Eusebius to have alluded to this as the prevailing interpretation of the church from the death of John to at least A.D. 200.

The testimony of *Tertullian*,<sup>d</sup> who flourished cir. A.D. 196. He seems to teach us that John was plunged into burning oil, at the command of Nero, and, escaping unhurt, was banished. But *Tertullian* appears to have no other authority to rest on than that of a popular legend. The Christian church became early addicted to the fabrication of legends. It was almost natural for the uninformed to take it for granted that, because the apostles Paul and Peter were at Rome, and persecuted and slain by Nero, that, of course, the apostle John was there also with them. Nero would doubtless attempt to put him to death likewise. But as St. John lived nearly until the year A.D. 100, a miraculous escape was devised which was readily embraced in the Latin church, though it does not appear to have gained credence in the churches of Asia Minor. Had a long-established and learned resident of Ephesus put forth in A.D. 196

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<sup>d</sup> When *Tertullian* says—"Felix ecclesia Romana ubi Petrus passioni dominice adequatur, ubi Paulus Johannis exitu coronatur; ubi Apostolus Johannes, posteaquam in oleum igneum demersus nihil passus est, in insulam relegatur"—his language does not require us to believe that John was plunged into burning oil in the reign of Nero. *Tertullian's* eulogy of the Roman church would be equally applicable if we suppose John to have suffered this treatment under Domitian. Milner takes this view, and writes, that "*Tertullian* tells us that, by order of Domitian, John was cast into a caldron of boiling oil."

such a statement as that of Tertullian, it might have been thought to have a somewhat better claim to be received.

*Origen* flourished cir. A.D. 234. He writes, that in the beginning of the Jewish war the disciples "and apostles of our Lord were scattered into all nations—Thomas into Parthia, Andrew into Scythia, John into Asia, and Peter first into Asia, where he preached to the dispersion, and thence into Italy." The Jewish war is generally supposed to have begun cir. A.D. 66. According, therefore, to Origen, John proceeded into Asia Minor cir. A.D. 64 or 65. If the apostle was really persecuted by Nero in the city of Rome, this persecution could not well have happened later than 67, and St. John could scarcely have resided eighteen months in Asia Minor before. But I would ask the candid reader to weigh carefully this testimony of Origen. He simply tells us that "John went into Asia," while he writes that "Peter went first into Asia, where he preached to the dispersion, and thence into Italy." Is it not a fair inference from this statement that Origen had not heard of John's having early left Asia for Italy, or of his having been banished by Nero into the isle of Patmos? Hence so far as the testimony of Origen is to be taken into account, it is to be regarded as unfavourable to the Neronic, and therefore favourable to the Domitianic date of the Apocalypse. It appears also that Origen states that "John says he was banished by the king of the Romans, without saying who condemned him."

I think Sir Isaac Newton has not quite fairly stated the question with reference to the Syriac Version of the Apocalypse when he says, "With the opinion of the first commentators (in favour of the Neronic Date) agrees the tradition of the churches of Syria, preserved to this day in the title of the Syriac version of the Apocalypse, which title is this, 'The Revelation which was made to John the Evangelist by God in the Island of Patmos, into which he was banished by Nero the Cæsar.'" In no ancient Greek manuscripts has this title been discovered. One of the earliest commentators on the Apocalypse is the Latin writer Victorinus, who flourished cir. A.D. 290. He supports the Domitianic date; while the two leading supporters of the Neronic date, Andreas and Arethas, lived, the former cir. A.D. 500, and the latter cir. A.D. 540. Again it is scarcely fair to call the Neronic date that which was received in the traditions of the Syrian churches. The Syriac version of the New Testament is supposed to be at least as ancient as the first half of the second century. But the present version of the Apocalypse is not supposed to be older than the sixth century, and may perhaps have been somewhat more recent than even the times of Andreas and Arethas. Nor can we be at all sure that the version of the Apocalypse was executed by a well-informed scholar. At the time in question, there were hundreds (not to use a larger number) in Syria, who possessed, so to speak, two native languages—Greek and Syriac, and who only needed to be taught the

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\* Though the Jewish war did not (strictly speaking) begin until A.D. 66, yet, as there was a violent outbreak on the part of the Jews against their governor in 64, we may suppose, if we follow Origen, that St. John left Judea for Asia as early as the latter year.

humble acquirements of reading and writing to be competent to present to their countrymen such a plain and common-place version of the original Greek Apocalypse, as that which now forms a part of the Syriac version of the New Testament. It is not, therefore, at all certain that the Syriac translator was competent to decide the question between the Neronic and the Domitianic dates.

Can we, however, form any probable conjecture why the Syriac interpreter selected the name of Nero before that of Domitian? Some persons obtain such pre-eminent notoriety in evil, that popular tradition attributes to them the misdeeds of others as well as their own. How many Englishmen fancy that all the martyrdoms and burnings which occurred under Queen Mary, were due to the persecuting cruelty and bigotry of Bonner, and are scarcely acquainted with the name of Gardiner. I think it not improbable that a somewhat similar state of things gradually grew up in the Roman Empire in the case of Nero and Domitian, though they were not, as Bonner and Gardiner, contemporaries. Nero was the *first* imperial persecutor, and Christians had been familiar with his name in the character of a bloodthirsty and savage persecutor nearly a quarter of a century before Domitian entered upon the same sanguinary career. Pliny spoke of him as "the common enemy and the fury of mankind." Above all, it was the belief of all the churches, that it was Nero who had put to death the great apostles, Peter and Paul. The tradition would probably, especially in the eastern churches, assume this form,—“St. Peter and St. Paul were put to death, and St. John was banished into the Isle of Patmos by Cæsar, or by the King of the Romans.” Hence, it would be gradually taken for granted that all the three apostles were persecuted by the same Cæsar, and that this Cæsar was not the contemptible and comparatively forgotten Domitian, but the notorious and terrible Nero.

Again, the Syriac translator of the Apocalypse would most probably take some interest in its marvellous visions, and would have adopted some method of interpretation. If he believed that St. John predicted in the Apocalypse the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, he would naturally take for granted that the evangelist must have been banished into Patmos by “Nero the Cæsar.” Thus, the statement of this supposed fact as the title of his version would not be the result of careful chronological investigation, but rather be the badge of the particular school of prophetic interpretation to which he belonged. And inasmuch as a similar title is not found in any of the extant Greek manuscripts of the Apocalypse, nor in any of the manuscripts of the Latin version, no one can be fairly blamed if he regard it as not improbable that the title of the Syriac version of the Apocalypse was not borrowed from any Greek manuscript, but was inserted by the translator himself, and that, if the title in question expressed the prevailing tradition in the Syriac churches, that tradition did not originate in careful historical inquiry, but was the result of the reception of a certain popular theory of prophetic interpretation.

I will refer the reader to what has already been advanced in this paper concerning the Greek commentator, Arethas. Are we not warranted in supposing that, if, when he was explaining Rev. iii. 10, 11, he had been asked to write a title for the Apocalypse, he would have inserted in it the name of Domitian. And if this same Arethas, when commenting on

Rev. vii. 4, 8, had been asked by some other person for a title, he would have inserted the name of Nero. And Epiaphianus was perhaps led into the egregious error of asserting that the Apocalypse was written in the time of Claudius, cir. A.D. 50, through fanciful speculations upon the following passages in Acts xi. 27, 28, "And in these days came prophets from Jerusalem to Antioch. And there stood up one of them named Agabus, and signified by the Spirit that there should be great dearth throughout all the world: which came to pass in the days of Claudius Cæsar."

I come now to the consideration of the Apocalyptic epistle to the church of Ephesus. We cannot well date the regular foundation of the church at Ephesus earlier than St. Paul's first visit to that city, i.e., cir. A.D. 55. And if we suppose that St. John was banished into Patmos by Nero, and that he received the Apocalyptic visions before the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, then must we suppose the church of Ephesus to have fallen from the first warmth of her Christian love, and to need the reproof and the threat given in Rev. ii. 4, 5, within fourteen or fifteen years from her foundation.<sup>f</sup> I do not say that this was impossible, or in itself improbable; the minds of many of the Galatians had been early prejudiced by false teachers; but there are considerations which may incline us to think that the Lord did not rebuke and threaten the church of Ephesus so early. The apostle Paul, on his second visit, remained two years in Ephesus and its neighbourhood, and preached with extraordinary success. It was at Ephesus that God "wrought special miracles by the hand of Paul, so that from his body were brought unto the sick, handkerchiefs or aprons, and the diseases departed from them." It was at Ephesus that many of them "which used curious arts brought their books together and burned them before all men; and they counted the price of them, and

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<sup>f</sup> In a question like the present, we are, perhaps, scarcely justified in taking for granted that the Epistle of Paul, which, in our authorized version, is entitled, "to the Ephesians," was really addressed to the Christian church of Ephesus; for many learned writers think that it was written to the Laodiceans. In the Epistle itself there is nothing to make us suppose that the young church (at the time of writing this Epistle neither the church of Ephesus, nor that of Laodicea, had, probably, been founded more than ten years) to which it was addressed had begun, like Ephesus, to fall from her first love, still less that, like Laodicea, it would, *within three or four years*, sink into a self-complacency and luke-warmness so offensive to the Lord, that he threatened "to vomit her from his mouth." Whether we suppose St. Paul's epistle to have been addressed to the Ephesians or Laodiceans, in neither case (especially in the latter) can we suppose these churches to have declined into the state in which they are described to us in the Apocalyptic epistles. I am disposed to think this argument to be almost decisive on the present question. According to the testimony of antiquity, Timothy was the first Bishop of Ephesus. He was at Ephesus when St. Paul wrote his first epistle to him, which Paley and Macknight date cir. A.D. 64. The apostle tells Timothy to continue there for a time, to prevent erroneous teaching. The angel or presiding bishop of the church at Ephesus, whom St. John addresses in the Apocalypse, must be considered as sharing in the declension of that church from her first love. So far, therefore, as the testimony of antiquity is concerned, we seem called upon to think that the *ἄγγελος*, whom the Lord addresses through John, was one who held his spiritual office after the connexion of Timothy with the church at Ephesus had ceased.

The more carefully we consider the Apocalyptic Epistles to the churches of Laodicea and Ephesus, the more shall we probably be disposed to think that the declensions rebuked gradually grew up between the Neronic and Domitianic persecutions.

found it fifty thousand pieces of silver. So mightily grew the word of God and prevailed" (Acts xix. 19, 20). The apostle left Ephesus cir. A.D. 59; in A.D. 60, he had an interview with the elders of the church of Ephesus; and his parting from them is thus described, "And when he had thus spoken, he kneeled down and prayed with them all. And they all wept sore, and fell on Paul's neck and kissed him, sorrowing most of all for the words which he spake, that they should see his face no more" (Acts xx. 36, 38). Their first love was therefore still ardent and glowing so late as cir. A.D. 60; and when at that solemn interview he told them, "I know that after my departing grievous wolves shall enter in among you, not sparing the flock" (xx. 29), he would appear to justify us in believing that the state of religion would prosper in Ephesus, at least until his death, cir. A.D. 67, in which year St. John must have been banished to Patmos, if Nero banished him into that island; and in the second Epistle to Timothy, which Dr. Paley supposes (and I think justly) to have been written during St. Paul's *second* imprisonment at Rome, i.e., cir. A.D. 65, the apostle says, "I have sent Tychicus to Ephesus" (iv. 12). He thus seems to have had no idea that his illustrious fellow-apostle John was then presiding over the Ephesian church: and when St. Paul tells the Ephesians that "after his death grievous wolves would arise," we appear to have reason for thinking that the Nicolaitanes did not appear in Ephesus until some time after the death of St. Paul and the banishment of St. John, if the latter was really banished by Nero. And I would especially ask the reader to weigh carefully the following statements in the Apocalyptic epistle to the church of Ephesus, "I know thy works, and thy patience, and how thou canst not bear them which are evil, and thou hast tried them which say they are apostles and are not, and hast found them liars: and hast borne, and hast patience, and for my name's sake hast laboured and not fainted." These words, addressed to the angel of the Ephesian church, and giving some of the leading characteristics of that church at the time, surely require us to think that several years had elapsed from the death of St. Paul, when St. John received his memorable visions in Patmos, and therefore that this evangelist was banished by Domitian into Patmos, and not by Nero.

Before I notice the ancient writers who support the Domitianic date of the Apocalypse, I wish to offer a remark in reference to our Lord's predictions. The blessed Jesus thus expressly foretold the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, "The days shall come upon thee, that thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side, and shall lay thee even with the ground, and thy children within thee" (Lu. xix. 43). And again: "When ye shall see Jerusalem compassed with armies, then know that the desolation thereof is nigh. Then let them which are in Judæa flee to the mountains. . . And they (the Jews) shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be led away captive into all nations" (Lu. xxi. 20, 24). Ecclesiastical history assures us that in consequence of these warnings the Christians left Jerusalem before the commencement of the final siege, and thus escaped the destruction which happened to the impenitent Jews. I would ask with reverence, Could we reasonably expect that what was so clearly and expressly fore-

told by the Lord himself, should afterwards be predicted in comparatively obscure and symbolic visions?

I come now to the testimony of Irenæus. Your correspondent thus quotes his words from his fifth book against the heresies:—"If, however, it were necessary to proclaim his name (i.e., Antichrist's) openly at the present time, it would have been declared by him who saw the revelation; for it is not long since it was seen, but almost in our own times, at the close of Domitian's reign." He also frankly adds, "I can no more deny that Irenæus asserts the Domitianic date, than I can deny that the title of the Syriac version claims the Neronic date.

Sir Isaac Newton is not quite so candid, for he endeavours rather strangely and inconclusively (if I may venture to use such language of such a man) to do away with the testimony of Irenæus. He writes, "Irenæus introduced an opinion that the Apocalypse was written in the time of Domitian; but then he also postponed the writing of some others of the sacred books, and was to place the Apocalypse after them. He might perhaps have heard from his master, Polycarp, that he had received this book from John about the time of Domitian's death; or indeed John might himself at that time have made a new publication of it, from whence Irenæus might imagine it was then but newly written." Here we see that Sir Isaac Newton allows what is generally believed, that Irenæus was in early life a scholar of Polycarp, who is himself thought to have been a disciple of St. John, or at least to have been personally acquainted with that apostle. I would ask on what subject would Irenæus be more likely to request information, or Polycarp more willing to converse, than concerning what the latter had personally known of and heard from the beloved disciple and apostle. Can we do otherwise than feel assured that the young and intelligent Irenæus would question Polycarp again and again on this favourite topic, and that he would thoroughly acquaint himself with all that Polycarp knew concerning the apostle's history. The testimony of Eusebius is so positive, that we cannot reasonably doubt that Irenæus asserted in writing as follows, "*The revelation was seen not long since, but almost in our own times, at the close of Domitian's reign;*" and, therefore, there would appear to be a very high probability that Irenæus received this statement distinctly and expressly from the lips of Polycarp, a most competent and unexceptionable witness to such a fact. Irenæus became bishop of Lyons cir. A.D. 177, of which church he had been previously a presbyter. His predecessor in the episcopate was Pothinus, who suffered martyrdom in that year, when he had lived beyond the age of ninety.

The church of Lyons is believed to have been founded by Christians from Asia Minor, and to have maintained a friendly intercourse with those Asiatic churches of which Ephesus was the metropolitan. The name of Pothinus, as Milner observes, seems to point him out as of Greek extraction; and there is nothing improbable in the supposition that this venerable episcopal predecessor of Irenæus had himself been personally acquainted with Polycarp, the bishop of Smyrna. There is no necessity for weakening the argument by attempting to prove too much. Yet, when we consider the deep and holy interest which would attach itself to the

memory of the last surviving apostle, we may easily believe that Pothinus and his presbyter, Irenæus, would occasionally speak of the closing period of the illustrious evangelist's career. We may certainly conclude, at all events, that Irenæus heard nothing from the lips of his aged bishop that was sufficient to shake his faith in the Domitianic date of the Apocalypse. We may thus feel certain, on the testimony of ecclesiastical history, that if Irenæus, cir. A.D. 177, had thought fit to prefix a chronological title to his copy of the Apocalypse, he would have stated that St. John was banished to Patmos by Domitian; and it is highly probable from what we have ascertained concerning the disciple Irenæus, that his master Polycarp would, fifty years earlier, have pursued a similar course at Smyrna. I think, too, that the view of Polycarp was also probably that of Ignatius, and that cir. A.D. 105, the Syrian churches held the Domitianic date of the Apocalypse, and not as did the Syrian churches some four or five centuries afterwards, the Neronic date.

Victorinus, a Latin writer, who is believed to have suffered martyrdom, and who flourished in A.D. 290, asserted the Domitianic date. Sir Isaac Newton says that "Eusebius, in his *Chronicle* and *Ecclesiastical History*, follows Irenæus; but afterwards, in his *Evangelical Demonstrations*, he conjoins the banishment of John into Patmos with the deaths of Peter and Paul, and so do Tertullian and Pseudo-Prochorus, as well as the first author, whoever he was, of that very ancient fable, that John was put by Nero into a vessel of hot oil, and, coming out unhurt, was banished by him into Patmos." I have not the power of referring to the *Evangelical Demonstrations*, but it is plain, so far as Tertullian is concerned, that it is not necessary to suppose that John was banished by Nero and not by Domitian. And if Eusebius, in his *Evangelical Demonstrations*, has merely conjoined the banishment of John with the death of St. Peter and St. Paul, without saying that they happened about the same time and under the same Roman emperor, we cannot be called upon to believe that Eusebius has there contradicted the chronological statement which he had elsewhere made in two separate works.

I shall conclude my remarks on the Neronic date of the Apocalypse with some extracts from a pamphlet recently published by Dr. Wordsworth. "In the preface to his new edition, M. Bunsen states the reasons which induced him to contradict Irenæus. Irenæus says that the revelation was seen by St. John at the close of the reign of the Emperor Domitian, i.e., about A.D. 96. M. Bunsen affirms that it must have been seen before A.D. 70. And why? Because, says M. Bunsen, Jerusalem was destroyed in that year, and because the Apocalypse assumes in the eleventh chapter that the temple of Jerusalem and the Holy City are *standing*, but doomed to destruction.

"I do not know which to admire most, some of M. Bunsen's opinions,

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*g Remarks on M. Bunsen's Work on St. Hippolytus, particularly on the Preface of his New Edition.* By Chr. Wordsworth, D.D., Canon of Westminster. As I am inclined to agree with those who interpret literally the 42 months and 1260 days of the Apocalypse, while I entirely differ from the view of M. Bunsen, I cannot altogether accede to that of Dr. Wordsworth.



or the reasons he gives for them. Hitherto almost all interpreters that have written on this subject have supposed that by the temple (*ναὸς* not *ιερόν*) and the Holy City, St. John, in the eleventh chapter of the Book of Revelation, means the Christian Church. That this is the real sense of the passage,' says Vitringa, 'no one denies, and the sacred writers clearly shew.' Evidently that passage cannot have any reference to the *Jewish* temple; for a distinction is there made between the fate of the *ναὸς* or sanctuary, and the doom of the court of the temple; the former is to be measured but not the latter. And why this difference? Because the court is given to the Gentiles, and they shall tread 'the Holy City forty months.' But no such distinction was made between the sanctuary and the court of the temple at Jerusalem. *Both* were given up to the Gentiles, —both were involved in one and the same destruction by the imperial armies of Rome.

"M. Bunsen's other reason for his date of the Apocalypse is no less remarkable. He refers to chap. xvii. 10, where we read, 'There are seven kings: five are fallen and one is, and the other is not yet come; and when he cometh he must continue a short space. And the beast that was and is not, even he is the eighth, and is of the seven and goeth into perdition.'

"'As the city designated,' says M. Bunsen, 'is allowed to be Imperial Rome, the kings, if you ask the book, must be their emperors, and they must be counted from Augustus, he being the first imperator. The first five were Augustus, Tiberius, Caius, Claudius, Nero. Therefore the words 'the fifth is fallen,' imply that Nero was dead when the vision (of the Apocalypse) took place; the one who is then reigning must be Galba; and the other who is not yet come, and is to remain a short time, will be Otho.'

"Here we may trace a series of assertions which have not yet been proved, and are incapable of proof. 'The city is *allowed* to be Imperial Rome,' says M. Bunsen. Allowed to be *Rome* it is: but allowed to be Rome in its *Imperial* state it is *not*—at least by a large number of interpreters. And for this plain reason among others, because it is said in the Apocalypse, that when the city is destroyed, it will become a wilderness, a 'habitation of devils, the hold of every foul spirit, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird' (Rev. xviii. 2, and 21, 22).

"But no such local desolation took place when the Roman Empire fell, and the ecclesiastical power succeeded in its room. Therefore the city is indeed Rome, but *not* Rome in its imperial form.

"It is *not* therefore *allowed* that the kings *must* be her emperors, or that, if they were, Julius Cæsar must be omitted from the list. According to M. Bunsen's postulates, since Vitellius is, by his calculation, the eighth emperor—that is, according to him, the eighth king—therefore Vitellius must be the beast of the Apocalypse! Consequently, he must have made war on the saints, that is, he must have been a great persecutor (Rev. xiii. 7), and have overcome them, and there must have been other ten kings receiving power together with Vitellius (Rev. xvii. 12), and those kings must have hated him, and made his city desolate, and have burnt it with fire (Rev. xvii. 16).

"It is quite superfluous to shew that none of these characteristics of the beast are applicable to Vitellius, or, indeed, to any other Roman emperor, except, in one or two cases, the single circumstance of persecuting the church. And yet, on the ground of such arguments as these, M. Bunsen would set aside the authority of Irenæus."

I hope it will appear from all that has been advanced, that, if the Neronian date of the Apocalypse be possible, it is not probable; and that the Domitianic date is not only possible, but also highly probable.

B. G.

### WAS THE DAUGHTER OF JAIRUS DEAD OR NOT?

SIR,—The greater number, or, it may be said, the generality of commentators have decided this question in the affirmative. As corroborative of this judgment several arguments are brought forward. First. The father says to Jesus (Matt. ix. 18), "My daughter is even now dead." There is some degree of awkwardness about the expression; and at the same time, the statement in it would seem to be at variance with that made by two of the other Evangelists. Mark says, "My little daughter lieth at the point of death;" Luke, that "She lay a dying;" and for reconciling the seeming discrepancies it is commonly alleged that Jairus, judging from the state the girl was in, when he left the house, concluded that she must have died before he met Jesus; or that he had learned the fact of her decease from the messengers who had been sent after him. Neither supposition is necessary. Matthew says *ἄρτι ἐτελεύτησε*, "is just now a dying." Such a use of the aorist will not be disputed; e.g., *οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ υἱὸς μου ὃ ἀγαπητός ἐν ᾧ ἐνδόκησα*—"in whom I am well pleased." This passage, then, cannot be understood as affirming that death had actually occurred—especially when the words that immediately follow are taken into account: "but come and lay thy hand upon her, and she shall live"—"she shall continue to live"—not, "she shall be restored to life."

To this it may be added—If Jairus had supposed his daughter to be dead it is improbable that he would have come to Jesus at all. As yet there was no reason to believe that he could raise the dead. Hitherto no miracle of the kind had been performed. No doubt he had "healed all manner of sicknesses and diseases among the people." But it was a very different thing to raise the departed to life again. No one supposed that his power extended thus far; and accordingly no sooner were those in the house convinced that dissolution had occurred than a message was sent to the ruler saying, "Thy daughter is dead, why troublest thou the master any further?"

Next we read (Mark v. 35), "While he yet spake, there came from the ruler of the synagogue's house certain which said, Thy daughter is dead, why troublest thou the master?" There is here a plain and positive assertion that death had at length supervened. Everyone in the house was satisfied that the spirit had departed—the body exhibiting all the

usual symptoms of dissolution. Still even here we have no sufficient evidence of the belief being well founded. The child after all may have only been in a death-like swoon or trance. Such is the opinion of Olshausen. "Physicians" says he, "distinguish syncope (fainting) from asphyxia—(suspended animation—apparent death), by the latter they understand the state of suspension of all vital functions—i. e., that state of the body (during life) in which the pulsation of the heart and arteries cannot be perceived—in fact it is a total suspension of the powers of the mind and body." Cases of this kind are very far from being uncommon, for there are many instances on record where persons laid out for their funeral have been awakened from their slumber and restored to health.

Once more. When Jesus came to the ruler's house he found the minstrels and "the people making a noise." "Weeping and wailing greatly." It was thus that the Jews lamented for the dead: and it affords a most undeniable proof that those present had the fullest conviction that life was extinct.

Notwithstanding, however, these strong probabilities, we have felt ourselves compelled to take the opposite view of the question. It is to be remarked that the language of Jesus gives no countenance to the supposition of death having actually occurred. To the father when the account of his daughter's having breathed her last reached him he said, "Fear not, believe only, and *she shall be made whole*." That is not the expression which he might have been expected to use of one who had paid the debt of nature, and whom he was about to restore to life; for it is applicable to such only as are labouring under distress and require to be healed: all which will appear more clearly by considering the word (*σωθή-σεται*) employed by the evangelist. Throughout the whole Scripture *σῶζω* is never used in the sense of "to recall from the dead," but always in that of, "to save from death"—"to restore to health." The passage, therefore, might have been translated, "and she shall be cured," which implies that she was then alive.

Further, Jesus says, "She is not dead, but sleepeth." It does not seem easy to get over this simple but strong statement. No doubt the expression "to sleep," is often used in Scripture—and the corresponding term in all languages, to signify "to die." But it cannot possibly be so taken here. On the contrary, it denotes a state the opposite of death, however much the two may resemble each other. Jesus could never have said, "She is not dead, but is dead." The meaning, indeed, has been alleged to be, "that her death was so soon to give place to returning life, that it did not deserve the name—that it was but as a sleep and an awakening." Such an explanation cannot, however, be admitted. It is quite at variance with the straight-forward manner of the Saviour. He must have wished his words to be understood by his hearers. For this purpose it was necessary that they should bear their natural acceptation. It would not do to take one clause—"she is not dead"—literally, and the other—"she sleepeth"—figuratively. Hence, as was to be expected, the by-standers understood both according to the letter—and "knowing"—that is, firmly believing that she was dead—they ridiculed the notion of her being only asleep. Agreeably then to all the principles of a just

exegesis, the words must be considered as intimating that death had not taken place.

Recourse has been had to the history of the resurrection of Lazarus in the eleventh chapter of the Gospel of John, in order to shew that although really dead, the expression "she is *not* dead," might be consistently used, as she was so soon to be revived. The phrase particularly brought forward is that in the fourth verse—"this sickness is not unto death"—although the fact is that Lazarus was even then dead or died very soon after. But those who employ this argument entirely mistake the meaning of the passage. Jesus is not speaking of the result of the sickness which his friend laboured under. It was not his intention to say how it should terminate—whether in life, or in death. He only refers to the object which it was to serve. The design of it was not the death of Lazarus, but "the glory of God—that the Son of God might be glorified thereby."

The same thing appears from the command of Jesus on his arrival at the ruler's house. When he saw the minstrels and the people making a noise he said unto them, "Give place, why make ye this ado and weep, for the maid is not dead but sleepeth." These outward demonstrations of grief were quite inappropriate. The lamentations of the minstrels, of the singing men and singing women, suited only the departed. But as the maid still lived and was only asleep, their mourning was superfluous.

There is an expression in Luke which at first sight, might seem inconsistent with the view thus put forward. It is there said that when Jesus took the maid by the hand, "her spirit came again." Is it not clear, then, that the spirit had for a time left the body? Such would seem to be the natural conclusion, and in support of it we are referred to 1 Kings xvii. 21. There according to the translation of the LXX. we read *ἐπιστραφήτω δὴ ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ παιδαρίου τούτου εἰς αὐτόν*, which words we are told are exactly the same as those in Luke, "Let this child's soul come into him again." We cannot hold the passages to be entirely alike. So far as *ψυχὴ* and *πνεῦμα* are concerned, there may be no great difference. But in the passage from Kings we find *εἰς αὐτόν* to which there is nothing to correspond in the evangelist, and this addition is, in our opinion, of very material moment. When it is said that the soul of the child *came into him* again, it is plainly implied that it had been out of him. In the other case, however, where the expression *εἰς αὐτήν* does not occur, there is no room for drawing the same inference. Still it must be admitted that there is an appearance of difficulty in the expression "her spirit came again," which would appear to imply, that it had actually left the body. But the apparent difficulty is removed and our opinion confirmed by a passage in the Book of Judges (xv. 19), where the phrase in question occurs in so many letters, "*Καὶ ἐπέστρεψε τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ.*" The sacred historian is speaking of Samson who after the slaughter of the Philistines was exhausted, and ready to faint." "Shall I die for thirst," is his exclamation. "But God," we are told, "clave an hollow place that was in the jaw, and there came water thereout," and when he had drunk "his spirit came again." It will not be alleged that Samson was dead. The meaning therefore, must be, that he recovered from his fatigue—that he

regained his strength—that his vigour was restored. Just so in the case before us. At the touch of Jesus the daughter of Jairus awoke from her sleep—from the swoon into which she had fallen—from her apparent death—and regained her usual health and strength. She had not been dead.

In the verse of Judges thus referred to, it is added, “and he revived” *καὶ ἀζήσῃ*, thus confirming our interpretation of Jairus’ words to Jesus (Matt. ix. 18), “But come and lay thy hand upon her and she shall live” —*ζήσεται*—she shall revive—she shall continue to live—she shall not die.

It is scarcely necessary to add that the opinion now advocated does not tend to diminish the greatness of the miracle wrought by Jesus. But although it did, that would be a matter of no moment. If the view is a just one we are bound to adopt it independently of all consequences. The miracles of Jesus require no adventitious aid. They are great enough and numerous enough to bear down all opposition. Surely, however, it is scarcely a less wonderful work to recall by a word or by a touch a human being from the jaws of death, than it would be to restore health and strength to a dead body. The present display of his divine power proves sufficiently that he can do the one. The raising of the widow’s son at Nain—and that of Lazarus—and, above all, his own resurrection,<sup>a</sup> attest his ability to accomplish the other.

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<sup>a</sup> Our Correspondent surely forgets how frequently the resurrection of Jesus is attributed to an external divine power.—Ed. *J. S. L.*

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## NOTICES OF BOOKS.

*A Critical and Grammatical Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, with a Revised Translation.* By C. J. ELLICOTT, M.A., Rector of Pilton, Rutland, and late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. London: J. W. Parker and Son, West Strand, 1854.

WE observe with much pleasure the growing attention of English scholars to exegetical theology; and though, at present, our writers have not manifested that degree of *self-reliance* which some of them might have done to the advantage of their cause, we are thankful to find that this subject is no longer likely to be neglected among us, and we shall hope ere long to see the time when it shall no more be thought necessary to rely upon various most questionable authorities abroad, for matters which it is all but disgraceful that we have not been able to settle at home. If in any country in the world there are men in abundance who are *peculiarly qualified* for this object—for pursuing sound inductions and arriving at sound results as to everything which relates to the Divine Word—it is in our own land, it is among the alumni of our English universities. We estimate as highly as any one ought to do the labours of continental scholars in this department; the fact, that it is the *occupation* of multitudes in Germany to lecture on the Scriptures, and the various subjects of language, grammar, history, &c., which belong to the study of it, has given rise to a vast amount of materials among which there cannot fail to be much that is of great value, and which may well be regarded as a common good, for the discriminating use of those who can bring to the great subject itself a sober judgment, a true philosophy, and a reverent regard to the Truth of God. It is not prejudice, nor a want of acquaintance with the bulk of continental writers of the last fifty years, which leads us to say, again and again, that they have no sort of claim to the *confidence* of the British Christian scholar. With exceedingly few exceptions, the spirit with which all Scripture subjects have been investigated abroad, during, at least, the period referred to, has been anything but *Beræan*. Men have searched the Scriptures, not with the *évyéveia*, the generous, candid purpose of “seeing whether these things *were so*,” but with the determination of proving that they were something different from that which their authors generally declare, and the church has generally received; the perpetual object being to bring out something *paradoxical*, to vent some subjective notion recommended chiefly by its departure from the common. We allow that, with regard to the details of interpretation, there have always existed a sufficient number of *vulgar errors*, even in the minds of otherwise enlightened men; and these have been propagated sometimes with mischievous results, and there have been false and dangerous

*methods* of interpretation carried on with a sovereign disregard of all grammatical and logical considerations. It was in correcting evils of this kind that the earlier *exegetes* obtained celebrity; but their successors seem to have thought to attain still more fame by shewing that *all* the convictions which had ruled the judgments, influenced the hearts, inspired the hopes, and moulded the lives of Christians, were to be classed among vulgar errors—that whatever was, *was wrong*. This had been done, though only partially and for a time, with regard to profane literature; wild and heterodox notions were at one time rife with regard to Homer, to Herodotus; but soon the *ἐνγενέστεροι* arose who restored these writers to their due honour. And if among continental writers a hundredth part of the pains and candour had been employed in understanding the theology of St. Paul, which have been employed in discovering that of Plato, we might have had *authorities* for the former, on whom we could confide as much as we can on our Schleiermachers for the latter, especially as Plato did not always understand himself, nor always say the same thing, while St. Paul, if not always obviously clear, is always consistent.

Whatever, therefore, Mr. Ellicott, and such as he, may modestly think, we are convinced that *his own* independent authority is of far more value, and any result of his *own researches* more worthy of confidence, than almost any of those which for some time past it has been fashionable to *import*.

With Mr. Ellicott's acquirements as a scholar, from the long attention which he has given to Biblical Greek, his deep sense of the importance of the documents before him, and the harmony of his own spirit with the great *πεπληροφορημένα* of God's Word, we are confident that many of these men who seem to be pillars would "add nothing to him;" that he and many of his brethren are better qualified to rank among the *ἐνγενέστεροι*, who have candidly searched for, and have truly found, that which the Word of God would say. We cordially cite Mr. Ellicott's own professions. He says:—

"I have, in all cases, striven humbly and reverently to elicit from the words (of Scripture) their simple and primary meaning. Where that has *seemed* at variance with historical or dogmatical deductions, where, in fact, exegesis has seemed to range itself on one side and grammar on the other, I have never failed candidly to state it; where it has confirmed some time-honoured interpretation I have joyfully and emphatically cast my small mite into the great treasury of sacred exegesis, and have felt gladdened at being able to yield some passing support to wiser and better men than myself. This, however, I would fain strive to impress upon my reader, to whatever party of the church (alas! that there should be parties) he may chance to belong, that, as God is my witness, I have striven to state, in perfect candour and singleness of heart, all the details of interpretation with which I have come in contact; I have sought to support no particular party, I have desired to yield countenance to no particular views. I will candidly avow that on all the fundamental points of Christian faith and doctrine my mind is fully made up. It is not for me to sit in judgment on what is called the liberal spirit of the age, but, without evoking controversies into which I have neither the will nor the ability to enter, I may be permitted to say, that, upon the momentous subject of the inspiration of Scripture, I cannot be so untrue to my own deepest convictions, or so forgetful of my own anxious thoughts and investigations, as to affect a freedom of opinion which I am very far from entertaining."—p. viii.

Now, we repeat that a state of mind like this is both philosophical, and in the highest degree favourable to a fruitful result. It is philosophical, because such convictions on the general subject of the documents before him have been formed on other grounds than the results of the investigations he is about to make; it is conducive to the truth, because adapted to repress any careless levity to which a lower estimate of these writings might tempt a speculative mind. We have seen editions of classical authors which have included pieces passing under such an author's name, but which the editor has regarded as spurious. The parts regarded as genuine have been carefully and reverently elaborated, while the rest have been either slighted or perpetually abused. Now, while something like the latter spirit has inevitably manifested itself in the case of those who have taken a lower view of Scripture than our author, we would fain commit to him, and such as he, the treatment of subjects which can with safety be committed only to a man of God, and which have been divinely imparted *ἵνα ἄριστος ἢ ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄνθρωπος, πρὸς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν ἐξηρτισμένος*. It is not mere nationality, though we should be ashamed to be destitute of a spice of this, which leads us to call most earnestly on our own countrymen, to call upon the men of God, the *ἐξηρτισμένοι* of our own highly favoured land, to *steer their own bark*—

“O Navis, referent in mare te novi  
 Fluctus. O quid agis? fortiter occupa  
 Portum. . . .  
 Tu, nisi ventis  
 Debes ludibrium, cave.”

We have spent some fifty years of helpless pupillage, the time is fully come when our own men may safely and wisely follow the advice of the poet's good old father—

“Simul ac duraverit ætas  
 Membra animunque tuum, *nabis sine cortice*.”

Germany itself is no longer so *young* as it was; its sons are beginning to see that their sires did not dote so absolutely as they had imagined, and *young England* will soon find that they themselves have taken up with speculations which are out of date, and are left in a somewhat ridiculous *lurch*. Our desire, our earnest exhortation, is that the *goodly number* of able men, who, we know, might be found among ourselves, should awake to a consciousness of their own strength, and to a sense of the importance of employing it in this direction. There is no reason whatever why we should not have a sound Anglican school of *exegesis*, whose labours should include everything which was true and good to be met with at home or abroad in this department, but which should have passed through the alembic of their own judgment so as to be made theirs. The advantage of this would be that inquirers in the department of Biblical learning, who are now referred to a cloud of names, more often notorious for what is bad than eminent for any good



discovery, and who are thus sent they know not whither and to what sort of men, would have the means of a ready access to their teachers, and of knowing who and what they were.

We never feel much less than indignant at the bad example set by Bloomfield in this respect. Without any judgment of his own he gave an *omnium gatherum* of whatever foreign opinions came in his way, and whose authority, whatever they might have had individually, was neutralized by mutual contradiction. This is true of his New Testament, but still more ridiculously so of his *Critical Synopsis*. Mr. Ellicott himself expresses his disapprobation of this sort of thing. He says :—

“I have, in no case, sought to construct those catenæ of names which it seems now the fashion of commentators to link together in assent or dissent ; for, whenever I have examined one in detail, I have invariably found that the authors thus huddled together often introduced such countervailing statements as made their collective opinion anything but unanimous. This easy display of erudition and of error cannot be too much deprecated.”—p. xix.

We are bound to say that Mr. Ellicott is far from having obtruded authorities in this way, and that he has in general cited them with discrimination, but we respectfully suggest that even he has followed more than is desirable the prevailing fashion. We will take a case, *ad aperturam*, by which to illustrate our remark. The notes to the passage, Gal. v. 16, &c., are, on the whole, of considerable value, but we need not to be sent to four different grammarians for the use of the dative in the phrase, *πνεύματι περιπατεῖτε*. All the adjuncts to the verb, *περιπατεῖν*, in St. Paul's writings express the manner or rule of a Christian's conduct ; and the same phrase in 2 Cor. xii. 18, would have been a better authority to cite than even Winer. So with regard to the exegetical meaning of *πνεῦμα* as opposed to *σάρξ*, we much doubt whether the reference to Müller, Neander, Knapp, throws any real light on the matter. The two former, at least, connect with their explanations metaphysical forms of expression which are misty rather than clear, or which belong to a system of mental philosophy which never has been, and, we trust, never will be, naturalized in this country. In all cases of this kind it would, we are convinced, more directly accomplish Mr. Ellicott's object, which is *not to display his reading*, but to illustrate the sacred text, to make St. Paul his own interpreter, especially as, in this case, the means of doing so are very abundant. And, even with regard to the grammar of the phrase *καὶ ὅν μὴ τελέσητε*, we believe Mr. Ellicott himself has been misled by some of his German authorities. The *καὶ* is one of the numerous cases in Biblical Greek where this particle, like the Hebrew *ו*, is placed before the *apodosis* of a sentence to denote a logical conclusion ; and the *ὅν μὴ* is conformable to what we believe to be the universal use of this double negative to convey a strong negation ; the first being a direct, the second necessarily a subjoined negative, the full phrase being *ὅν ἔως μὴ*, there is *no fear lest*, or it is *impossible that* ; so that the declaration here is, “Walk in the spirit, and then there is no fear that ye should accom-

plish the desires of the flesh"—i.e., desires of this kind may occur to one who walks in the spirit, or who has τὸ φρόνημα τοῦ πνεύματος, but they cannot, in such a subject, be carried out to completion, εἰς τὸ τέλος. Now, the reference to various authorities seems, in this case, to answer no other purpose than to disturb an established grammatical rule, as well as the traditional exegesis, to the effect of weakening the force of the apostle's declaration, which is in full accordance with what he has copiously said elsewhere, as in Rom. viii. 4, &c. Mr. Ellicott may have thought it desirable to consult such a writer as Baur on this highly spiritual subject. Now, Baur may have written what is good on grammatical and critical questions, though, even here, he has ceased to be an oracle; but for our parts we would not listen to a word he has to say on subjects which required that a man should have the mind of the Spirit, and still less should we think of referring a student to such a writer. We make these remarks in no hypercritical spirit; we are thankful to see that Mr. Ellicott is much less open to them than some whom we could name, and we are persuaded that, if in his future labours, his own expressed convictions are more fully carried out and his own powers more courageously relied upon, we shall have to thank him with more unqualified gratitude for his contributions to our Anglican school of Biblical research.

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*Ancient Jerusalem. A New Investigation into the History, Topography, and Plan of the City, Environs, and Temple: designed principally to illustrate the Records and Prophecies of Scripture. With Map, Plans, and other Illustrations.* By JOSEPH FRANCIS THRUFP, M.A., Vicar of Barrington. Cambridge: Macmillan, 1855. 8vo. Pp. 428.

NOTHING is more surprising than the fact that great cities should fall into such obscurity, that it should ever become difficult to ascertain their site or identify their more remarkable localities. This is especially wonderful in the case of Jerusalem, which has never ceased to be an object of interest and attraction, from the time of its first coming into the hands of the Israelites to the present day, and which has been especially hallowed since it became the scene of the great event of man's redemption. That the site of the crucifixion, or of the ascension, should be at all doubtful, appears perfectly marvellous, until we turn from the feelings and æsthetic views of our own age to those of the earliest periods of the history of the Church. Jerusalem was long trodden down of the Gentiles, or left in a position of ruin and baseness; troublous times left to Christians no opportunities of becoming archaeologists before time had effaced the clear lines of departed history; and, more than all, it took some centuries to make the early believers the seekers for, and admirers of relics. The singular indifference of early Christians for all that was worldly threw entirely into the shade a mode of thinking and feeling which has become almost universal with us. Had the kind of reverence which *we* feel for all that relates to the origin

of Christianity been known to the first century, we should not have been left in the dark on such matters as the autographs of the apostles, the exact scenes of our Lord's history, or even his personal relics. It took long ages to form Christian antiquarianism, and it did not attain an influence until almost all that it began to seek after had been swept into decay and forgetfulness.

May we be allowed to suggest that there is a danger of attaching too much importance to antiquarian discovery in the field of Christian history? As a matter of taste, no harm can arise from it; but there are many indications of its intruding itself into the sphere of theology. The bearing of all that is known of ancient Jerusalem on the value of the Christian religion is ridiculously small when compared with the labour and expense of its attainment. It should be remembered that it is only the artistic accompaniments of Christianity, if we may use such a phrase, which can be affected by the whole of its archæology; and if this is kept in mind, the study is important and valuable. How grateful should we be that all that is important in the documents of our faith has been preserved to us; and that nothing has perished but what we can well do without. The Word and the Church utter an uninterrupted and consistent testimony, strangely contrasted with the doubts and uncertainties of mere extraneous matters.

It was the great interest we feel in Mr. Thrupp's work which led to these reflections, as we found the necessity of checking in ourselves this tendency to make the past of too much importance. He has produced a volume of no ordinary value in its own sphere, and we hope it will be read and studied. He thinks that the most important object to which the topology of Jerusalem can be directed—namely, the elucidation of the Old Testament, has been comparatively depreciated, and he "has accordingly endeavoured to keep the one great aim of Biblical illustration constantly in view." Most writers on this subject mix learned and useful investigations with much of the light *pabulum* of personal adventure and travel; but in this volume the object indicated is kept steadily in view. It touches on all the disputed localities, and subjects each to a searching investigation; in some instances with a result opposed to other authorities. The arrangement of the volume is into four chapters, treating of—*first*, some introductory particulars; *secondly*, the history of the city; *thirdly*, the environs of Jerusalem; and *fourthly*, of the temple. An appendix discusses the theories respecting Akra, Shiloh, the Church of Justinian at Jerusalem, traditions respecting the Sakhrah, &c. We will allow a rather long extract to furnish our readers with an acquaintance with Mr. Thrupp's method of treatment, and the style in which he has executed his task. Patient research, candour, and a reverence for Divine truth distinguish the whole volume.

"While thus compelled to admit the invalidity of the objections that have been urged against the authenticity of the Holy Sepulchre, and the difficulty of believing that it was elsewhere than here that the Redeemer of the world was laid, we cannot at the same time but regret the utter transformation which the cave itself has under-

gone, and the scantiness of the traces that to the eye of any ordinary beholder remain of its original destination. The removal of the surrounding rock, the casing of marble, and the architectural adornment have destroyed, so far as is possible, the associations which the true lover of the evangelic page would most desire to have cherished. He will remember that it was in a cliff of rock with a garden before it, not in a marble chapel in the centre of a crowded church, that the Saviour was buried: he will lament that so much labour should have been misspent in disguising the native beauty of the scene, and will complain that what was once a sepulchre should have now become an idol. It may be indeed that the material tomb has ministered more to superstition than to religion, more to discord than to Christian love; but still we have no more right on this account to deny its authenticity, than we have to doubt that the brasen serpent to which the Israelites burned incense was the same which by God's command Moses lifted up in the wilderness. Yet the rock of Christ's tomb, like the brasen serpent of the Israelites, may have become the object of an idolatrous devotion; and the heart of him who keeps the resurrection feast not with the leaven of malice and wickedness but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth, is a truer martyrion of the Saviour's rising again than even the rock on which on Easter-morn the grave-clothes alone remained to tell who there had rested.

"A greatly exaggerated importance was attached to these sacred localities when in former times they were elevated into evidences of the Christian faith. To an unprejudiced mind it is obvious that the discovery of the sepulchre, nearly three hundred years after it had been the resting-place of our Saviour's body, did not add the slightest confirmation to the proofs that the resurrection had really taken place; nor, could the authenticity of the tomb be disproved, would the evidence for the truth of our Lord's resurrection be in the least affected. The sepulchre may have figured as a testimony of the resurrection in the florid writings of Eusebius, it may have been appealed to as such in the rhetoric of Cyril when addressing an audience of congenial hearers, but it was not appealed to by St. Peter, nor did he make the slightest allusion to it, when preaching to the Jews concerning the resurrection of Christ only a few weeks after the event; even though the apostle in the course of his address alluded to the royal sepulchre of David. The true evidence of the resurrection is the united testimony of the five hundred witnesses chosen before of God, and the result of that testimony as recorded to us by the several writers of the New Testament; and on their testimony the faith of the Christian rests. As men in former times exaggerated the importance of the sepulchre itself, so in more recent years they have overrated the importance of the question of its authenticity. A needless element has indeed been introduced into the controversy in the imputations which have been cast upon those concerned in its discovery. For the history of the original discovery of the present sepulchre by Constantine is plainly and distinctly narrated by Eusebius; and if it was too hastily assumed to be the sepulchre of Christ, we are at least in full possession of the circumstances under which the mistake was committed. The charges of fraud that have been made upon the clergy of Jerusalem in Constantine's time are unsupported by the slightest evidence; and they have so little bearing on the question before us, that they might be made with almost as much reason on the supposition of the genuineness as on that of the spuriousness of the present sepulchre. As Christians, we have the promise of the Spirit to guide us into all essential truth; but we have no right to expect, nor has the church at large ever claimed, an immunity from error in a matter of sacred topography, which does not in the slightest degree affect the truth of the faith delivered to us in the New Testament. We are there required to believe, not in the genuineness of Christ's sepulchre, but in the reality of his death and resurrection; and however strong the arguments for the genuineness of the sepulchre may be, we are bound to concede to all the liberty which has been assumed alike by Protestants and by Roman Catholics, of conscientiously judging of the question according as the evidence may present itself before them."—Pp. 288—291.

*Voices of many Waters; or, Travels in the Lands of the Tiber, the Jordan, and the Nile: with Notices of Asia Minor, Constantinople, Athens, &c., &c.* By the Rev. T. W. AVELING. London: Snow, 1855. 8vo. Pp. 520.

MR. AVELING went abroad for the benefit of his health; but while administering to bodily infirmity, he also catered for an observing and pious mind. The result is a most pleasing account of his travels, by which the reader is led on gently from one renowned spot to another, made acquainted with its features, and supplied with appropriate Christian reflections. There is, however, in conjunction with the exhibition of a devout spirit, an entire freedom from bigotry. The writer looks at both sides of a question, and can see good mingled with the evil wherever he goes. This is the only temper in which observations on men and things can be made generally pleasing and useful, and Mr. Aveling has succeeded in accomplishing such a task. Our limits forbid our entering more fully on the contents of the book. One short extract must suffice:—

“We rode one day up to the Quirinal, with the hope of seeing the gardens and the palace. In this however we were disappointed, as the Pope was then residing there. But we were told we could see him if we waited for a few minutes, as he was about to take his afternoon drive. He soon appeared, surrounded by his guards. In the carriage with him sat two ecclesiastics, one, I believe, a member of the Talbot family. As he came out of the gateway all the men-at-arms, and everybody else except ourselves, fell on their knees, and he scattered his blessings right and left; lifting up his finger, and making the sign of the Cross. We were of course conspicuous from our erect posture, and drew the eyes of Pio Nono towards us. We took off our hats and bowed; and heretics though we were, he acknowledged the act of courtesy by repeating his blessing. He is very much like the pictures of him which I had seen in England, and has a most benevolent looking face. I thought, from his countenance, he would have made one of the kindest grandfathers in the world.”—Pp. 83.

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*A Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans. With a Revised Translation.* By the Rev. EDWARD PURDUE, M.A., Master of the Endowed School, Kinsale. Dublin: Oldham, 1855. 8vo. Pp. 220.

THE author of this commentary very properly says:—

“I know not in what way the Church can be served more usefully, than by freeing from uncertainty and from error the interpretation of those passages of the Divine Word that are most liable to be misunderstood, to the end ‘that all who confess the faith of Christ, agreeing in the truth of God’s Holy Word, may live in unity and godly love.’ It is in the hope of contributing, although it be but in a very small degree, to an end so desirable, that the following pages have been committed to the press.”

An end like this is worthy of respect, even if the means used to accomplish it should be mistaken or feeble, which is not the case in the present instance. Mr. Purdue employs as his critical apparatus, first, the writings of St. Paul, as compared with one another; then the version of the LXX., which “furnishes the surest key to the peculiarities of his style; we have abundant reason to believe that it was his

favourite manual; his numerous citations of Scripture are drawn almost exclusively from its pages, and his mind was so deeply imbued with it, that it has, in many instances, evidently imparted its colouring to his language and style." Classical writers are next called to furnish their contributions; and, lastly, reference is made to English standard divines, "especially to the great luminaries of the seventeenth century, to Smith, to Barrow, and to Taylor; and also, though not to the same extent, to Hooker and to Bishop Butler." Obligations are also acknowledged to Archbishop Whateley, particularly "for some valuable remarks on the doctrine of imputed righteousness, and on the doctrine of election." In relation to the criticism of the text, Mr. Purdue says :—

"He has thought it necessary to depart from the Receptus in only two instances (chap. vii. 6 and 25); in the former, because it is destitute of MS. authority, and scarcely consistent with fact; in the latter, because a slight transposition of a few words removes an apparent incongruity, and exhibits a clear connexion in what were otherwise disjointed."

Acting on these principles, Mr. Purdue has produced a very interesting and useful exposition, such as will be of service to the mere English reader, while it furnishes materials of thought for the scholar. The plan adopted is to give the translation, with the notes of moderate compass, &c., expository of the English text beneath it, and to place the more learned discussions at the end. The latter are distinguished by good sense. The views taken are moderate, and great use is made of St. Chrysostom. We rejoice at another proof furnished by this commentary of the zeal with which such studies are pursued by English scholars; and we hope their labours will be so far recognized by the public that they will not, to say the least, be pecuniary losers by their exertions.

*Meditationes Hebraicæ: or, a Doctrinal and Practical Exposition of the Epistle of St. Paul to the Hebrews, in a Series of Lectures.* By WILLIAM TAIT, M.A., late Incumbent of Holy Trinity Church, Wakefield, now of St. Matthew's, Rugby. New and enlarged Edition. 2 Vols. London: Hamilton and Co., 1855. Pp. 1080.

We congratulate Mr. Tait on his success in disposing of the first edition of a work like the present, of so thoroughly solid a character; and we are gratified to find that the public taste has so far been in the right direction. A fashionable prejudice in favour of foreign divinity on the one hand, and a love of light and illustrated books on the other, have done much to discourage the school of English theology, of which these lectures are a favourable specimen. We cannot say we wish our times would patronize such heavy folios as those of Dr. Owen on the Hebrews; but we should much prefer that tendency to one for ephemeral productions, which demand little learning of the writer, and little attention of the reader. There is a happy medium which Mr. Tait has

followed, and the volumes have at once great solidity as to their substance, and a sufficiently popular method of exhibiting and applying it.

In an introduction of a few pages, Mr. Tait exhibits with great force and clearness the relations of this Epistle to the Jewish dispensation, to the early believers, and to the Church in all ages. The whole of the Apostolic Letters demand that the circumstances in which they were written should be well considered, but, probably, no one more than the Epistle to the Hebrews; and, in proportion as this relative information is possessed will be the correct comprehension of its doctrinal details. One passage will shew the manner in which the circumstances to which we allude are here brought before the mind of the reader. After alluding to the external grandeur of the Old Dispensation, Mr. Tait proceeds:—

“And whilst the splendour of the sacred edifice in which God was pleased to dwell, the gorgeous vestments of the ministers, and the pompous and imposing ritual, conspired to fascinate the senses, the self-love of the Hebrew was gratified by the reflection that all this was for him—that his nation was the peculiar people, the favoured heritage of the Lord. We can well conceive then what a shock it must have proved to every feeling which is dear to the heart of man, when the believing Hebrews began first to understand that all this was to pass away; that God had forsaken the temple, and no longer regarded either the priest or the sacrifice; that the institutions of Moses had lost both authority and utility, and that Jew and Gentile were one family in Christ. God is ever tender of the feelings of his people, and these unwelcome intimations were therefore given by degrees. And in the days which immediately succeeded Pentecost, when the hearts of those who believed in Jesus were filled to overflowing with peace and joy and love, they would be more able to say concerning all things, ‘Thy will be done.’ But these days of sunshine were not to last for ever. Years rolled over the churches of God in Palestine; the abounding of iniquity began to cause their love to wax cold, and the long continuance of persecution at length broke their spirits and subdued their courage. We cannot wonder that in these circumstances, ancient attachments and prejudices should have revived in their bosoms, and that while they were still desirous to cleave to Jesus, they should have felt most unwilling to forsake Moses and his law. And this seems to have been the very state of things among them, when the great Apostle of the Gentiles, from the solitude of his Roman prison, indited this epistle to the Hebrews.”

The whole Commentary is thrown into seventy-two lectures, of very convenient length for family reading. It has forcibly struck us, while examining them, that they will afford most valuable aid to preachers who may require help in the composition of their discourses. Natural divisions are given of the separate subjects, and much expository matter is introduced. In the volumes we have the *results* of learning more than its mere machinery; and while no important text is passed over in relation to its difficult or controverted bearings, the polemical is everywhere made to bend to the practical. Good sense and fervent piety seem to be the more prominent characteristics of the writer, and the real benefit of the reader is constantly kept in view. The work is very handsomely printed, and is altogether a valuable production.

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*Ezekiel, and the Book of his Prophecy: an Exposition.* By PATRICK FAIRBAIRN, D.D., Professor of Theology in the Free Church College, Aberdeen, Author of "Typology of Scripture," &c. Second Edition. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1855. 8vo. Pp. 510.

IT gives us very sincere pleasure to have the opportunity of introducing to the readers of the present number of the Journal so many valuable expository works by English divines. This is the fourth contribution already submitted to their notice, and others are to follow. Dr. Fairbairn's work received very warm commendations in one of our former volumes,\* and to that review we refer for a full description of it. It appears that the first edition has been for some time exhausted; but the exposition had been so thoroughly worked out by the author, that no very material changes were required. The remark we have made on Mr. Tait's *Lectures on the Hebrews* will apply to this volume;—it is eminently practical. Dr. Fairbairn says that this feature has led to the supposition that the exposition was delivered to a congregation, but that such is not the fact; and that "from principle, and from a regard merely to what he thinks should be found in an Exposition of the Word of God, and, in particular, of the writings of Ezekiel, he has introduced so much of the spiritual and practical element." Happy will that day be when all learned labours, in all departments of mental occupation, are thus made subservient to man's higher interests!

*Fragmenta Sacra Palimpsesta; sive fragmenta cum Novi tum veteris Testamenti ex quinque codicibus Græcis palimpsestis antiquissimis nuperissime in oriente repertis. Addita sunt fragmenta Psalmorum Papyracea, et fragmenta Evangelistariorum Palimpsesta, item fragmentum Codicis Friderico Augustani. Nunc primum eruit atque edidit ÆNOTH. FRIDERIC. CONSTANTINUS TISCHENDORF. Pp. xlviii. and 278, with three Plates of facsimiles. [Also, with the title, Monumenta Sacra inedita. Nova Collectio. Volumen I. Fragmenta Sacra Palimpsesta.]* Leipsic: Hinrichs, 1855.

THE knowledge of palimpsest MSS., and the discovery of important literary treasures in the writing which had thus been buried, must be regarded as altogether modern. The appointment of that eminent scholar of Italy, the late Cardinal Mai, to a post in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, and his investigations carried on in the midst of the MS. treasures there preserved, unfolded to scholars a new field of inquiry, a new sphere of labour, shewing a fresh channel through which the works of antiquity which had been lost for ages might yet be transmitted to our days.

The discoveries, by means of revivifying palimpsest MSS., bear a strong resemblance to those which have resulted from the investigations of the mounds of Nineveh. Hardly twenty years have passed since it was written, concerning the city of Semiramis—

\* J. S. L., January, 1852, pp. 434-447.



"Yet not one stone  
Of Nineveh remains;"

and that was when the resuscitation of the then unknown memorials, slumbering as they were beneath the mounds of the desert, was close at hand. And thus records were brought to light in the ancient sculptures and in the arrow-headed inscriptions, which (thanks to the researches of Rawlinson and his fellow-labourers) speak to us with intelligible voice, and constitute us the legatees of the long-forgotten and long-buried city.

And just so have palimpsest MSS. been the means of giving us the thoughts and mind which had been embodied in many ancient writings, which had been out of sight for ages. After the subject received a new interest from the discoveries of Mai, how many a MS., which was supposed to be of small importance, has been subjected to rigorous examination on the part of himself or others, and how much that is valuable has been recovered. The classical scholar and the priest look at *Cicero De Republicâ* and *Gaius* as precious possessions, lost, indeed, for ages,—the existence of which was, forty years ago, believed by none, when all thoughts of their recovery would have been deemed chimerical,—but which we now possess and read as though, for the most part, they had not been buried and obscured as completely as the sculptures reposing beneath the mounds of Nineveh.

Biblical palimpsests had, indeed, before the time of Cardinal Mai, received a considerable share of attention: for instance, much of the *Codex Ephraemi* of the New Testament at Paris had been collated by Wetstein; the fragments of two different MSS. of the New Testament had been deciphered and edited by Knittel, together with a gothic fragment of the Epistle to the Romans, and Barrett read and published the important Dublin MS. of part of St. Matthew's Gospel. But, just as the more recent examination of palimpsests bore fruit in the department of classical literature; so also did it in sacred. During the investigations of Mai the Gothic version of St. Paul's Epistles was known, not from a mere fragment as published by Knittel, but from the recovery and publication of *whole books*. And thus we became the better able to appreciate the labours of Ulphilas, the Gothic translator, by which he sought to benefit his countrymen. And if, of the original text of the New Testament, comparatively little was found in the MSS. examined in this later period, it was because of the search which had previously been made in so many libraries for all that is Biblical.

But the new impulse given to investigations of this kind was important even as regards the Greek New Testament; for few years had passed before palimpsest MSS. previously known were subjected to a close re-examination; and as chemical means had been discovered for reviving the old and faded writing, of which no use had been made prior to the impulse given by Mai to this branch of study, these modes of restoration were applied to Biblical Greek, as well as to other Palimpsests.

It must be borne in mind that old MSS. were used over again, not

because of their being void of value in themselves, but simply through scarcity of writing materials during the dark, and a portion of the middle ages. The *librarii*—at once the booksellers and *printers* (if the term may be thus figuratively applied)—of that day, cared principally for the production of that which would command a *sale*; and the popular taste ran in favour of what was *new*, rather than that which was old. And thus many an ancient tome was destroyed simply on account of its value as writing material: the old ink was partly erased, the surface of the vellum was again rendered smooth and glossy, and some new work of comparatively little value was destined to occupy the place of the ancient writing, on such, at least, of the sheets as were sufficiently good after having been subjected to this rude process of preparation.

But the ancient writing is buried, not destroyed. Before many centuries have passed the iron of the earlier ink which had been incorporated as it were with the vellum itself begins to give signs of its existence; a reddish hue is seen where many of the ancient letters once had been, and thus there is manifest evidence that the later writing has usurped a place which belonged of right to another.

It was thus that much of the fragments published by Knittel and others had been read; and while some of the Biblical palimpsests had been so fully deciphered as to leave hardly anything more to be desired; others, such as the Codex Ephraemi, remained with many of their readings known, but with others untraced. Indeed, as to this last-named copy, though it was known to be one of the most valuable of documents, hardly anything had been done since the time of Wetstein; and as that collator only published the readings which he had extracted which *differ* from the common text, it was not at all known in other cases whether the MS. was itself illegible, or whether it contained the ordinary reading. This was very unsatisfactory, and especially so when we remember that this MS. is one of the most valuable of our documents, and that the places in which the reading was thus uncertain are some of them of great interest and importance.

The chemical restoration of this MS., at the suggestion of Fleck, and by orders of M. Hase, of the (now) Imperial Library at Paris, was, therefore, a circumstance of much interest to Biblical scholars; and though this restoration was not conducted with the same skill in the application of re-agents as might now be employed, it was also far from being characterized by the rudeness of the means used in the earlier experiments of the same kind.

After this restoration of the Codex Ephraemi, it was not long before its text was published for the benefit of Biblical scholars. Tischendorf commenced his labours in editing the texts of Biblical documents by transcribing this MS. for publication; it made its appearance in the year 1843, as far as it contained the New Testament, and, in 1845, it was followed by the fragments of the LXX. version of the Old.

This was Tischendorf's earliest labour in editing Biblical palimpsests: the volume before us contains his latest. To the present there

attaches an especial interest in the fact that so large a portion of the contents was first obtained or made known by the zeal and diligence of the editor himself. We ought here to remark that, in the intervening years, Tischendorf published other Biblical documents, of which we make no special mention as they are not palimpsests, although, in themselves, of great value, and forming a very large proportion of the Biblical texts which have been edited at all.<sup>a</sup>

The present volume contains (as stated in the title) the text of *five* palimpsest MSS., obtained by the editor himself in the East, together with some others. Of the five, one contains portions of the New Testament, the rest parts of the LXX.

These, then, we shall briefly describe in the order in which they stand in the edition itself.

I. Fragments of the New Testament, over which there was later writing in the Armenian language. The Greek under-writing is not all of the same character or date, but the whole of these fragments were discovered in the same Armenian book. These fragments consist of twenty-eight leaves—that is, of twenty single leaves and four double. Seven of these contain portions of St. Matthew's Gospel; two of St. Mark; five of St. Luke; eight of St. John; four of the Acts; and two portions of St. Paul's Epistles. The highest antiquity which is assigned by Tischendorf to any portion is the fifth century; others might be inclined to estimate even these parts as somewhat later. Three of those of the Acts are certainly not older than the seventh century. Most of the writing is in two columns. In the *general character* of the text this MS. upholds the more ancient documents, so far, at least, as they belong to a distinctively different class from the body of the more recent. Some examples of these readings are given by Tischendorf in the Prolegomena to the volume before us, and also in the descriptive catalogue of the MSS. which he offered for sale by public competition in the autumn of 1854. It is not needful to repeat them here, as the MS. is itself published, so that those to whom such points are of interest or importance can themselves learn the affinity of its text with other documents. Hardly any of the leaves are perfect; indeed, some of them are very defective and illegible: to this subject we shall have to advert, after having specified the other palimpsest documents discovered by Tischendorf, and here edited.

Tischendorf mentions that this MS. contains the numbers of the Ammonian sections in the Gospels, but without the reference to the Eusebian Canons,<sup>b</sup> in this respect resembling the Codex Ephraemi. On this we wish to make a remark; the same fact may be observed in the four previously published palimpsest MSS. containing portions of the

<sup>a</sup> For a statement of the labours of Tischendorf, see Dr. Tregelles's *Account of the Printed Text of the Greek New Testament*, pp. 129-30; where is also given a conspectus of what had been done in that department by others.

<sup>b</sup> "Præterea in margine textus Evangelici sectiones Ammonianii notantur, sed pariter atque in codice Ephraemi Syri rescripto absque canonibus Eusebii."

gospels CPQZ, and hence it is natural to inquire if there can be any reason for their agreement in this peculiarity. The answer to this is found, we believe, in the fact that they are all of them palimpsests; and just as in many of these documents the introductory lines of the several books which had been written in vermillion are wholly washed out, so also, we believe, that the Eusebian Canons have disappeared from a similar cause. Of course, some of these documents *might* have been written without the Eusebian canons, but it is most unlikely that the five palimpsests which have been published should *all* of them agree in this peculiarity. In connexion with this subject we may also mention that, in the Nitrian palimpsest fragments of St. Luke in the British Museum, the same thing may be observed; so that this is a sixth which may be added to the five that have been published.<sup>c</sup>

In comparing this MS. with others of the Greek New Testament, previously known, Tischendorf says, "Codices Novi Testamenti parifere ætate hucusque innotuerunt 11 (ABCDPQTZ, E Actorum, D et H epp. Paul.), quorum 5 (PQTZH), minorem fragmentis nostris ambitum habent, et quattuor (CPQZ), pariter sunt palimpsesti." This does not give a just apprehension of the contents of the MSS. with which this is compared; for two of those which are here made to comprise less than this are really larger; for P has forty-two leaves, and Z thirty-two; the *value* of this last-named fragmentary MS. is exceeded by hardly any. Also, the Nitrian fragments to which allusion was just made contain *forty-five* leaves, thus being more in quantity than any of these New Testament uncial palimpsests, except C.

Others would probably not agree with Tischendorf in his exclusion of some of the documents which he does not mention in his comparison with the age of his own fragments; but this is more a question of individual judgment than a *fact* such as what is the comparative quantity contained in different fragmentary MSS. can be said to be.

We shall advert again to this MS. and the printed edition of its text in connexion with a subject to which Tischendorf draws attention—the very great difficulty of *reading* some portion of the palimpsest writing.

II. The second palimpsest in this volume contains a large portion of the LXX. version of the Book of Numbers; the ancient writing is contained in forty-four leaves; it is assigned by Tischendorf to the fifth or sixth century; the writing is not divided into more than one column in a page, and it is much less mutilated than is the case with regard to the one previously described.

At the end of the Book of Numbers there is a statement of the number of στίχοι comprised in it; it must not, however, be gathered from this that the text of the MS. itself is stichometric; for the copyist

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<sup>c</sup> It is hoped that this Nitrian palimpsest will not long remain unedited: it is of more importance than others that are better known, and the text has been prepared by Dr. Tregelles for speedy publication. It belongs to the same Syriac MS. out of which a large portion of the *Iliad* was edited by Mr. Cureton.

divides habitually in the middle of a word if it suits his convenience : it may be, however, that an *arrangement* in *στίχοι* is indicated by the punctuation, even if, in some cases, the point is inadvertently omitted by the copyist. The later writing of this MS. is also Greek, containing a Patristic treatise in uncial letters.

III. The next palimpsest fragments were obtained by Tischendorf during a former journey and voyage in the East ; they contain parts of Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, and Judges : the later writing is Arabic, and of the earlier the Biblical portion is comprised in seventeen leaves. Each page is in two columns, and some parts of the text are much mutilated. This MS. has been deposited for some years in the University Library at Leipsic. The Greek writing is in large, slanting, uncial letters, which Tischendorf assigns to the seventh century.

IV. Three leaves in which parts of the second and third of Kings in Greek, are found with later writing in Armenian super-imposed. In each page there are two columns ; the age, according to Tischendorf, is the eighth century, or older. The writing is rather peculiar : in some respects it resembles the *Fragmentum Uffenbachianum* (No. 53 of St. Paul's Epistles), at Hamburgh.

V. Six leaves, containing part of Isaiah, written in one column in a page. The later writing is Armenian ; the earlier writing has been assigned to the seventh century.

These are the palimpsests obtained in the East by Tischendorf himself ; and when, in addition, it is remembered that he also procured the very valuable MS. of a portion of the Old Testament—the *Codex Friderico-Augustanus*—edited by him, in lithographed facsimile, several years ago, and also that he has obtained other MSS., the text of which has not been published, it may well be said that he has achieved a success which has fallen to the lot of no previous scholar. No one individual has ever, it is probable, procured more of such MSS., and the previous labours of all combined have not resulted in editing so much in facsimile editions.

Before passing on to notice the other MSS. contained in this volume, we have again to advert to No. I. The difficulty of reading some portion of the older writing of this document we have already mentioned. It is considerably the most effaced of the palimpsests which Tischendorf obtained : some of the others, such as No. II., may be read with comparative facility, and hence it is no cause for surprise that, in the text, Tischendorf should have distinguished many words, or parts of words, as being no longer existent in the MS. Letters or words at the end of a line, or where Tischendorf could not read them, are given in the printed edition, but inclosed in brackets, so as to distinguish them from the actual text of the *Codex*. Hence it is not improbable that some of the words or letters which appeared illegible to Tischendorf, at the time when he transcribed the text for publication, might, to others or to himself at a different time, be more or less distinct. No one who has had much experience of reading MSS. will think that there is any peculiarity in such a thought. We have often examined an ancient *Codex*

and found it so obscure that hardly a letter seemed to be traceable, and yet, at a different time, when our eyes were in a better state or the light was more favourable, we have found that much could be made out with accuracy, which before was indistinct. Tischendorf notices pages 15 and 16 of this MS. as peculiarly obscure; he therefore sought to restore the ancient writing by chemical aid, not, however, as dexterously as has been done by some other manipulators: but even with this aid there are many words and letters enclosed in brackets in the published edition.

But, can *any* of these supposed lacunæ be supplied by a more *thorough* examination of the MS.? we believe that they can; for we *know* that in this leaf there are parts which *are* legible, though edited as if they were not, and with regard to some we know that the particulars were furnished to Tischendorf himself some months before the completion of his volume. In this passage Tischendorf edits two lines in Matt. xxvi. 33, thus—

ΟΠΕΤΡΟC[EIIEN]  
ΑΥΤΟΕΙΙΑΝ[TEC].

Now, we *know*, that here, at least, the brackets are out of place; for, in examining the MS., we thought at first that *εμεν* was illegible; but, after a more close examination in different lights, we found that every letter was traceable, and the memorandum which we made on the spot now lies before our eyes, "*hanc vocem legi.*" And we were not alone in this, for others, whose attention we drew to the fact, were also able with us to trace the existence of each letter. So, too, the termination *res* in the next line.

Being *certain* as to what we read on this page makes us wish for the opportunity of reexamining some of the readings which we extracted, and which do not precisely correspond with the text edited by Tischendorf. For instance, in Matt. xxiv. 37, we noted the *kai* after *εσται* as not contained (apparently) in the MS. at all; but it is edited by Tischendorf. In the end of the same verse and the beginning of the next Tischendorf edits—

ΥΙΟΥΤΟΥΑΝΘΥ  
ΟΠΕΡΓΑΦΗCΑΝ,

the letters are certainly obscure, but, according to our notes, we read,

ΥΙΟΥΤΟΥΑΝΘΡΩ  
ΠΟΥΩΓΡΑΦΗCΑ,

and this we have reason to think is what the Codex actually has. In the same chap., ver. 40, Tischendorf includes ΔΥΟ in brackets; now, we *know* that the word is both there and also legible. We do not know why, at the bottom of the second column on this page, Tischendorf has supplied within brackets two lines where the MS. is defective, but without doing the same in the first column, or on the following page, although the circumstances are precisely similar. In Matt. xxv. 33,

we believe that the MS. reads ΔΕΞΙΑC where Tischendorf edits ΔΕΞΙΩ following the reading of the common text. In ver. 35, ΚΑΙ (before ἐποτίσατε) need not have been inclosed in brackets, nor yet CATEME immediately after. In ver. 45, after ἐλαχίστων, Tischendorf only by dots indicates the absence of text; οὐδε, however, can be faintly read after this word.

It is right to say that these passages of discrepancy are only found in the *most obscure* leaves; in examining our notes of the greater part of the MS. we find that they agree, letter for letter, with what the diligent editor has expressed in his published work; but as we *know* that *sometimes* a correction might be made, we heartily wish that some scholar who has the opportunity would take the trouble to recompare these pages. It might facilitate this if we could indicate *where* the MS. itself now is, or where it will eventually be deposited; but this we cannot do. The whole of the collection was sent, as most of our readers probably are aware, for sale to this country; and a descriptive catalogue was issued, together with proposals and conditions; whoever, before a certain specified day, made the highest offer (above a certain minimum specified in each case) became, in accordance with the stated terms, the absolute purchaser; and after offers had been made for certain MSS., so that, according to the proposals they had been purchased by those who made such offers, the proprietor changed his mind; the MSS. were again sent to Germany; and those who believed themselves to be the possessors of certain MS. found that they could not obtain them. Some of the MSS. have, indeed, been since procured for the British Museum, but *this* is not included in the number.

Before leaving this MS. it may be well to mention that Tischendorf proposes (in Herzog's *Encyclopædia*) that, as a critical reference, it shall be denoted by the letter I; this has been used from the time of Wetstein to indicate the fragments of the *Codex Cottonianus* in the British Museum; but as Tischendorf has demonstrated that these purple vellum fragments, and those in the Vatican (hitherto T), and those at Vienna, are all parts of one and the same *Codex*, he proposes to use N, the reference hitherto of the Vienna fragments, as denoting them all. To this there can be no objection if it be clearly understood; but as there is danger lest the use of I, in critical works hitherto (including those of Tischendorf himself), might lead to some confusion if henceforth that letter should denote another MS., II might be employed for this, which would not be likely to occasion any ambiguity or confusion.

We have yet briefly to notice the remaining parts of this volume.

VI. Fragments of a Palimpsest *Evangelistarium* at Venice; together with *specimens* of a similar document in the Barberini Library, which Tischendorf could not obtain permission to transcribe.

VII. A small portion of the *Codex Friderico-Augustanus* which Tischendorf was not able to obtain in his former journey, but which he then copied. He now states that he believes that this other portion of that extremely ancient MS., containing Isaiah, Jeremiah, Tobit,

Judith, and all the four Books of Maccabees, has been brought to Europe since the time when he saw it in the East. If this be the case, we must hope that it may not be long before the actual existence and place of deposit of so important a MS. is fully ascertained.

VIII. The volume closes with the fragments of the Psalms, on Egyptian paper, in the British Museum : a MS. remarkable on many accounts, and not the least so from the peculiarities of the accentuation.

Subjoined to the volume are three plates of facsimiles : the second of these is devoted to a beautifully executed entire page of the *second* MS. described above ; the later and the ancient writers are both skillfully represented.

The great value of this volume is the fact that it presents such excellent materials for the criticism of the text of the LXX. version—an undertaking, indeed, of toil and difficulty, but one the importance of which becomes increasingly felt by Biblical scholars.

Tischendorf entitles this a *first volume* ; what documents he intends to include in a second he does not announce : it may be that, as his success in discovering and obtaining ancient MSS. has been so remarkable, he hopes shortly to be in a position to bring before the public another volume, resulting as much as is the case with this from his own researches amid the literary treasures concealed in the East. Most heartily do we wish him good success in any such enterprise.

1. *Theism : the Witness of Reason and Nature to an All-wise and Beneficent Creator.* By the Rev. JOHN TULLOCH, D.D., Principal and Primarius Professor of Theology, St. Mary's College, St. Andrews. Edinburgh and London : Blackwoods, 1855. 8vo. Pp. 390.
2. *A Summary of the Evidence of the Existence of the Deity ; abstract, and from the works of Nature ; with an answer to the more usual objections against Natural, but especially against Revealed Religion.* By the Rev. J. TAYLOR, M.A., Head Master of Queen Elizabeth's Grammar School, Wakefield, &c. London : Longmans, 1855. 8vo. Pp. 370.
3. *Creation's Testimony to its God ; or, The Accordance of Science, Philosophy, and Revelation. A Manual of the Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion, with especial reference to the Progress of Science and the Advance of Knowledge.* By THOMAS RAGG, Author of "The Incarnation," &c. London : Longmans, 1855. 12mo. Pp. 470.

THE first of these volumes is the "Burnett Prize Essay," for which the second prize of £600 has been awarded, on the recommendation of Mr. Isaac Taylor, Mr. Henry Rogers, and the Rev. Baden Powell. We hope much *direct* good will result from this second apportionment of the liberal bequest of the founder of the prize, the first having taken place forty years ago. However that may be, the calling of public attention to the nature of the evidence on which our immortal hopes rest, cannot



but be productive of great advantage. Since the prizes were given at the early part of the present century, infidelity, both as to God and Christianity, has exhibited itself in new forms, among which pantheism and secularism hold a conspicuous place. On this account it has been thought that the old *à posteriori* argument is now comparatively inefficient, and on this ground Mr. Tulloch's essay has been already severely criticized, as being unsuitable to the age. We can allow but little weight to this objection, because we feel sure that the belief in a God is natural to man, and that his sin is rather forgetfulness of his Maker than a real denial of his existence. Atheism is often attributed to men whose only fault is that they can not, or will not, admit current opinions as to the *mode* of divine operations. In other instances, hasty and sinful declarations are made in the warmth of debate or controversy. A few men are found who actually profess to believe there is no personal God; but they are but few. What is to be lamented, and met by expostulation and argument, is that men *live as if there were no God*, and to recall them to a neglected and almost forgotten truth, is the most valuable function of treatises on natural and revealed religion.

We confess that we are old-fashioned enough to think the argument of Paley, deducing a designer from the existence of design, is still incontrovertible, and still capable of meeting the wants of our times in this department of thought. This is stated by Dr. Tulloch in the following syllogism:—*Order universally proves Mind; the works of Nature discover Order; therefore, the works of Nature prove Mind.* The skill in which this idea is worked out, so as to adapt it to increasing science and knowledge, is the real desideratum, and not a new method of proof. We believe this *à posteriori* argument can be made as efficient in connexion with the theory of the *Vestiges*, or of an uninterrupted *development* from the beginning, as it confessedly is against the absurdities of the doctrine of chance or a fortuitous concourse of atoms. In this age of discovery, we must more and more test the power of our instrument, and it will be found quite equal to any trial to which it may be called. This is too much forgotten, and the consequence is that scepticism as to old doctrines respecting God's immediate working, is often confounded with unbelief of his existence. This is clearly laid down by Mr. Taylor, in the second work on our list, and he quotes the *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation* as maintaining the truth stated in the words of Dr. Buckland:—

“If the properties of the elements at the moment of their creation adapted them beforehand to the infinity of complicated useful purposes which they have already answered, and may have still further to answer, under many dispensations of the material world, such an aboriginal constitution so far from superseding an intelligent agent, would only exalt our conceptions of the consummate skill and power that could comprehend such an infinity of future uses under future systems, in the original ground-work of his creation.”

Dr. Tulloch divides his essay into four sections, under the following heads:—1. *Principles of inductive evidence*, including chapters on causation, final causes, and general laws. 2. *Illustrative (inductive) evidence*,

containing thirteen chapters, in this order:—Cosmical arrangements; structure of the earth; cosmical and terrestrial magnitudes—divine power; elementary combinations—crystallization; organization—design; special organic phenomena—vegetable; do.—animal; typical forms—divine wisdom; mental order; sensation—divine goodness; instinct; cognitive structure in man; emotive structure in man. 3. *Moral intuitive evidence*, including freedom and conscience among its topics. 4. *Difficulties regarding the divine wisdom and goodness*, in ten chapters, the headings of which we will give, as furnishing a skeleton of the moral picture Dr. Tulloch has undertaken to fill up:—General considerations, intended to obviate difficulties; physical pain and death; sorrow; social evils; sin; considerations derived from written revelation; the divine man—incarnate wisdom and love; the Gospel a divine power of moral elevation and consolation; limited reception of the Gospel—millennial prospect. The conclusion occupies only seven pages, “deducing from the whole the inferences most necessary for, and useful to, mankind.” In the above brief analysis, perhaps, our readers will think with us that a *lucidus ordo*, or natural sequence and concatenation of thought is not sufficiently visible; but the book must be read before this kind of criticism can be justly exercised. Our present object is merely to give an outline of Dr. Tulloch’s plan.

Is Mr. Taylor’s book one of the rejected essays? Its appearance just now would indicate this, and if so, we are thankful that so useful a work has been the result of unsuccessful competition. The author states that—

“The object of the essay is to exhibit, as briefly as may be, the evidences drawn from Nature and Revelation that there is a God; to enquire into his attributes, physical and moral, shewing that these are essential; and to demonstrate from the oneness of testimony, borne by these distinct witnesses, and based on principles mutually recognized, that the God of Creation and of Revelation is the same.”

The volume is a useful summary of the arguments which have been adduced by the best writers, not servilely copied, but arranged and stated in an original manner. Mr. Taylor professes to write for the bulk of mankind, not for a select class, and expresses a wish that “the essay should be published in a portable form at a low price, and by being found on every book-stall with the numerous works now provided for the million, stand a chance of being taken up and read.” We think the work has in it the elements of this popularity, and we hope it may be achieved. The principal divisions are:—A Sketch of the Evidences, *à priori*; Sketch of the Evidences, *à posteriori*, from the works of Nature; Do. from the records of Revelation; Evidences from the system of religion propounded in the Scriptures, and from the mode in which it was conveyed; considerations calculated to obviate the difficulties regarding the wisdom and goodness of the Deity; inferences from the foregoing principles most necessary for and useful to mankind. Under these heads a great amount of information is conveyed with perspicuity, and in an enlightened and discriminating spirit. The

following quotation will convey some notion of the execution of the volume.

"Another very important enquiry,<sup>c</sup> in connexion with physical astronomy, is the stability of the system. Now, it has been shewn by Lagrange and Laplace that, though the whole system is being constantly modified, by the action and re-action of the planets upon one another, yet it is impossible that any deviations from the normal laws impressed upon them—and which they would observe with exactitude, if not subject to what may be called extraneous influences—can ever exceed a certain small quantity, either in time or space: having attained a maximum or minimum, as the case may be, there is a sure return to original conditions. Now, this would not have been so, had the orbits of the planets been much more elliptical than they are. There would have been a far greater departure from the circular orbit than at present; had not the nicest adjustment of the propulsive power, with that of gravitation to the sun, been observed in the launching of the planets in space. Indeed, had the eccentricity of the larger planets been as great as is that of Mercury, viz., about one-fifth, this would of itself have destroyed the conditions of stability. There was also no necessity why the planes of the orbits should so nearly coincide, either with each other, or with that of the ecliptic, seeing that they might have cut each other at any angle, from nothing to 90°. Neither was there any reason why they might not have moved different ways in their orbits, or have revolved variously on their own axes.

"But in either or any of these cases, the stability would have been jeopardized or destroyed.<sup>d</sup> Is there here, then, no proof of design, intelligence, and wisdom? Out of ten thousand possible measures of impulse, that one is chosen which alone could produce orbits so nearly circular, that the planets in their translation would be safe from each other, and the whole system secure. Of an indefinite number of planes, in any one of which these bodies might have moved, those are adopted, and such motions in them, as secure the permanency of the whole fabric. If this be not an evidence of arrangement and choice, of mutual adaptations and happy selections, then there never can be any proof at all of intelligence and design in the world."—Pp. 47—49.

"*Creation's Testimony to its God*" is the work of a layman, engaged in pursuits not generally favourable to mental cultivation in its literary aspects, and it is therefore worthy of special notice and tender treatment. But there is no necessity for the author to employ the *argumentum ad misericordiam*, for he may safely allow his production to stand on its own merits. Mr. Ragg resides at Birmingham, and is acquainted with the character of the unbelief which exist among certain classes of its inhabitants; and he therefore proposes to pay "especial attention to that form of infidelity so prevalent in our large manufacturing towns, the rejection of the Scriptures resulting from an imperfect

<sup>c</sup> The mechanical problem to be solved, is thus stated by Professor Whewell:—"Having given the directions and velocities with which about thirty bodies are moving at one time, to find their places and motions after any number of ages; each of the bodies, all the while, attracting all the others, and being attracted by them."

<sup>d</sup> "I have succeeded in demonstrating, that whatever be the masses of the planets, in consequence of the fact that they all move in the same direction, in orbits of small eccentricity, and slightly inclined to each other—their secular inequalities are periodical, and included within narrow limits; so that the planetary system will only oscillate about a mean state, and will never deviate from it, except by a very small quantity. The ellipses of the planets have been, and always will be, nearly circular. The ecliptic will never coincide with the equator, and the entire extent of the variation in its inclination cannot exceed three degrees."—LAPLACE, "Expos. du Syst. du Monde," p. 441.

*acquaintance with the facts of physical science."* To meet this evil, the volume contains an immense amount of information, brought down to the very latest discoveries; and each of the twenty chapters might, as the author says, have been easily expanded into a volume. It appears that the Burnett competition called forth this treatise, although the author voluntarily destroyed his chance of success as a candidate, by "travelling out of the record," in giving so wide a range for the development of his plan. Mr. Ragg is a poet, and he throws some of the enthusiasm of that character into his descriptions, so that both the facts and their setting combine their attractions. The work is divided into two parts, on natural and revealed religion. There are in the whole twenty chapters, but their contents are too greatly diversified to allow of our giving the heads of them. In general the knowledge of the author is fully adequate to his theme, but not always; as might be inferred from his position; since only a life devoted to literary pursuits can make a man aware of the exact position of the various departments of science and learning. For instance: among the corroborative testimonies to the truth of Scripture, the Sinaitic inscriptions are introduced, as interpreted by Forster. It is true Mr. Ragg speaks dubiously, saying that "these views appear to need that corroboration which a testing of the alphabet by more numerous and lengthened inscriptions only can supply;" yet he allows Mr. Forster to have more authority than has been conceded to him by competent critics. The papers on the "Sinaitic Inscriptions," in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, the *Letters of Lepsius*, and a learned *exposé* of Mr. Forster's speculations in a former number of this Journal, would probably have modified Mr. Ragg's remarks, if he had read them.<sup>b</sup>

These three volumes then are the first instalments of the results, in one generation, of the Aberdeen merchant's benevolence. We cannot doubt more will follow, besides the first prize essay which is yet to come. While we have the fullest confidence in the ability and integrity of the judges, it is yet possible that their choice did not fall on the best of the productions submitted to them; *best* we mean as to adaptation to do good to the largest number. We hope therefore that many of the unsuccessful competitors will publish their essays, and that the public will give them due patronage.

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*Reformers before the Reformation, principally in Germany and the Netherlands, depicted by Dr. C. Ullman.* The translation by the Rev. ROBERT MENZIES. Vol. I.—The need of a Reformation in reference to the General Spirit of the Church and certain particular abuses. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1855. 8vo. Pp. 442.

THIS and the following volume are part of this year's contribution to "Clark's Foreign Theological Library," and, perhaps, no instalment has ever been more welcome. We must, however, begin by a gentle

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<sup>b</sup> *Journal of Sacred Literature*, July, 1853, pp. 328-435.

complaint that the translators of this Library often leave their readers quite in the dark as to the standing of the respective authors whose works they introduce to the English reader. It may be presumed that those who need a translation are not very familiar with German literary history; and a few lines stating who Dr. Ullman is, and where his work was originally published, would have been very acceptable. To supply the want in this case, we may inform our readers that Dr. Carl Ullman is professor of Church History in the University of Heidelberg, and that his *Reformers before the Reformation* was published at Hamburg, in 1841-2, in two volumes. This work has been pronounced by Dr. Schaff to be beyond doubt one of the finest ornaments of the recent theology of Germany, and a master-piece of historical research and composition, as profound as it is clear, and at the same time both instructive and interesting. The same competent authority pronounces further this criticism upon the production now before us.

"No one can doubt that the author is complete master of his subject, which the affectionate study of years has made his own, to the smallest details, and that he exhibits it faithfully without any of the spirit of partizanship, but with the calmness and dignity of a philosopher. The work does not include, indeed, the whole compass of the Reformation movements in the middle ages, but only a part of them, and chiefly in the Netherlands; those, namely, connected with the names of John of Goch, John of Wesel, John Wessel, the Brethren of the Common Life, and the mystics Ruysbroek, Suso, Tauler, Thomas à Kempis, and Staupitz. It passes over, therefore, the whole Wickliffe movement in England, the efforts of John Huss and the Hussites in Bohemia, of Savonarola in Italy, and of the Humanitarians, Agricola, Reuchlin, and Erasmus, as well as the more negative preparations of the Reformation brought about by the un-catholic sects. But the work is complete as far as it goes, and so far exhaustive that it will be difficult to add much that is new respecting these characters, as far, at least, as the substance of their history is concerned."

Ullman is also editor, in connexion with Umbreit, of the well-known periodical, *Studien und Kritiken*.

This first volume contains the general introduction, and then treats in the first Book of John of Goch; first giving a sketch of his life, and then investigating his writings. This examination takes the following heads:—1. Goch's general position as a theologian; 2. His theology in particular—his Book on Christian Liberty; 3. Goch in opposition to the errors of his age—his treatise on the Four Errors touching the Gospel Law; 4. Relation of Goch to his own and after times. Book the second takes the same course with John of Wesel, who was a great opponent of indulgences. An appendix contains accounts of Hans Boheim of Niklashausen, a forerunner of the peasant war, and Cornelius Graphæus, the first propagator of Goch's doctrines and works. To all who love to trace the Reformation to its sources, in the silent movements of private life, this volume will be a rich treat; while every reader must be delighted with the noble sentiments and philosophical views which are everywhere expressed. The following views of Goch as to interpretation of Scripture will somewhat illumine our conceptions of the universal darkness of theologians before the Reformation:—

"When a dispute arises among the learned respecting the import of Scripture, no argument conclusive for the refutation of error can be drawn *except from the*

*literal sense*, and for this reason the literal sense is superior to the rest, to which we ought never to have recourse except when a passage, literally interpreted, contains nothing instructive to faith or useful to morality. [By the *rest* he means the allegorical, the tropological, and the anagogical, which he joins with the literal method of interpretation.] Inasmuch, however, as many passages may be explained literally, and yet in several different senses, certain rules of procedure must be laid down for *expiscating*<sup>a</sup> which of these is the proper one. It is not indeed possible to give a general rule of decision in such cases, but the following hints may serve for direction

1. That literal sense is the right one which corresponds most fully with the meaning of the words, either in the passage in question or in some parallel and plainer one; for the Scripture is not so concealed in single texts as not to be more apparent in others more simple; and what is doubtful is always to be determined by the sense which results from other and plainer texts. Where there is no plainer text, the connexion must principally decide.
2. That sense is most to be approved which is given by those Catholic teachers who live according to the spirit of the church, and who found their expositions upon Scripture more than upon natural reason.
3. That sense appears to merit the preference which is most consonant with the decisions of the Church; and how much soever an interpretation may seem to correspond with the letter, it is not to be considered the true one if manifestly contradictory to these decisions. This is especially true in matters of faith which God has so clearly revealed to the Church, whereas in matters of practice no such decided certainty is attainable, but much has been reserved for future investigation.
4. Of two meanings we ought to prefer that which has most foundation in sound reason, *because God, being the highest wisdom and the fountain of Scripture, is more rational than any man, and in all Scripture proceeds rationally.*"—Pp. 55, 56.

We have marked the last passage in *italics* to call attention to its beauty and value, heightened as those qualities are by the darkness of the age when it was written.

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*The Words of the Lord Jesus.* By RUDOLF STIER, Doctor of Theology, Chief Pastor and Superintendent of Schkeuditz. Vol. I. Translated from the Second revised and enlarged German Edition, by the Rev. W. B. POPE, London. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1855. Pp. 428.

THE attentive reader of Mr. Alford's Greek Testament will be familiar with this valuable work, since it is there frequently quoted. The translator says of it:—"No one will read it, as such a book should be read, without feeling that he is under the guidance of one who is profoundly imbued with the mind of Christ. The author's aim is the loftiest which mortal man can set before himself—to unfold the meaning and harmony of all the recorded words which fell from the lips of the Word made flesh. That the Lord's own sanction is manifestly given to the attempt is the highest tribute we can pay to it." We do not understand this last observation, although we have tried several times. If it means that the usefulness of the work proves that it has the favour of our Lord in its special form and design, we deny such a proposition altogether, as one dangerous to true Biblical science. Many a book is highly useful, which is yet produced by a foolish man; the usefulness being derived from what is independent of the author—namely, the amount of divine

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<sup>a</sup> As *fishng out* a meaning is not very elegant or Anglican, we think the translator would have done well to fish out a plainer word.

truth he may have mingled with his own want of taste or critical skill, and which triumphs in spite of extraneous matter,—but this by the way. The work has too high a character to need any of our commendations; and great thanks are due to the Messrs. Clark for bringing it within the reach of English readers in so cheap and attractive a form.

As our Journal has recently come into many new hands, we may take this opportunity of urging upon our readers the claims of the Foreign Theological Library, of which this is a part. To it we are indebted for many highly important theological treatises in our own vernacular; and when four such volumes as the two noticed above are obtainable for one pound *per annum*, we think it will be a reflection upon us all if the scheme is not amply supported.

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*Roberts's Sketches of the Holy Land, Syria, Idumea, Arabia, Egypt, and Nubia; reduced from the Lithographs of Louis Haghe. With Historical and Descriptive Notices, and an Introductory View of Jewish History*, by the Rev. GEORGE CROLY, LL.D. Dedicated by express permission to the Queen. London: Day and Son. Part I.

THE work, of which this is a smaller *facsimile*, was the *chef-d'œuvre* of Alderman Moon, the celebrated printseller. The size and price have hitherto kept it in the hands of the wealthy, and the present publishers are conferring a great service on the public at large by this beautiful and cheap edition. The plates are faithfully represented, with the texts of the originals, and the vividness with which the scenes of the East, both natural and artificial, modern and antique, are presented to the eye, makes the work a highly attractive one. This number contains six plates, and the price is three shillings and sixpence. As the whole number of engravings is 250, the complete work will thus be obtainable for the cost of a very few pounds; a trifle compared with the sum at which the larger copies were charged. The notes of Dr. Croly are short, but they are sufficient to guide to the understanding of the prints. The six engravings before us are—Entrance to the Holy Sepulchre; Damascus Gate; Greek Church of the Holy Sepulchre; Tomb of St. James; Jerusalem from the road leading to Bethany; Entrance to the Tomb of the Kings.

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*The Pictorial Bible, being the Old and New Testaments according to the Authorized Version; Illustrated with Steel Engravings and many hundred Woodcuts, representing Landscape Scenes, and Subjects of Natural History, Costume, and Antiquities; with Original Notes explanatory of passages connected with the History, Geography, Natural History, Literature, and Antiquities of the Sacred Scriptures.* By JOHN KITTO, D.D., F.S.A. A New Edition, with additional Notes, based on the discoveries of recent travellers. In Four Volumes. Vol. I. London: W. and R. Chambers, 1855. Imperial 8vo. Pp. 640.

ALTHOUGH this work has had a very extensive circulation, and is so

deservedly popular, it has not yet come into the hands of the masses of the people. Messrs. Chambers are doing good service to the cause of Biblical knowledge by the publication of this new, cheap, and elegant edition; and we are gratified at seeing the benefits of the labours of Dr. Kitto conveyed to the public in a form so attractive, and with the supplementary additions which are made necessary by more recent researches.

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*Scripture Difficulties. The Hulsean Lectures for 1853 and 1854. With Sermons preached before the University of Cambridge.* By the Rev. MORGAN COWIE, M.A., formerly Fellow of St. John's College. London: Rivingtons, 1853 and 1855. 2 Vols. 8vo. Pp. 232, and 300.

THE subject of *Scripture Difficulties* is not regularly discussed in these volumes, but is rather met in an incidental manner, in the consideration of several independent topics and texts. The principles thus laid down are not presented in an orderly series, but have rather to be gathered by the reader as he proceeds; a method which has its advantages and disadvantages; wanting the compression and consecutive arrangement of a distinct treatise, but possessing more lightness and variety. The first series of Lectures treats of the History and the Character of Balaam; the Promise to Abraham, and St. Paul's argument in Gal. iii. 16, 19, 20; the office of the Holy Ghost; the Geological History of the Earth; Miracles; the Miracle of Joshua and the Sun; Christ's Humiliation an argument for his Divinity. It will be seen that these subjects present, individually and collectively, abundant scope for laying down the principles on which difficulties should be met, and the Lectures cannot but be read with a feeling of satisfaction that what at first seem stumbling-blocks to the student of Scripture admit of such a satisfactory solution.

The Lecture on "The Geological History of the Earth" is a calm protest against those who endeavour to make the Bible a scientific authority on the one hand, and those who, on the other, question its divinity on account of physical discrepancies. The true method of proceeding is thus indicated:—

"There are, then, two principles to be observed in dealing with such portions of the Bible as the first chapter of Genesis. We must endeavour to arrive at a clear idea of the moral and spiritual instruction which we ought to draw from them. And in the next place we must consider who were the first persons to whom the message was sent, as from God:—we must ascertain, as far as possible, the degree of information and the peculiar character of the knowledge which it was likely the first recipients of the Divine message had,—and then we shall be in a better position for understanding why an account, scientifically accurate, of matters not within ordinary human cognizance, might often have been totally inadequate to the moral purpose which it had to answer, and would have utterly failed to produce such a moral conviction as an enlightened age would have received from records more clearly in accordance with observed phenomena.

"Under certain circumstances, it may be thus concluded that the inspired books would have been totally unintelligible to those to whom they were first given if they had not been accommodated in their references to physical facts, to the ideas which



they already had. And inasmuch as the moral system must always be considered as more important than the physical, and an accurate knowledge of natural phenomena is not absolutely necessary to the salvation of men's souls, it would be unreasonable to require in Holy Scripture such notices of those phenomena as would, in the present day, satisfy the reader who looks therein for scientific accuracy, or at any rate, for the absence of all that contradicts the well-established conclusions of modern science."—Pp. 106-7.

The "Miracle of Joshua and the Sun" is discussed very fully, and all the various hypotheses which have been started to account for it are carefully considered. There is a good deal of original matter introduced which deserves a careful weighing, and Mr. Cowie's conclusion from the whole is thus stated:—

"On a careful consideration of the passage, and keeping in mind that I am reading an inspired book, I do not see any overwhelming evidence which should induce me to reject the traditional view of the meaning of the author. I think that the context is not so undoubtedly of a poetical form, as to make me conclude for certain that it is an extract or quotation; and I find a reasonable meaning for the supposed reference to the book of Jashar, which reference seems to have been one chief ground for the supposition that the passage is poetical. Having arrived at this point, I think I see that even if it be a quotation, there is such a positive assertion and recognition of the *fact* by the inspired writer, that I cannot suppose it a figure of speech.

"At the same time, after what I have said before on the subject of miracles, I am not afraid to confess that some of the difficulties in the way of a literal understanding of the text have great weight, and though for my own part I come to the conclusion that we have here the record of a miracle, I should not consider such a persuasion *necessary*, or that one who came to a different conclusion had not some show of reason for his opinion; but it is of importance that we do not reject the miraculous account, *because* it is miraculous; that we do not bring in as an argument against it, the presumption which is alleged against any suspension of the laws of nature."—Pp. 171, 172.

The second course principally treats of the doctrine of the Resurrection, and the plan to be filled up is thus given by the author.

"The order in which I propose to consider these subjects will be as follows. 1. Assuming what the Scriptures tell us of the resurrection of the body, to examine how far this doctrine is peculiar to the Christian or latter dispensation. 2. To ascertain what the Scriptures tell us of the qualities of the resurrection-body, or pneumatic body of St. Paul. 3. To establish the truth of personal identity in the resurrection, on grounds not inconsistent with physical facts. 4. To shew, in answer to Strauss' objections, that our Lord did predict his own resurrection, and to explain the difficulties which he finds in the Gospel narrative in reference thereto."

The scheme is admirably executed, and all different aspects of the doctrine are handled with great learning and candour. The two volumes will be acceptable to all who like to see the truth defended without bigotry, and real learning used without pedantry or affectation.

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#### THE PLURALITY OF WORLDS.

1. *Essays on the Spirit of the Inductive Philosophy, the Unity of Worlds, and the Philosophy of Creation.* By the Rev. BADEN POWELL, M.A., F.R.S., &c., Savilian Professor of Geometry in the University of Oxford. London: Longmans, 1855. 8vo. Pp. 520.

2. *The Plurality of Worlds. The Positive Argument from Scripture. With Answers to some late objections from analogy.* London: Bagsters, 1855. 18mo. Pp. 158.
3. *Astro-Theology; or the Religion of Astronomy. Four Lectures in Reference to the Controversy on "The Plurality of Worlds," as lately sustained between Sir David Brewster and an Essayist.* By EDWARD HIGGINSON, Author of the "The Spirit of the Bible." London: Whitfield, 1855. 18mo. Pp. 104.

THESE three volumes are only a small part of those which have recently been written on the subject of the "Plurality of Worlds;" or more correctly (for that phrase does not express the point of the controversy) on the question whether the heavenly bodies are inhabited by intelligent beings. The dispute is an old one, and it is clearly shewn by the writer of the second work on the above list, that the author of the celebrated "Essay" on the subject is by no means original in his objections. We need hardly say that the whole topic is one of conjecture and not of demonstration; and all that can be done by the acutest minds which may work upon it, is to make the balance of probabilities rise or fall on one side or the other as the debate proceeds.

The conspicuous opponents in this recent tilting-match of intellect are, as report says, Dr. Whewell, and Sir David Brewster; and while we willingly concede many excellent qualities to each work, in the more particular sphere of its author, we are no more convinced by the argument of the one than of the other. All the objections of the "Essay" are, we think, capable of being met by the obvious fact, that God can cause intelligence, and feeling, and responsibility to exist in physical circumstances not only different to our own, but also in those which we cannot conceive of. A creature placed under the same moral government as our own, could surely as well inhabit water or fire as we do the air, since there seems to be no necessary connexion between thought and emotion and any external vehicle in which they may be exercised. But then, on the other hand, Sir David Brewster's arguments are as much deficient in acuteness as those of his opponent excel in that quality, and if we were not before disposed to believe the doctrine he attempts to prove, nothing he has said would make us disciples to it.

Mr. Baden Powell's volume is only partly devoted to this subject; but what he says upon it is worthy of a man whose profession leads him to seek inductive evidence for his conclusions. He has already been grievously assailed in certain quarters of assumed biblical guardianship, as though his opinions were contrary to the faith of a minister of the Church of England, if not to that of a Christian. We feel quite sure from the quality of the adverse criticism we have seen, that its authors have themselves been unaccustomed to cultivate the Baconian method of reasoning, and that, consequently, they could have no sympathy with the mode of thinking of the Savilian Professor of Geometry at Oxford. There is something very ungenerous in men presuming to decide before they have examined, or even without the

necessary knowledge to enable them to do so. The parties who cry "No Popery" loudest, are always those who know least of the real merits of the controversy; and too often the loudest vociferations of "the Bible in danger," proceed from those who have least carefully examined the foundations on which its authority is built.

Confining ourselves to the paper on "the Unity of Worlds," we will indicate in one extract both the style and method of reasoning of this deep thinker, on the subject before us.

"The materials of which Jupiter is composed are of a specific gravity about equal to that of water, which is the same nearly as that of the sun. The essayist, in his assumed magisterial vein, lays it down as by no means an arbitrary hypothesis, that Jupiter is a globe of water; and argues accordingly that his inhabitants, if any, must be aquarian creatures of a soft, pulpy, boneless, watery character, to which, he thinks, we should naturally feel it very difficult to ascribe intelligence or moral attributes, that is, without violating those analogies which we are so prone to form (perhaps groundlessly) from contemplating our own species. But, as Sir David Brewster, on the other hand, very justly observes, there are many solid substances, and even some minerals, as pumice, pitchstone, &c., and the metals of the alkalis, of less specific gravity than water. Jupiter, therefore, may just as well be composed of solid materials, and be tenanted by animals capable of living on land, as by aquatics. Similar calculations have shewn, that in all the outer planets the conditions of gravitation are nearly the same; nor need the small specific gravity requisite for such animated beings occasion any difficulty. On our own planet animals differ widely in this respect. It is hardly necessary to remark that birds, *e.g.*, have their bones, coverings, &c., of much greater specific lightness than the corresponding parts of terrestrial animals. Nay, Sir D. Brewster has shewn, by direct calculation, that even a human being, constituted as we are, would not really be much inconvenienced if transported to the surface of Jupiter; and buildings and trees, such as occur on our earth, might grow and stand secure, in so far as the force of gravity is concerned: and the same would be true for the planets exterior to him. At any rate, when we reflect on the extremely varied forms of animated life on our own globe, on the diversified structures of different classes of animals, and the marvellous adaptations of their respiratory and circulatory functions to the conditions of their existence under the most varied circumstances, yet all preserving the most resonant relations to analogy and unity of composition, we conceive there can exist no difficulty in *imagining the possibility* of living beings constructed with bodies of greater or less specific gravity, suited to the most widely different conditions of gravitation or atmospheric pressure in which they might be destined to live, and with respiratory, muscular, digestive, or locomotive powers and capacities developed in infinitely varied degrees, according to the different conditions under which they might subsist, and the media in which they might have to move—yet always preserving an unbroken analogy with *some* grand and universal scheme of uniformity, of which we enjoy only partial glimpses; while under any such variety of external form or condition, they *may* be equally capable with ourselves of being the recipients of higher principles of intellectual, moral, or spiritual life."

The anonymous volume, the second, is the work of a sound logician, and very ably meets the "objections from analogy," which appear to some minds to have so much weight. It is divided into three parts, the first discussing the proposition that "the system of revealed religion is not directly affected by the question respecting the plurality of worlds." The second part has five chapters, the heads of which are as follows: The measure of importance to be attached to the inquiry, and the probable grounds of its past neglect and imperfect comprehension; Argument from the office and numbers of the angels; Argument from

the expression "Heavens and Earth;" Argument from terms significant of multiplicity and partition; Influence of the question on the proportions of the Christian system. The third part considers the argument from analogy in ten chapters, in which the objections from astronomy and geology are effectively answered. There is great solidity and force in the whole of this little volume, and its claims to notice are far greater than its unpretending size would indicate. We have been especially pleased with the chapter containing an "answer to the objections that man's possession of intelligence, morality, religion, and progressive power, renders it probable that he is unique in the universe, and the only intelligent, religious, moral, and progressive creation of God's hand." The following is an extract:—

"There could scarcely be a greater fallacy than the supposition that man's possessing an intelligent, moral, religious, and progressive character, marks him out as the only such being in the universe; nor a more thorough inconsistency than insisting upon the prevalence of the same material laws throughout the universe, as an argument against the existence of organized and sentient existence in certain planets, while the belief of the existence of general laws of intelligent beings, and, consequently, of certain points of resemblance between many intelligent creatures, is all but exposed to derision. To suppose that the material universe is not subject to general laws which, by their combinations and interplay, produce all but infinite variety, would be unphilosophical; but to suppose that numerous intelligent beings are religious, or that the religious element of character is capable of being variously modified, seems to this author to be absurd. To imagine any material sphere to be exempted from the law of gravitation would be grossly inconsistent; the conception of the existence of conscience in any being but man, he regards as a fanciful figment. To deny that motion seems to be a law governing the whole universe, would be to deny the evidence of sense; but to regard progression as the property of all intelligence seems to him extremely unreasonable."

Mr. Higginson has well discharged his part in this voluminous controversy. He writes with great good sense, and a keen perception of some of the *non-sequiturs* of his fellow-labourers. Especially does he expose the scriptural expositions of Sir David Brewster, forced unnaturally into the discussion of the subject. He avows himself an Unitarian in the preface in the following terms:—

"It is, I grieve to say, my uniform observation, beyond the circle of avowed Unitarian Christians, that science and theology are accustomed to look upon each other with a greater or less degree of jealousy and suspicion; the scientific man seldom daring freely to avow the most religious conclusions he draws from the study of nature; the theologian dabbling very cautiously in the mere shallows of science, lest he should plunge unawares into religious heresy."

We are sorry that we cannot deny that such an unfortunate state of things exists among us.

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1. *Novum Testamentum Polyglottum. Archetypum Græcum cum Versionibus Vulgatâ Latinâ, Germanicâ Lutheri, et Anglicâ authenticâ in usum manualem edendum curaverunt* C. G. G. THEILE et R. STIER, Theol. D.D. Beilefeldiæ: Velhagen; Londini: Williams and Norgate, 1855. Large 8vo. Pp. 1068.
  2. *Polyglotten-Bibel zum praktischen Handgebrauch. Schluss des*

*Werkes.* (Concluding Part. By the same Authors and Publishers.)  
London : Nutt, 1855.

THE excellent Polyglott Bible of Drs. Stier and Theile is now concluded, and it proves a very acceptable boon to Biblical scholars. Containing the Hebrew text, in conjunction with the Septuagint, the Latin Vulgate, and Luther's version corrected by other translations, presented at each opening of the book, with various critical appliances, it will be found of admirable service to the student. We regret, on many accounts, that such a work was not executed in our own country, where its want has been so long felt; but we are grateful for it as it is, and willingly give our share of praise to the indefatigable scholars by whom it has been brought to a close. It is comprised in five handsome volumes, of a size and type well adapted for convenient use, and at an exceedingly low price. In this respect we must be glad the work was printed in Germany, for at home the cost of production must have greatly enhanced the market value of the copies.

The Polyglott New Testament is included in the above work, and the volume placed at the head of this notice is the same, with the exception that the notes on the German version which occupy one column are displaced by the English authorized translation. This will adapt it far better to our own countrymen, to whom the variations of the German text are but of small service. In the preface the following tribute of praise is given to our Version:—"Ipsa nimirum hæc Versio Anglicana, a Jacobo I. rege nationi suæ donata, ab eoque appellata Regia, septennium laborum opus, complurium doctorum virorum industriâ confectum, ut apud Britannos ad nostram usque ætatem in sacris sola, summa etiam cæterum viget auctoritate, ita apud nostrates quoque tanti quanti pars est æstimatur ac pluris etiam indies, quo magis erit cognita, æstimabitur." For size and price, and the value of its contents, this volume stands unrivalled, and we feel sure it will be extensively patronized by our readers.

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*D. Joh. Alberti Bengelii Gnomon Novi Testamenti, in quo ex nativa verborum vi, simplicitas, profunditas, concinnitas, salubritas sensuum celestium indicatur.* Editio Tertia, per filium superstitem, M. ERNESTUM BENGELIUM quondam curata, quarta recusa adjuvante JOHANNES STEUDEL. Londini: Apud David Nutt, et Williams et Norgate. Cantabrigiæ: Macmillan and Co., 1855. Large 8vo. Pp. 1216.

IF Bengel could see the elegant dress in which his original shabby quarto now appears, he would have to look beneath the surface to discover his identity. This edition is printed on good English paper, and is published at an exceedingly low price. No commendations of ours are now needed, in reference to this admirable exposition of the Greek text of the New Testament.

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*Manna in the Heart; or, Daily Comments on the Book of Psalms, adapted for the use of families.* By the Rev. BARTON BOUCHIER, A.M., Curate of Cheam, Surrey. Vol. I., Psalm i. to lxxviii. London: Shaw. Crown 8vo. Pp. 534.

WE have before spoken in deserved commendation of Mr. Bouchier's devotional productions. His *Ark in the House* continues to rise in our esteem, and the same qualities which so admirably adapt these prayers to the use of families pervade the present work. It is impossible for these comments to be read without profit, imbued as they are with true piety, and a fine perception of the spirit and meaning of the "sweet singer of Israel," and his coadjutors in the composition of the Book of Psalms. Take the following as a sample, at the close of the xix Psalm:—

"David here classes all sin under two great heads,—secret and presumptuous. We must remember that David was a child of God—a regenerate man; in these very verses he calls himself God's servant, 'Keep thy servant;' and yet even for him, as well as for us all, there is need of the earnest prayer for being kept back and restrained from any outbreak of the heart into presumptuous and open sin. I do not imagine that David meant by secret sin that which was concealed from the eye of man, but that which was hidden in the heart and fostered there; and by presumptuous sin, that which, having been conceived in the heart, now broke forth into practice. His own history affords a melancholy illustration of the necessity of this prayer at any and every stage, as well as of the apostle's warning, 'Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall.' I do not know a more touching prayer as connected with all the circumstances of David's life, or one more necessary even to the advanced Christian, or one which, if uttered from the heart, would, through the Holy Spirit, more effectually tend to make clean our heart and guide our feet into the way of peace. It was the Psalmist's own question, 'Wherewithal shall a young man cleanse his way?' and his answer is, 'By taking heed thereto according to Thy word.' And so in the last verse David concludes his petition by asking for grace, for the teaching of the Holy Spirit, for 'the live coal from off God's altar,' to render not merely the words of his lips, but the very thoughts and meditations of his heart, acceptable unto God. We may indeed well ask, Can any works or words of ours be acceptable unto Him? Oh yes! and David here points to the cause when he adds, 'O Lord, my strength and my Redeemer.' Can we doubt that this prayer went up through the mediation of his yet unseen Redeemer, whom, though he had not seen, yet he loved; and that through him both the meditations of his heart and the words of his lips were rendered acceptable in his Father's sight. And it must be so with every prayer of ours, 'through Jesus Christ.' In him, and through him, the words too of our lips, and the meditations of our hearts will ever find 'a new and living way' 'to enter into the holiest, even by the blood of Jesus.'"

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*The Spirit of the Bible; or, the nature and value of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures discriminated, in an analysis of their several Books.* By EDWARD HIGGINSON. Volume II. containing the Apocrypha and the New Testament. London: Whitfield, 1855. 8vo. Pp. 540.

THE part of this volume devoted to the Apocrypha has our full approbation; nor can we withhold our qualified praise from the remainder of the book. Mr. Higginson writes in a warm and enthusiastic manner, and in this respect wins interest and favour to the sacred books. But

he will not expect us to approve of his method of criticism, which is far removed from that cautious reverence we feel ourselves for divinely inspired scripture.

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*Historic Notes on the Books of the Old and New Testament.* By SAMUEL SHARPE. London: Moxon, 1854. 18mo. Pp. 258. Mr. SHARPE's labours in Biblical Literature and in Egyptian Antiquities demand that he should have a respectful hearing whenever he appeals to the reading public. This little volume contains an immense amount of information briefly expressed, and is the result of much reading and thought. An extract from the remarks on the Epistle to the Hebrews will shew the freedom of the author's opinions, and the general style of his writing:—

“It may be doubted whether this epistle was written before or after the destruction of the temple in the year A.D. 70. Both tenses are used. The writer says that the first covenant HAD ordinances of worship; and then adds that the priest *enters* the temple continually. But when he speaks of the imperfect work of the Levitical priesthood, and that Jesus is now the High-Priest of a heavenly sanctuary and of a truer tabernacle, it certainly appears as if he were consoling himself and his readers for the destruction of the temple of Jerusalem. The political tyranny of the times did not allow him to express his own feelings about his nation's sufferings.

“The Christians were already divided into three sects, more or less Judaizing, as the followers of Peter, of Apollos, and of Paul (1 Cor. i. 12). And as this epistle does not represent the opinions of Paul, so neither does it agree with those of Peter and James; but it contains many traces of that philosophical Judaism which was peculiar to the Alexandrian school, and it may be supposed to represent the opinions of Apollos of Alexandria and Barnabas of Cyprus. For the island of Cyprus, of which place Barnabas was a native, had been for three centuries governed by the Ptolemies, and been united to Alexandria in literature and opinions.”

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1. *On the Sovereignty of God.* By the Rev. JOHN BOYD, Minister of the Presbyterian Church, Moyvore. Edinburgh: Johnstone and Hunter, 1855. 18mo. Pp. 464.
  2. *The Glory of the Holy Ghost.* By PETER MACLAREN, Minister at Lassiemouth. Edinburgh: Johnstone and Hunter, 1855. 18mo. Pp. 308.

BOTH these works are distinguished by the sound orthodoxy which generally marks the ministers of the Presbyterian Church in Scotland, and the publications of Messrs. Johnstone and Hunter. Relating to the distinct operations of two of the persons of the Holy Trinity, they almost exhaust the subjects they treat upon. The Sovereignty of God receives a very careful and laboured treatment under the chastening guard of a scriptural piety. Mr. Maclaren does honour to the Holy Spirit, and his work will be useful in calling attention to His too much neglected operations in the christian system. It contains much information on the *history* of the doctrine.

*The Gospel attributed to Matthew is the record of the whole original Priesthood.* By JAMES SHERIDAN KNOWLES, author of "Virginius," and the "Hunchback," &c. London: James Blackwood, 1855. 24mo. Pp. 105.

THIS book has been advertized as "a new and extraordinary one," and so it is. It is *new* in its theory, discovering what is contrary to the uniform testimony of the Church and the belief of mankind for eighteen centuries; it is *extraordinary* in its presumption, and in the entire ignorance it displays, both of the nature of evidence and of the reverence with which sacred subjects should be treated. Mr. Knowles maintains that the first Gospel was the united production of the whole of the Apostles; it must be so, he says, "for to leave the Church for eight years without a formal authentic account of their master's ministry, would have ill consisted with that devotion to his cause, with which the Apostles, one and all, could not have failed to be animated." Indeed! And of course, by the same reasoning, if Mr. Knowles thinks it *ought to have been* so, it must be maintained that Mark, Luke, and John, were all subjected to some synodal action, and wrote under the command of the Apostolic College. It is a pity that Mr. Knowles had no friend to remind him, that the qualification of a writer of tragedies and of a treatise on Biblical Criticism are not identical.

*Israel in the World; or, the Mission of the Hebrews to the great Military Monarchies.* By W. H. JOHNSTONE, M.A., Chaplain of Addiscombe; author of "Israel after the Flesh," &c. Illustrated with a map. London: Shaw, 1854. 18mo. Pp. 212.

THIS volume has been unintentionally neglected too long, and we regret that we can now do little more than introduce it to our readers. It is the work of a man of an original mind, and contains much that is suggestive in relation to the destiny of the Jews. Apart from the author's theory, the history of the Israelites from the earliest period to this day, is sketched in a lively and interesting manner.

#### WORKS ON THE PAPAL CONTROVERSY, &c.

1. *The End of Controversy controverted. A refutation of Milner's "End of Controversy," in a series of Letters addressed to the Most Rev. J. P. Kenrick, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Baltimore.* By JOHN H. HOPKINS, D.D., L.L.D., Bishop of Vermont, 2 vols. New York: Putney and Russell. London: Trübner and Co., 1854. 12mo. Pp. 498, 426.
2. *Modern Popery: a series of Letters on some of its more important aspects.* By B. EVANS. Leeds: Heaton, 1855. 24mo. Pp. 222.
3. *Catholic Nations and Protestant Nations compared in their threefold relation to Wealth, Knowledge, and Morality.* By NAPOLEON ROUSSEL. London: Ward and Co., 1855. 8vo. Pp. 640.



4. *Pilgrimage from the Alps to the Tiber ; or, the influence of Romanism on Trade, Justice, and Knowledge.* By the Rev. J. A. WYLIE, L.L.D. Edinburgh: Shepherd and Elliot, 1855. Crown 8vo. Pp. 458.
5. *History of the Catholic Missions among the Indian Tribes of the United States, 1529—1854.* By JOHN GILMARY SHEA. New York: Dunigan. London: Trübner, 1855. 12mo. Pp. 520.

It will not be expected that we can do more than acquaint our readers with the publication of works of importance on the Romish Controversy from time to time, and give some little information as to their contents and character, to assist them in forming their own judgment. The Letters of Bishop Hopkins have taken a very high stand in America, and their intrinsic value makes us hope they will become generally known in England. They deal heavy blows upon an author greatly popular among the English Roman Catholics, and touch on most of the points at issue, but especially on the rule of Faith. Mr. Evans has also adopted the epistolary style, and his work is more compendious than the Bishop's; but on this account it is better adapted for general circulation. It is written in a taking and popular manner, and by a full citation of authorities is valuable to more than mere passing readers. As far as it can be brought under the notice of Papists we can have little doubt of its doing good service to the cause of Protestantism.

The works of Roussel and Dr. Wylie are both of a high character in their respective spheres. The former contains a mass of statistical and other intelligence bearing on its subject;—the latter is the result of the personal observations of a man of thought and research, who travelled in the countries indicated for the purpose of observing the political and social results of Roman Catholic teaching. He has discharged his task in a manner to interest the reader, for he is a lively writer, and catches quickly the attractive points of what came before him. Such works, with a professed design of making out a case, must of course be received with caution; and the thoughtful reader will probably find the case is too much pressed in some instances. It appears to us, that in estimating the results of the two forms of Christianity, sufficient account is not made of the different and radical characteristics of nations.

The History of Catholic Missions is a very beautiful volume externally, and is adorned with plates. It proves what we willingly admit, that piety and great self-sacrifice have always been more or less associated with the labours of the Church of Rome.

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#### RELIGIOUS BIOGRAPHY.

1. *The Memoirs and a Selection from the Letters of the Rev. Charles Jerram, M.A., late Rector of Witney, Oxfordshire.* Edited by the Rev. JAMES JERRAM, M.A., Rector of Fleet. London: Wertheim and Macintosh, 1855. 8vo. Pp. 502.

2. *The Life of the Rev. Robert Newton, D.D.* By THOMAS JACKSON. London: Mason, 1855. 8vo. Pp. 442.
3. *The Autobiography of the Rev. William Jay; with Reminiscences of some distinguished Contemporaries, Selections from his Correspondence, &c.* Edited by GEORGE REDFORD, D.D., L.L.D., and JOHN ANGEL JAMES. London: Hamilton, 1855. 8vo. Pp. 520.
4. *Memoir and Remains of the Rev. James Trench, late Superintendent of the Edinburgh City Mission.* By ANDREW THOMSON, D.D. Edinburgh: Johnstone and Hunter, 1855. 24mo. Pp. 254.

It is not often the case that four biographies such as these can be brought together in one number of a periodical publication. Each of the subjects of these memoirs was great in his own sphere; a burning and shining light, although with various degrees of brightness. The laborious pastor and instructor—the influential Christian orator—the popular preacher—the devoted home missionary are here presented in one literary picture. They adorned four different sections of the visible Church, belonging respectively to the Church of England, the Wesleyans, the Independents, and the Scotch Kirk. Nor were their individual characteristics less contrasted than their spheres of duty; Jerram being a successful minister of the Evangelical party in the Church of England; Newton a devoted son of Methodism, seeing but little out of his own body to attract his notice; Jay gliding peacefully and comfortably down the stream of time amidst constant admirers; Trench wearing himself out in self-denying exertions. The four characters together form a fine study for him who can recognize goodness under whatever external badge it may appear, and believe that each might truly call upon his brethren on earth to glorify God in him.

The writers of these lines have discharged their duties well, although in different ways. Mr. Jerram leaves his venerated father principally to tell his own tale, which he does with simplicity and candour. Moving conspicuously in the eye of the Church to which he belonged, he came into contact with men and things which were highly important in the close of the last and the beginning of the present century. Cecil, Romaine, Newton, Simeon, and the numerous other worthies associated with them, are here brought before us in various interesting lights, and this fact will be sure to give popularity to the book. Jerram himself was an industrious and successful man; at one time a popular London preacher, at St. John's, Bedford Row; and latterly a zealous parish priest in a country rectory. The hand of friendship put forth by Mr. Jackson to delineate the features of his friend, Dr. Newton, discharges the task affectionately, portraying in a plain and unadorned manner his devotedness to Methodism, from youth to ripe old age. Mr. Jay is for the most part his own biographer. The humble details of the comparatively short life of Mr. Trench, required no skill, and are furnished without affectation. In their various spheres each of these good men felt that they were more or less divided, conscientiously, from each other; but we hope and believe they are now in a state

of close and happy union, because, in the midst of error and frailty, they all washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the lamb.

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SACRED POETRY.

1. *The Sanctuary, a Companion in verse for the English Prayer Book.* By ROBERT MONTGOMERY, M.A. London: Chapman and Hall, 1855. 32mo. Pp. 372.
2. *The Poetical Works of the late Catherine Grace Godwin.* Edited, with a sketch of her life, by A. CLEVELAND WIGAN. Illustrated with thirty-nine engravings. London: Chapman and Hall, 1854. 4to. Pp. 584.

MR. MONTGOMERY exhibits two qualities in this little volume, neither of which he was ever denied the possession of—great industry and a devoted attachment to the Church of England. Under the title of “The Sanctuary,” he has furnished one hundred and eighty-six pieces of various lengths, all devoted to the illustration of the ritualistic services of the community of which he is a minister. This is as it should be; for gifts and talents are never better employed than when consecrated to what the possessor feels to be the service and cause of God. The poetical works of Mr. R. Montgomery are too well-known to need our analysis of their peculiar merits, and we think we shall better please our readers and do justice to this volume, by letting it speak for itself:

“THIRD SUNDAY IN ADVENT.

“Grant that the ministers and stewards of Thy mysteries may likewise so prepare and make ready Thy way.”—*Collect for the Day.*

“ALONE God spans the gulph ’tween sin and God,—

Then, Lord of Worlds! how far are we

From that true path by sainted Martyrs trod,

Whose radiance was eternity;—

By nature and by act, emotion, will, and thought

Each on his ruin’d soul Thy righteous Ban hath brought!

“Contrite and calm, yet, in the lowest dust

Of piercing anguish, stern and deep,

Children of guilt, with o’erawed grief we must

Our sin lament, and inly weep,

To think what distance lies between the soul, and Him

Around whose glory-shrine bend wing-veil’d Seraphim.

“Jesu forbid! impetuous Man should dare

Enter with harsh or hasty feet

Temples, where God and Angels hear each prayer

Offer’d before Thy mercy-seat:

For, if the crystal heavens before Thee stand unclean,

What but omniscience knows, how black some hearts have been?

“Incarnate Mercy! ere to Thee we raise

The mind, on soaring wings of speech,

Oh, teach us how to introvert our gaze,

And thus, the hidden conscience reach;

While thrilled devotion hears, all prayerfully intense,

Those echoes of Thy heart celestial words dispense.

" And, with pure wisdom's providential skill,  
 Our ancient Mother in the Lord  
 Doth for the soul her teaching work fulfil  
 By due gradations of the Word—  
 Liturgically plann'd, to guide and govern all  
 Who in her creeds and chants on thron'd Emanuel call."

" THIRD SUNDAY AFTER EASTER.

" A little while, and ye shall not see me."—*Gospel for the Day.*

" ' ABIDE with us ! '—why pray we so,  
 As if Disciples did not glow  
 With Thine own promise sure ?  
 ' Lo ! I am with you till the chime  
 Of Ages sounds the last of Time,  
 While earth and man endure. '

" Yes, Thou art ' with us, ' in Thy word ;  
 Thy voice in Sacraments is heard,  
 And Prayer and praise reveal  
 How through the soul Thy blessings glide,  
 As o'er the heart's most gloomy tide  
 Thy radiant comforts steal.

" Dejection, oft, but not despair,  
 In this tried world of woe and care,  
 It may be ours to face ;  
 Only, be Thou the sleepless Guide,  
 And, morn and night, with us abide  
 Till we complete our race.

" We ask not blissful calms to dwell  
 Around us with unbroken spell,  
 Nor seek a pangless lot ;  
 But by the breathing of Thy word  
 Be our faint bosoms freshly-stirr'd,  
 Nor sigh,—as if forgot !"

Mrs. Godwin's poems are enshrined in a magnificent volume, the expensiveness of which tells a tale of tenderness. She died before her husband, and his love led him to bequeath what was necessary to give to the poems of his wife their present form. The pieces are of various length and of differing merits, but all of them indicate the deep feeling and chaste thoughts of a mind trained in intelligence and piety. We can afford space for only two sonnets ; but they will convey some idea of the mental qualities and poetical ability of the authoress. The volume is exquisitely printed, and the engravings are fine specimens of art.

" PROTECT me, O my God ! from that worst pain  
 Of all that agonize life's closing hours,  
 The retrospect of idly wasted powers,  
 Duties neglected, high resolves made vain :  
 Let not the grave send forth a spectral train  
 To haunt my sleep ; repeating in mine ears  
 A tale of wrongs, beyond all reach of tears  
 Or human reparation. When again  
 Past becomes Present, let it seem to me

Fair, as the summer whose renewal shines  
Through Indian forests, as the year declines :<sup>a</sup>  
So shall I hold the boon of Memory  
Dearer than Hope in brightest promise drest :  
Since none her treasures from our grasp may wrest."

"THE DEATH-BELL.<sup>b</sup>

"HARK! 'tis the death-bell tolls! There was a time  
When none throughout this ocean-cradled land  
E'er heard that measured, melancholy chime,  
And failed to breathe a prayer, that He whose hand  
Had newly snapt a thread of human life  
Would still remember mercy. Now, in sooth  
Our hearts are hardened—sordid cares are rife  
In every breast. Small heed take we when youth  
In vernal bloom is laid beneath the sod,  
When age sinks gasp by gasp, or manhood's might  
Yields suddenly. Yet these, to meet their God,  
Ev'n as of old are borne from this world's light:  
And we, their fellow-worms, ourselves do lie  
Under the sentence of mortality."

1. *The Book of Psalms and Sacred Harmonies.* Edinburgh: Johnstone and Hunter, 1854. 8vo. Pp. 516.
2. *The Scottish Psalm and Tune Book.* Edinburgh: Paton and Ritchie, 1855. 8vo. Pp. 330.

THE first of these volumes presents some very novel features. The Psalms are given according to the Scotch version, side by side with the authorized prose translation, accompanied with Scripture references. Underneath are the tunes, but by the contrivance of each page being divided into two pieces, the music is not confined to the words above it, but may be shifted at pleasure to accompany any part of the volume. Where the book is used at church or in the family, the advantage of this arrangement must be very great. The volume is a very handsome one, and reflects great credit on all the parties concerned in its production.

The second volume differs from the other in that the tunes are fixed to the Psalms, one for each. The typography is of equal beauty with that of the first; but the work is cheaper, because it wants the mechanical arrangement we have referred to. Judging from the appearance of two such volumes as these, we may conclude that Congregational Psalmody is appreciated and studied by our Scottish neighbours.

*Liber Cantabrigiensis.* An Account of the Aids afforded to Poor Students; the Encouragements offered to Diligent Students; and the

<sup>a</sup> That brief but beautiful renewal of the bloom and glory of summer exhibited by an American autumn, and called by the poetical name of "The Indian Summer."

<sup>b</sup> When death-bells were first in use, the venerable Bede tells us they were rung "that all who heard the sound, far and wide, might kneel down and offer up a prayer for the soul of the departed."

Rewards conferred on Successful Students, in the University of Cambridge. To which is prefixed a Collection of Maxims, Aphorisms, &c., designed for the use of Learners. By ROBERT POTTS, M.A., Trinity College. London: J. W. Parker, 1855. 12mo. Pp. 566.

THIS is a very elaborate volume, containing information of the greatest importance to the parties mentioned in the title-page. The history of the several colleges is given, with all the endowments for the encouragement of learning. The dryness of the subject is relieved by one hundred and seventy-four pages of pithy and wise sayings selected from various authors.

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*Bible Teaching; or, Remarks on the Books of Genesis, Exodus, and Leviticus.* With a recommendatory preface by the Rev. W. B. MACKENZIE, M. A. London: Shaw, 1855. 8vo. Pp. 650.

THIS is the production of three ladies, "the Misses Bird of Taplow, sisters of the late R. M. Bird, Esq." It would be out of place to apply to a work so pious and modest, any high criticism, since it makes no pretensions to learning. The remarks and reflections are distinguished by sound good sense, and will be found useful for devotional reading. We cannot say the Preface is very much calculated to dispose a judicious reader to think favourably of the writer of it. He says, the fair authoresses "scorn the cloak of hypocrisy, by which many now-a-days disguise the real tendency of their writings." *Who and where* are these persons thus stigmatized? We wish it were practicable in the case of such inuendoes in print, to cry Name! Name! as is done in the Houses of Parliament. We should much like to compel Mr. Mackenzie to make an indefinite slander a specific charge, and to *prove* it. Such vague accusations are creditable neither to a Christian nor a literary man.

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*The Duty of Prayer illustrated and recommended from Scripture, and from the opinions and conduct of uninspired persons. With forms of prayer for the use of families and individuals.* Second edition, enlarged. By the Rev. ALEX. WHYTE, M.A., Minister of Fettercairn. London: Hamilton and Co., 1855. 18mo. Pp. 602.

THIS is a very complete treatise on a subject of the greatest possible interest to every man. While prayer is discussed in its nature and relations, so as to make the work a contribution to theology as a science, the volume is rendered generally attractive by the illustrations taken from all ages and classes of society. The confirmed Christian will find his faith strengthened, while the doubtful and wavering will be established by the careful perusal of Mr. Whyte's book.

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*The Encyclopædia Britannica.* Volume VIII., containing DIA—ENG. Edinburgh: A. and C. Black, 1855.

WE call the attention of our readers to this volume, in relation espe-

cially to the article *Egypt*, which brings all obtainable information up to the present day to that important and interesting subject. It is written by Mr. Poole, whose position at the British Museum gives him access to every available authority.

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*The Leisure Hour*, and *Sunday at Home*, published by the Tract Society, continue to present the same attractive features and sound information as heretofore.

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*Who is God in China, Shin or Shang-te?* By the Rev. S. C. MALAN, M.A., of Balliol College, Oxford, and Vicar of Broadwindsor, Dorset. London: Bagster and Sons, 1855. 8vo. Pp. 318.

A FULL review of this important and learned work was intended for the present number, but it is unavoidably deferred until October.

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*Sermons, chiefly on historical subjects from the Old and New Testaments; preached in the Parish Church of St. Nicholas, Worcester.* By the Rev. W. H. HAVERGAL, A.M. London: Hamilton and Co., 1853. 2 vols., 8vo. Pp. 678.

IN these discourses, historical events of sacred history are treated in an interesting manner, and made the vehicles of plain gospel instruction. There is often much originality, and always a discreet application of the letter of scripture to spiritual uses. The titles are interesting; such as the Creation of Grass and its lessons;—Eve and the forbidden fruit;—the age and death of Methuselah;—the cities of refuge emblems of a better safety, &c., &c. The Sermons are well adapted for home reading, as the constant reference to history prevents the attention and interest from flagging.

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## INTELLIGENCE,

## BIBLICAL, EDUCATIONAL, LITERARY, AND MISCELLANEOUS.

*Discovery of Altar Ashes at Jerusalem.*—Mr. James Finn, Her Majesty's Consul at Jerusalem, to whose intelligent care of literary and antiquarian interests in the Holy Land our readers are indebted for much agreeable information, writes—

Jerusalem, April 2.

Outside of this city, towards the north-west, and not far from the Nablus Road and the Tombs of the Kings (so called), are some considerable heaps of blue grey ashes, on which no grass or weeds ever grow. One of them may be 40 ft. in height. They are remarkable objects in themselves, especially as contrasted in colour with the dark olive groves around them. These are commonly believed by the people of the city to be heaps of refuse from the soap-boilers' works of former times. Some of our English residents here, having conceived a different idea of their origin, namely, that it was not impossible they should be ashes from the ancient sacrifices, begged of Dr. Roth, of Munich, when here in 1853, to carry away samples for analysis in Germany, which he did; and Dr. Sandreczki has now laid before the literary Society of Jerusalem an account, in English, of a letter received from Dr. Roth on the subject. After some remarks on the beetles and mollusca which he collected in Palestine, and tendering generous offers of assistance, he proceeds thus: "Hitherto it has been questionable whether the two ash-hills without the Damascus Gate have been heaped up from the ashes of the burnt sacrifices, or from the residuum of the produce of potash in the soap manufactories here. Dr. Roth, who had taken with him two samples, states 'that their analysis in our famous Liebig's laboratory bears evidence to the supposition that those ashes are the remnant of the *burnt sacrifices*, because they are *chiefly of animal*, and not of vegetable origin; and even contain small fragments of bones and teeth burnt to coal; and yet it would be impossible to ascertain the species of the animals to which they belonged.' The analysis exhibits a small per-centage of *silicic acid*, which is never found in the ashes of flesh or bones. Dr. Roth is of opinion that we may account for this circumstance by supposing that the ashes of the *meat-offerings* in which silicium may be found, were likewise carried off to the hills in question. The samples were taken both from the top and the basis of the larger hill,—not just from the surface, nor from a considerable depth either. Dr. Roth, intends to send the whole account of that analysis, together with a new analysis of the mineral waters near Tiberias.

*Result of the Analysis.*

	Ashes from the Top.	Ashes from the Basis.
Soluble silicic acid .....	1·212 .....	1·421
Alkalis .....	1·150 .....	0·820
Oxide of iron.....	0·762 .....	0·875
Calcium .....	45·230 .....	44·654
Magnesium .....	6·785 .....	4·996
Residuum, red-hot but insoluble .....	6·965 .....	6·637
Carbonium .....	1·706 .....	3·750
Phosphoric acid.....	0·716 .....	0·849
Aluminum .....	8·750 .....	2·866
Carbonic acid.....	30·610 .....	32·540
	98·886 .....	99·408
Loss.....	1·114 .....	0·592
	100·000 .....	100·000



This almost unexpected result is one that leads to important antiquarian consequences,—not only exciting wonder at the confirmation of Holy Writ, and bringing our feelings back to immediate contact with those of the Aaronic priesthood, but as helping among other facts to determine the course of the ancient walls, since these ashes must have been thrown beyond the wall.—Yours, &c.

"JAMES FINN."

The insertion of the above letter in the *Athenæum* called forth the following—*The Valley of the Ashes*.—Referring to the letter from Mr. Finn, Her Majesty's Consul at Jerusalem, whose courtesy and hospitable kindness it has been my privilege to share, I beg to make one or two remarks.

I visited Palestine in 1852, it having beforehand been mutually arranged with Dr. Robinson that I should meet him there, and accompany him on his journey. Finding, when I reached the country, that our plans and objects did not coincide, I gave up the arrangement; and thereafter visited almost every place of interest, "from Dan to Beersheba," accompanied only by my Arab attendants.

While at Jerusalem, some remarks of my friend Mr. Calman, of the London Jews' Society's Hospital there, in reference to the mounds to the west of the Damascus Gate, suggested the probability of the view referred to in Mr. Finn's letter. I proceeded, in company with Mr. Calman, carefully to examine the mounds; believing that if I were correct in supposing that they were the ashes of the ancient temple sacrifices, proof to that effect might probably be found.

Digging, both at the top and near the base of the largest heap, I was struck with the fact that the whole seemed homogeneous, there being no earth, stones, pottery, or rubbish of other kind apparently mixed with the grey-blue mould. This seemed unfavourable to the popular idea of their being formed from soap-boilers' ashes. Continuing to dig, I was greatly interested soon to find among the ashes, (which appeared to me to be *animal*, though I never have had them analyzed) small portions of bone, still strengthening my belief that I was surrounded by the remains of the burnt-offerings of Israel during a thousand years. But the proof appeared to amount to demonstration when I discovered, a foot or more from the surface, fragments of bone sufficiently large to leave no doubt as to the kind of animal to which they belonged. I have in my possession a number of specimens, among which is one, three inches long, evidently the leg-bone of a sheep or lamb; another, a fragment of the skull or nose-bone; and two others, fragments of ribs, which it seems impossible to mistake for any other but the same animal. The first mentioned of those specimens has marks, in some parts, of having been charred or blackened by the action of the fire.

Since I returned from the East, I have frequently, both privately and in public, mentioned the above circumstances, and my intention to have the ashes analyzed, that it might be ascertained whether they consisted chiefly of animal matter. Further inquiry on this point is rendered unnecessary by the analysis of Dr. Roth, as stated in the letter of Mr. Finn.

While upon the spot, I was also struck with the light which the position of those mounds seemed to throw upon the vexed question of the ancient course of the city wall. It seemed to confirm the theory of Dr. Robinson, that instead of running considerably *within* the present city boundary, as is contended for by those who maintain the authenticity of the so called Holy Places,—the ancient wall must have run considerably to the westward of the present Damascus Gate, it being most probable that the ashes would be deposited *immediately* outside the wall, and not carried so far from it as the heaps are now found.

If these ideas be correct, do they not seem to throw light also upon an expression,—to which I am not aware any definite meaning, as to the locality, has ever been attached,—in the boundaries of the city referred to in Jeremiah xxxi. 40?—"the valley of the dead bodies, and of the ashes." If by "the valley of the dead bodies" is meant the Valley of Hinnom, it seems likely, from the connexion of the passage, that by "the valley of the ashes," is meant the locality where the ashes are now found. It is not improbable that anciently,

when the wall ran close by, there was a descent outside to the westward, accounting for the expression *valley*, the hollow now being filled up or levelled by the accumulated rubbish of the city's "long desolations."

While I am glad that the attention of others has been directed to this interesting matter, I trust that it may not seem uncalled for thus to advert to it, that I may not seem to be entering into other men's labours, should I ever be able to publish notes of my journey.

I am, &c.,

WILLIAM DICKSON.

20, George Square, Edinburgh, April 24.

*The Samaritan Pentateuch.*—In a little while, we reached the entrance of the old priest's house, who lives close by the synagogue; and we found him and a few other persons, sitting cross-legged, and smoking, in the court or vestibule before the door of their house of worship. After some little conversation with reference to our object, and after settling the important matter of keeping on our boots while within the synagogue, we were admitted into a moderate-sized room, covered with straw mats on the floor, and offering nothing worthy of mention in regard to its arrangement or its contents. The venerable rabbi, who was present, shewed us at first a number of old books and manuscripts which he had, keeping back the only one that we really cared to see, as if to enhance its value and consequence in our eyes. As we were a little impatient, having no time to lose, we prevailed upon the old gentleman to bring out the great treasure for our inspection. It proved to be a large roll, kept in a brass case, and adorned with various costly coverings of crimson silk, and letters embroidered in gold. We examined the manuscript with all the care we could, and noticed, besides its evident air of antiquity, that it is written in columns of about five by fourteen inches, and three of these to what may be termed a page. We were permitted to touch the valuable manuscript, to look as closely as we choose at the various peculiarities which it possesses, the colour of the ink, the size, shape, and character of the alphabet, the arrangement of the words and sentences, &c., and, in short, to enter upon any examination which our time or our wishes allowed. The old rabbi was very obliging in every way, and in answer to our enquiries as to the probable age of the manuscript before us, did not scruple to declare that it belonged to the period of Moses! This was rather more than we could credit, though we entertained no sort of doubt that the Samaritan Pentateuch is of an age which entitles it to very great consideration in Biblical questions. I was very sorry that our time was so limited, and so little opportunity was afforded us for making some research into the interesting questions connected with this manuscript; but we had no alternative, and were compelled to bid our old friend adieu, much gratified on the whole, and yet regretting the lack of those things which we had not in our power. Tischendorf visited Nablus five years ago, and gives an interesting account of what he saw and experienced. As his name is distinguished in matters relating to ancient manuscripts, I may be allowed to quote a sentence or two from his *Travels in the East*, with regard to this relic of other days:—"I was chiefly occupied with the alleged exceedingly ancient manuscript, which is said to contain a statement to the effect that it written thirteen years after the death of Moses, by Abischua, the son of Phineas, who was grandson of Aaron. The rabbi brought us a tin case, within which lay the manuscript, like a large synagogue roll of parchment, enveloped in a costly covering of crimson silk, with embroidered golden letters. It bears undeniable traces of antiquity. I examined the parchment, the colour of the ink, the system of the lines, the punctuation, the divisions (none of which have initials), and the characters, as well as they could be examined without a knowledge of the Samaritan. All combine to convey the idea of a manuscript of the sixth century. Even under this supposition, it necessarily holds a very distinguished rank among all the ancient parchment codices of both the East and the West. With respect to the alleged statement, it may not, if in fact it exist, be considered otherwise than as a transcript, carelessly copied from former documents, and incorporated in it as a note founded on a remote tradition. Perhaps this Abischua took some share in writing the original Pentateuch."—*Spencer's Egypt and the Holy Land.*

*Nisroch and Nergal.*—Syro-Egyptian.—April 10th.—D. W. Camps in the chair. 1. Mr. Bonomi read a paper "On the Assyrian Divinity Nisroch," illustrated by beautiful drawings of the eagle-headed figure from Nineveh. The argument for this eagle-headed figure from Nineveh being the Assyrian god Nisroch, the particular divinity of Sennacherib, the God of Conquest and Rapine, is supported in the first place, by the letters composing the name of the god, the word *niser* meaning eagle, or vulture, a word still in use, wherever Arabic is spoken, to designate those birds; the root of which word *niser* means to tear, and therefore applied to the eagle or vulture which tears its food. The last letter, viz., the (k) or the (och) is presumed to mean chief or lord, which meaning is taken from other Chaldee words when the (k) or (och) seems to require that interpretation, so that the whole word would mean eagle-chief, eagle-lord. But taking into consideration the character of Sennacherib, as exhibited in his message and letter to Hezekiah, and also the character of the monarchs who preceded him on the throne of Assyria, and at the same time the meaning of the word composed of the very same three letters, viz., *nsa* in the Arabic tongue, which word means to conquer, or to subdue, and at the same time, also, the remarkable circumstance of the figure of a man with wings and the head of an eagle, dug out of the ruins of Nineveh, the city of Sennacherib, it became highly presumable that this figure was a representation of the god Nisroch, the particular god of Sennacherib, in whose temple he was murdered by two of his sons. 2. Dr. Benisch, "On the Cuthite Idol, Nergal," remarked, that if the worship of Malek Taus, or King Cock, can be considered, as advocated by Mr. Ainsworth, as an essential and ancient characteristic of the Izedis, their existence may, from rabbinical sources, be traced back to a high antiquity. For the Babylonian Talmud Treatise, Sanhedrim (folio 63, p. 2), offers the following explanation of 2 Kings, chap. xvii. v. 30, which states that the men of Kuth made Nergal their god. And what was it? A cock. This explanation is adopted by Jewish Biblical commentators of very high authority *in loco*, such as Rashi, David Kimchi, Abarbanel, and several others. Now, whether the view of the Talmud be correct or not, it shews that at the latest, in the sixth century (at the period of the compilation of that work), the worship of the cock was known and ascribed to a very remote antiquity. Another rabbinical allusion to the cock, as connected with the evil principle, is the following, which is taken from the same Talmud Treatise, Beracoth (fol. 6, p. 2). "He that wisheth to know them (the evil spirits), let him take sieved ashes and lay them on the bed, and in the morning he will perceive thereon footsteps of a cock." I may add, that the term *taus* is occasionally found in rabbinical writings, where it is spelled *טאוס*, and signifies, like the *ΤΑΥΣ*, peacock. 3. Mr. Ainsworth exhibited, in further proof of the worship of the cock among the Babylonians, or people contemporary with them, as in the present day is the case among the Izedis, two drawings, one of a gem obtained by Mr. Layard at Babylon, being an agate cone, upon the base of which is engraved a winged priest or deity, standing in an attitude of prayer before a cock on an altar; another of a cylinder in the British Museum, upon which is represented a similar subject. Mr. Ainsworth also made some remarks upon the Cuthian and Persian, as also the Syro-Arabian or Semitic roots of the word Nergal, the first syllable signifying in both fire or light.

*Biblical Accounts of Syria.*—Syro-Egyptian, May 8th.—Dr. W. Camps in the chair. 1. Mr. Sharpe read a sketch of the early history of Syria, formed by the help of the slight notices of that country which are found in the Old Testament. On many points of geography the writer's opinion were new. He placed the little kingdom of Zobah between Mount Lebanon and the sea, and identified the city of Berothai with Beyrut. He placed Mesopotamia, or Aram of the Rivers, rather to the north of its usual place in the maps, understanding by that name, not the desert country between the Tigris and Euphrates, which Xenophon calls Arabia, but the fertile country, in the midst of the numerous branches of those two rivers, to the north of the Chaboras. He thought that the Israelite town of Beth-rehob was so named after Rehob the Syrian king, who held that

part of Palestine, and that the tribe of Ashea was so named in consequence of its Syrian or Assyrian population, not after any son of Jacob. 2. Mr. Harle read a paper "On the Idol Nergal," made and probably worshipped by the men of Cuth, mentioned in 2 Kings xvii. 30. Mr. Harle argued that the Cutheans were a very early race, widely extended and powerful. That from Assyria they extended to India, China, Arabia Petrea, and Abyssinia—that the Scythians were descendants of Cuth—that the names of many places in India identified them as being founded by the Cuthites, also that the names of some of the gods of India were corrupted forms of the name of their ancestor Cuth. That the word *Nergal* in its elements was to be found in old Persian, *Ner* (male), *Gal* (a cock). That the rabbins agreed that *Nergal* was a cock under some form. That the word *Turnegal* of the Targum—a word including all the elements of the word *Nergal*—was used generally to signify *the cock*—that it was a Talmudical word derived from some language cognate with the Hebrew. That on several Babylonian cylinders the cock was clearly seen (Mr. Harle exhibited several impressions from Babylonian cylinders brought over by Mr. Layard). And lastly, that as the Izedis still worship the Evil spirit under the symbol of a cock, it is probable that their worship is allied with, or a remnant of, the worship of the men of Cuth. 3. Dr. Jolowicz read some notes on the philological and archaeological bearing of the question. In the philological part he agreed that the word *Nergal* signified a cock, an opinion which he said received additional confirmation from the circumstance that the god worshipped by the Izedis in the present day is represented by a cock on a candlestick. The doctor believed the word to be not Syriac but Hebrew, a compound of two words, signifying the rise of morn, because the cock heralds the dawn. In the archaeological part of the subject, the learned world agree that *Nergal* was the symbol of Mercury or Mars, from the combative propensity of the bird. Dr. Jolowicz conceives that the Cuthim worshipped, through the medium of the cock, *Nergal*, the god *Moloch*, and that their worship was in all respects a *Molochcult*, comprising the sacrifice of children, &c. The Talmud classified the cock amongst the demons, because of its lustful propensities. The Doctor also believed the word *Moloch* to be discernible in the *Malik Taus*, or deified cock, of the Izedis. The Assyrian coins shew the representation of *Dagon* with *Nergal* (the fish and the cock) together, representing the worship of *Moloch*, combined with another sufficiently known by its immoral tendencies, and probably symbolized in a fish, because of its fecundity

*Antiquities of Sidon.*—A letter has appeared in the *New York Journal of Commerce* from Beirut in Syria, which is of such intrinsic interest that we insert it in full:—

On the 19th of January last, some men were digging for more hid treasure in an ancient cemetery on the plain of Sidon, called *Mughorat Tubloon*, when at the depth of about twelve feet below the surface, and near the walls of an ancient edifice, they uncovered a *sarcophagus*, upon the lid of which there is a long Phœnician inscription. The lid is of a blue-black marble, intensely hard, and taking a very fine polish. The lid is eight feet long, by four feet wide. The upper end is wrought into the figure of a female head and shoulders, of almost a giant size. The features are Egyptian, with large, full, almond-shaped eyes, the nose flattened, and lips remarkably thick, and somewhat after the negro mould. The whole countenance is smiling, agreeable, and expressive, beyond anything I have ever seen in the disinterred monuments of Egypt or Nineveh. The head-dress resembles that which appears in Egyptian figures, while on each shoulder there is the head of some bird, a dove or pigeon, and the bosom is covered by what appears to be a sort of cape, with a deep fringe as of lace.

On the lid, below the figure head, is the inscription, consisting of twenty-two long lines, closely written. The letters are in perfect preservation, and can be read with the utmost ease and accuracy, and the whole forms by far the longest and most perfect inscription yet discovered in this most ancient language and character. It appears to be mainly a genealogical history of the person buried in the *sarcophagus*, who, as it appears, was a King of Sidon. The names

of *Baal* and *Ashtoreth*, the well-known gods of the Sidonians, occur repeatedly in these inscriptions. Some of the words are Hebrew, as *melek*, king; while the forms of some of the letters are so much like those of the ancient Greek, as at once to indicate the relationship. Letters were *invented* by the Phœnicians. Here we seem to see them dropping from their hands in the first casting. I have a copy of the inscription before me, with the figure head, taken with great accuracy by the pen of a young Arab, which could hardly be exceeded by photography or lithography. I wish I could forward it to you to be used in your paper. It was sent to me by a friend in Sidon, and is the more valuable from the fact that, at present, additional copies cannot be taken. The Rev. Mr. Thompson, an intelligent American missionary at Sidon, and the Rev. Dr. Smith, of Beirut, who is engaged in translating the whole Bible into Arabic, have mainly mastered the inscription, reading line after line with little labour and embarrassment, and bringing out the evident and satisfactory meaning, and thus holding intercourse, if not with men before the Flood, at least with those who lived far back into the neighbourhood of that period. Copies have also been sent to some of the literati of Europe, from whom, in connexion with the labours of the American scholars I have named, a perfect translation may soon be expected. In the mean time a controversy has arisen in regard to the *ownership* of the discovered monument, between the English and French Consuls in this place—one having made a contract with the owner of the land, by which he was entitled to whatever he should discover in it; and the other having engaged an Arab to dig for him, who came upon the sarcophagus in the other consul's limits, or, as the Californians would say, within his "claim." Both are extremely anxious to obtain it at any cost, with the intention of sending it to London or Paris, to be added to the previous monuments and relics, which have been gathered there from the wrecks of all nations and all ages. The Turkish governor of Sidon, in this state of the matter, has closed up the ground, and protected it by a guard of soldiers, while the question is before the courts. Mr. Thompson informs me, that in the process of the diggings, the men opened large and elegant rooms cut out of the solid rock, one of which he had entered and examined, and which could be hardly less than 30 feet square by 15 in height, the ornamental work of which was of the highest finish. As soon as the lawsuit is ended and the ground opened again, I intend at once to go to Sidon, and obtain by personal examination all the particulars relating to this and other recent discoveries in the place. When a perfect translation of the inscription is made, you may expect to receive it.

*Present Religious Condition of Palestine.*—The variety or confusion of religious persuasions in the population of Jerusalem is curious to behold. Among the 18,000 or 20,000 inhabitants, there are disciples of almost every religion on the globe; Protestants, Roman Catholics, Greeks, Armenians, Syrians, Abyssinians, Jews, Mohammedans, Drusian idolaters, &c., &c. Jerusalem, the ancient city of God, is become a vast caravansary, in which all confessions, all religious rites, seek a refuge. The variety of languages is equally great. The Divine service is alternately celebrated in English, German, French, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, &c. It is a Babel. There is probably no place on the earth where so many and so heterogeneous elements can be found. This fact renders evangelization difficult. The people must be divided into small congregations, and the missionaries must preach in several languages. It also forms an obstacle to establishing large schools.

The city of Jerusalem has recently suffered great calamities. The Government of Constantinople is favourably disposed toward the Christians, and wisely tolerates the different communions; but the pachas and subaltern Turkish officers commit acts of oppression and cupidity. They try to excite contention between Christians of different sects, in order to sentence some to heavy fines, and to sell their good offices to others at the highest price. With money, the guilty may escape with impunity. Without money, the innocent do not even obtain justice. Palestine has also been visited by two terrible scourges—the small pox, and a great scarcity of provisions. During one winter, from 1500

to 1800 of its 18,000 or 20,000 inhabitants were swept off by small pox. And at the same moment famine was making sad havoc among the survivors. "It was a heart-rending spectacle," says Mr. Gobat, "to see hundreds of famished persons presenting the hand for alms. . . And now if you ask me of what moral benefit have these calamities been to the people in general, I am obliged to reply, none whatever. When once the moral nature of man has been completely degraded by superstition and its usual companion, vice, the judgments of God, instead of softening the heart and awakening the conscience, seem to have no other result than to prepare the man for even severer dispensations." Notwithstanding so many obstacles, Mr. Gobat and his worthy fellow-labourers ceased not their labours among the Jews. . .

Jerusalem is not the only place in Palestine in which Protestantism has pitched her tent. The city of Nazareth contains a congregation of between 60 and 70 proselytes, under the care of the Rev. Mr. Klein; and if a proper edifice were built, their number would greatly increase. The Franciscan monks, established in this town, have violently opposed the Reformed doctrines, and have tried to excite the suspicions of the Turkish authorities against the Protestants. Happily their perfidious intrigues have failed; and many influential members of the Greek church have openly declared themselves in favour of the evangelical religion. . . . The Mohammedan race is on the decline, and cannot long keep the provinces which it has conquered. Romanism in its turn inspires scorn or disgust by its superstitions. And if Protestantism perseveringly advances in the way on which it has entered, we shall see the truth flourishing and reigning in those holy places which heard it for the first time announced by Him who is the "Light of the world."—*New York Observer*.

*Colonel Rawlinson's Researches.*—The *Overland Summary of the Oriental Christian Spectator* for May, just received, contains so full and connected an account of the present position of the discoveries at Nineveh and Babylon, that we give it entire.

At a Special Meeting of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society held in its Library, on Saturday, the 7th April, 1855, for the reception of Lieut. Col. Rawlinson, C. B., and to afford him an opportunity of giving a *viva voce* account of his latest Researches and Discoveries in Assyria and Babylonia,—

The Right Hon. Lord Elphinstone, having taken the chair, introduced Col. Rawlinson to the meeting, and called upon him to oblige the Society by giving some account of his late most interesting researches in Mesopotamia.

Col. Rawlinson having been solicited to communicate to the meeting a brief description, *viva voce*, of the results of recent discovery in Assyria and Babylonia, proceeded to comply with the request. He pointed out, however, at the commencement of his address, that the subject was too large to be handled with effect within the limit of time allowed to him; that it was impossible to follow out an enquiry which involved the restoration of the history of Western Asia from the Patriarchial ages to the time of Cyrus in a single hour's discussion—and that he should therefore confine himself to the mere heads of the arguments in general matters; reserving all particular description for those salient points where cuneiform research came in contact with scripture history, and where the means were thus afforded of illustrating and verifying the inspired writings of the Jews.

He exhibited on the table a collection of antiquities, which he had lately obtained in Chaldea, Assyria and Babylonia, and which he was now conveying to England for deposit in the British Museum. They were arranged in three different classes, and were intended to illustrate three distinct periods of history. The most ancient class was Chaldean; the second was Assyrian; and the third was Babylonian. The Chaldean class consisted of relics found at the primitive capitals of Southern Chaldea, which are now represented by the ruins of *Mugheir* (Ur of the Chaldees), of *Warka* (Erech of Genesis), of *Senkereh* (Enasar of Genesis), of *Niffer* (Accad) and the neighbouring sites. Among the relics were stamps of the cuneiform legends impressed on the bricks of the ancient palaces and temples, a number of inscribed cones of baked clay, and a

small tablet of black marble, bearing a well preserved legend in the ancient hieratic character; and the period to which the relics belonged was stated to extend from about the twentieth to the thirteenth century B.C. In proof of such antiquity, Col. Rawlinson referred to the brick legends of one of the Chaldean kings, *Ismi-Dagon* by name, and shewed that by a series of dates, fortunately preserved upon the Assyrian monuments, the interval between this monarch and Sennacherib was determined to be 1150 years, so that the former king must have ascended the throne of Chaldea in the early part of the nineteenth century B.C. But *Ismi-Dagon* was not the first monarch of his line. Relics had been obtained of several of his predecessors, one of whom was named *Kudur-mapula*, "the ravager of Syria," and it was pointed out that this epithet naturally suggested an identity with the Chedorlaomer of scripture. The latter form indeed seemed to be a corruption of *Kuddur-el-Ahmar*, or "Kudur the Red," and to refer to the king's Semitic nationality, a conflict of races at that time having pervaded the East, and the Scythian or Cushite aborigines being termed "the black," while the Semitic invaders were distinguished as "the red." It was not thought necessary to follow the primitive Chaldean line in any detail, as the names were throughout unknown in history; but it was stated that a list had been obtained of above twenty of these monarchs from the various ruins on the lower Tigris and Euphrates, and hopes were held out that as materials accumulated, all the names might be classified and connected, if not in a genealogical series, at any rate in a dynastic succession.

It was next explained that the second class of relics, consisting for the most part of tablets of "terra cotta," belonged to the Assyrian period, which extended from the thirteenth century B.C. to the capture of Nineveh in about B.C. 625, and that to this chronological division belonged all those specimens of Assyrian art, which had recently attracted the admiration of Europe. There seemed no reason to doubt but that during the long period of Chaldean supremacy, Assyria occupied a very subordinate place in the civil polity of the East. The primeval rulers of the country whose names had been found impressed in rude characters on the bricks of the earliest Northern Capital (now called *Kùleh Shergât*;) had never assumed the regal title, nor among the territorial epithets which the Chaldean monarchs catalogued on their monuments, was the expression "King of Assyria" to be met with. Works of art anterior to the thirteenth century B.C. were absolutely unknown upon the upper Tigris, and the inference therefore seemed to be that, although the Assyrians had imported from Chaldea in the very earliest times the use of letters and the rudiments of civilization, the country had not attained to any political consequence, until the Southern Monarchy had ceased to exist. At the same time it was not probable that the Assyrians, like the Persians of a later age, had made a sudden stride from dependence to universal dominion. Of the early kings little had been preserved beyond the names; but we had fortunately the detailed annals of a monarch, named Tiglath-Pileser (the First), who ascended the throne at least 150 years after the foundation of the monarchy, and even at that late period Babylonia had not become subject to Assyria. On the contrary, *Merodach-adan-akhi*, the king of Babylonia, contemporary with Tiglath-Pileser I., had in about B.C. 1110, attained a great victory over the armies of Nineveh, and had carried off the Assyrian gods as trophies to Babylon; but the Assyrian army although checked to the south, had already penetrated to the north far beyond the range of Taurus, and to the west to the shores of the Mediterranean. The most interesting result, indeed, which was obtained from the annals of Tiglath-Pileser I., was the light thrown by that monarch's wars in Syria and Asia Minor on the ethnographical distribution of Western Asia in the twelfth century B.C. It appeared at that time that Northern Syria and the great Plateau of Anatolia were peopled by Scythian nations, while Southern Syria was dependent upon Egypt (the Caslu chim or Kasmonians, who according to scripture were the ancestors of the Philistines, being the dominant tribe), and the Aramean stock was confined to the valleys of the Tigris and the Euphrates. The Jews must have been then living under the rule of the judges, and were probably confounded

by the Assyrians with the other scattered Semite colonies, who acknowledged the Khasmonian supremacy.

The most brilliant period of Jewish history—that is the age of David and Solomon—unfortunately admitted of no illustration from the Assyrian annals. The contemporary monarchs of Nineveh were occupied with the building of cities and the adornment of their palaces and temples, or with expeditions among the northern mountains; but they were hardly yet strong enough to provoke a contest with the organized armies of the kings of Syria. It was at the commencement of the ninth century B.C., shortly after the building of Samaria, that the Assyrians first undertook the subjugation of the countries on the Mediterranean; and from that period to the extinction of the empire, the annals of Nineveh, running in a parallel line with Jewish history, presented a series of notices, which established in the most conclusive manner the authenticity of the Hebrew scriptures. The geographical names which occurred in the Bible were also found in the inscriptions. The names of the kings of Israel and Judah, of Damascus and of Nineveh, were given in the two independent accounts under the same forms, in the same order of succession, and with the same chronological relations. The same events even were described, with that mere variation of colouring which was due to national feeling.

In the earliest expedition into Syria of this period, that undertaken by *Assur-uchar-bal*, the builder of the North West Palace at Nimrud, early in the ninth century B.C., the Assyrians did not come in direct contact with the Jews, though they overran the whole country as far south as Damascus, and even exacted tribute from the maritime cities of Phœnicia. The succeeding king, *Silima-riah*, fought several battles with Ben Hadad, and after the dethronement of the latter with the usurper Hazael, while he also received rich presents from Jehu, who is called in the inscriptions the son of Omri from having sat on the throne of Samaria. The annals of the next king, *Shamasphul*, extended but to four years, during which the wars of the Assyrians were confined to Asia Minor and Babylonia, and of his successor, *Phulukh* (the *Pul* of scripture and *פולח* of the LXX.), no strictly historical record had yet been found. The interesting fact, however, had been discovered that this king married a foreign princess of the name of *Sammuramit* (or Semiramis), and that having lost his throne by a domestic revolution to a stranger of the name of Tiglath-Pileser (the Second), the upper royal line of Assyria, after a dynastic rule of 526 years, terminated in his person, all this minutely agreeing with the fragments of Assyrian history preserved to us by the Greeks. From the death or dethronement of Pul commenced the second or lower Assyrian line, the epoch being marked in Babylonian history as the era of Nabonassar, and dating from B.C. 774. Of Tiglath-Pileser, the first king of the lower dynasty, annals had been found extending to his 17 years, and among his tributaries were many names which were of interest from scriptural association, such as Menahem of Samaria, Rezin of Damascus, Hiram of Tyre, the Kings of Byblos, of Casias, of Carhemish, of Hamath, and even a Queen of the Arabs, who seemed to have reigned in Idumea, or Arabia Petraea, and who was the representative in regard to race and station of the famous Queen of Sheba, who had visited Solomon about two and a half centuries before.

According to scripture history Tiglath-Pileser must have been succeeded by Shalmaneser, a name which had not yet been found in the inscriptions, but which had originally headed, it was believed, certain mutilated tablets recording the wars of an Assyrian monarch with Hoshea (?) king of Samaria, and with a son of Rezin of Damascus. It seemed probable that as Tiglath-Pileser II. had defaced the monuments of Pul, whom he supplanted, so Sargon, who was again of a different lineage, and who gained the throne of Nineveh in B.C. 721, had designedly mutilated the records of Tiglath-Pileser and Shalmaneser, who were his two immediate predecessors, no single slab belonging to these kings having been ever found, either in a perfect state or in its original position. The explanation offered of this period of history was that Shalmaneser had succeeded his father, Tiglath-Pileser, on the throne of Nineveh about B.C. 728,—that he laid siege to Samaria in 724—23, and while engaged in that operation was surprised



by the revolt of Sargon, who ultimately drove him from power and established himself in his place in a.c. 721. Sargon's first act was to bring the siege of Samaria to a close, and the account of the Samaritan captivity given in the inscriptions corresponded closely with that preserved in scripture. Halah, Habor, indeed, and the river of Gozan, where the expatriated tribes were placed, and which had been so variously identified by geographers, were proved by the inscriptions to be represented by the modern *Nimrud*, and by the two rivers, the *Khaboor* and the *Mygdonius*, the latter Greek term being a mere participial formation of Gozan, which was the original Assyrian name of the city of *Ninibia*. The annals of Sargon were preserved in great detail and were replete with notices of much historical interest. His wars were described, with *Merodach Baladan*, the king of Babylon, with the kings of Ashdod, of Gaza, of Hamath, of Carchemish, and of many other Syrian cities. He received tribute from Pharaoh of Egypt, from the Queen of the Arabs and her confederate the chief of Sheba (or the Sabæans who at that period dwelt in Edom). There was a distinct account, moreover, of the expedition to Cyprus (which was referred by the Greeks to Shalmaneser); and Sargon's memorial tablet had been discovered in the Island. The history of Western Asia indeed at the close of the eighth century a.c., was given in the most elaborate detail in the inscriptions of Khor-sabad, which was Sargon's capital, and in every respect was found to coincide with the contemporary annals of the Jews. Verifications of still more importance had followed from the discovery of the annals of Sennacherib, who succeeded his father Sargon in a.c. 702. His wars with Illulus of Sidon, and with Merodach Baladan and his sons, were in near accordance with the notices of the Greeks, and the famous Assyrian expedition, which Sennacherib led against Hezekiah of Jerusalem, as given in the native annals, coincided in all essential points (even to the numbers of the thirty talents of gold which the Jewish king paid as a peace-offering) with the scriptural record of the event. It was not to be expected that the monarch of Assyria would deliberately chronicle his discomfiture under the walls of Jerusalem and his disastrous retreat to Nineveh; but there was the significant admission in his annals that he did not succeed in capturing the Jewish capital, and this was sufficient to attest the interposition of a miraculous power.

The annals again of Esar Haddon, who ascended the throne on the death of his father, in about a.c. 680, were of almost equal interest. He warred in Phœnicia, in Syria, in Asia Minor, and Armenia, in Media, in Susiana, and in Babylonia. He sent a Queen from his own household to rule over the Arabs of Edom. He must have led a great expedition into Africa, for he assumed the distinctive title of "Conqueror of Egypt and Ethiopia." Finally he obtained the aid of Manasseh, king of Judea, together with that of most of the other kings of Syria, in constructing a magnificent palace at Sealah, of which building the ruins are still to be seen at the south and west corner of the great Mount of Nimrud.

The son of Esar Haddon, who was named *Ashur-bani-bal*, but who was almost unknown to the Greeks, had left numerous monuments and of great value. Mr. Layard had excavated, some years ago, a portion of one of this king's palaces at Nineveh, but recently a far more perfect and more highly finished building of the same king had been discovered in another part of the mound of *Koyunjik*. The sculptures in this palace were of the very highest class of Assyrian art. The hunting scenes, indeed, represented on the walls of some of the chambers, were perfectly beautiful both in design and execution, and a very large selection of these had been made for the Assyrian gallery in the British Museum. In illustration of this branch of the subject some figures of dogs in "terra cotta" were exhibited, which had been discovered in a cavity of the wall on removing the slabs which formed the wainscoting. They were models apparently of the favourite lion-hounds of the king, the figures being painted of different colours, and having other distinctive marks, while the name of each dog, generally a descriptive epithet, had been stamped or incised upon the clay.

The most valuable relics however of the time of *Ashur-bani-bal* were stated

to be the inscribed clay tablets of baked clay, forming portions of the royal library. The number of these tablets already exhumed could not be less than 10,000, and they appeared to embrace every branch of science known to the ancient Assyrians. They were especially valuable in affording explanations of the Assyrian system of writing, one class of them, unfortunately rarely to be met with, but of which a specimen was exhibited at the table, shewing how the original pictorial figures had been degraded to characters, while others contained tables expressing the different syllable values which were attached to each character, and a third class again presented elaborate lists of all the simple and compound ideographs of the language with their phonetic equivalents. Even with the important help of these explanatory tables, the work of decipherment had proceeded slowly, and many difficulties still remained to be overcome, but without their aid it was observed the inscriptions would have continued to the present time to be for the most part unintelligible.

It was now left for Col. Rawlinson to refer to the Babylonian period of history, and to invite the meeting to examine the highly important and original relics of this period, which were laid out upon the table. The last king of Nineveh, *Asshur-ebid-ilut*, of whom nothing remained but a few bricks with half obliterated legends, had been probably dispossessed of his throne by the united armies of the Medes and Babylonians in about a.c. 625. Nabopolassar, who either sent or led the expedition against Nineveh, became from this period the lord paramount of Western Asia. The seat of his empire was at Babylon, which he strengthened and partially rebuilt. Many tablets had been found dating from different periods of his reign, but there was no autographic record, either of his domestic works, or of his foreign conquests. It was to his son Nebuchadnezzar, who succeeded him in a.c. 606, and who reigned for forty-four years, that most of the Babylonian relics belonged, which now filled the museums of Europe. A very interesting discovery had been recently made in regard to a building erected by this monarch, the particulars of which were described as follows:—

A remarkable ruin, named *Birs Nirmud*, and situated on a mound in the vicinity of Babylon, had long been an object of curiosity to all travellers and antiquaries. The great height of the mound, its prodigious extent, and its state of tolerable preservation, contrasting so favourably with the shapeless heaps in the neighbourhood, had very generally suggested the identity of the ruin with the temple of Belus, so minutely described by Herodotus, and as there were large vitrified masses of brickwork on the summit of the mound, which presented the appearance of having been subjected to the influence of intense heat, conjectures that the *Birs* might even represent the ruins of the tower of Babel, destroyed by lightning from heaven, had not been unfrequently hazarded and believed. To resolve the many interesting questions connected with this ruin, Col. Rawlinson undertook last autumn its systematic examination. Experimental trenches were opened in vertical lines from the summit to the base, and wherever walls were met with they were laid bare by horizontal galleries being run along them. After two months of preliminary excavation, Col. Rawlinson visited the works, and profiting by the experience acquired in his previous researches, he was able in the course of half an hour's examination to detect the spots where the commemorative records were deposited, and to extract, to the utter astonishment of the Arabs, from concealed cavities in the walls, the two large inscribed cylinders of baked clay which were exhibited to the meeting, and which were now in as fine a state of preservation as when they were deposited in their hiding place by Nebuchadnezzar above twenty-five centuries ago. From these cylinders it appeared that the temple had been originally built by the king *Merodack-adam-akhi* at the close of the twelfth century a.c., and probably in celebration of his victory over Tiglath-Pileser I.; that it had subsequently fallen into ruin, and had been in consequence subjected to a thorough repair by Nebuchadnezzar in about a.c. 580. The curious fact was further elicited, that it was named the "Temple of the Seven Spheres," and that it had been laid out in conformity with the Chaldean Planetary System, seven stages being erected one above the other according to the order of the

seven planets, and their stages being coloured after the hue of the planets to which they were respectively dedicated. Thus the lower stage belonging to Saturn was black; the second sacred to Jupiter was orange; the third or that of Mars was red; the fourth of the Sun, golden; the fifth of Venus, white; the sixth of Mercury, blue; and the seventh of the Moon, a silvery green. In several cases these colours were still clearly to be distinguished, the appropriate hue being obtained by the quality and burning of the bricks, and it was thus ascertained that the vitrified masses at the summit were the result of design and not of accident—the sixth stage sacred to Mercury having been subjected to an intense and prolonged fire, in order to produce the blue slag colour, which was emblematical of that planet. It further appeared, that we were indebted to this peculiarity of construction for the preservation of the monument, when so many of its sister temples had utterly perished, the blue slag cap at the summit of the pile resisting the action of the weather, and holding together the lower stages which would otherwise have crumbled, while it also afforded an immovable pedestal for the upper stage and for the shrine which probably crowned the pile. The only other point of interest which was ascertained from the cylinders was that the temple in question did not belong to Babylon, but to the neighbouring city of Borsippa, the title of *Birs* by which it is now known being a mere abbreviation of the ancient name of the city.

Col. Rawlinson now adverted to the famous slab of Nebuchadnezzar which is deposited in the Museum of the India House; and he stated that it contained a description of the various works executed by Nebuchadnezzar at Babylon and Borsippa, which so nearly corresponded with the account of Berossus quoted by Josephus, that it would hardly be doubted the Chaldee historian had consulted the original autographic record; and here was introduced the notice of a most remarkable passage of the India House inscription, which seemed to contain the official version adopted by the king of that terrible calamity which overtook him in the midst of his career. Abruptly breaking off from the narrative of the architectural decoration of Babylon, the inscription denounced the Chaldean astrologers; the king's heart was hardened against them; he would grant no benefactions for religious purposes; he intermitted the worship of Merodach, and put an end to the sacrifice of victims: he laboured under the effects of enchantment(?). There is much that is extremely obscure in this episodic fragment, but it really seemed to allude to the temporary insanity of the monarch, and at its close, when the spell was broken, which had been cast over him, the thread of the argument, having reference to the building of Babylon, was resumed. There was a passing allusion in this inscription to the Western conquests of Nebuchadnezzar, and in an amplified copy upon a clay cylinder, of which a fragment had also been found at the *Birs*, the subjugation of the countries on the Mediterranean was specifically mentioned; but hitherto annals of the Babylonian monarchs, similar to those which were so carefully prepared in Assyria, had in no instance been discovered, and an independent account therefore of the capture of Jerusalem and the carrying away the Jews into captivity was still among the desiderata of cuneiform science.

After a brief notice of Nebuchadnezzar's successors, *Evil Merodach*, and *Nergal-shar-ezer* (Neriglissor of the Greeks), Col. Rawlinson proceeded to explain his last discovery of importance, which established the fact of the eldest son of Nabonidus having been named *Belshar-ezer*, and that pointed the way to the reconciliation of profane and sacred history in regard to the capture of Babylon by Cyrus. Relics of Nabonidus, the last king of Babylon, abounded, not only at Babylon and Borsippa, but in Southern Chaldea also. From the ruins of a temple to "the Moon," which had been recently excavated at "Ur of the Chaldees," four perfect cylinders of this king had been recovered, which were now placed on the table, together with the fragments of a hollow barrel cylinder of the same period. The latter relic contained a detailed account of the various works of Nabonidus throughout the empire, and was particularly valuable in mentioning the monarchs who founded and repaired the temples in the different capitals, and in establishing their chronological succession. The four smaller cylinders, which all bore the same inscription, referred particularly to the his-

tory of the temple of "the Moon" at Ur of the Chaldees. In both legends the architectural description was finished with a special prayer and invocation for the welfare of the king's eldest son, *Belshar-ezer*; and as this substitution of the name of the king's son for that of the king himself was an isolated example and totally at variance with ancient usage, the only reasonable explanation, seemed to be that *Belshar-ezer* (abbreviated in Daniel to *Belshazzar*, as *Nergal-shar-ezer* was shortened by the Greeks to *Neriglissar*) had been raised by the king during his life-time to a participation in the imperial dignity. On this supposition then—that there were two kings reigning at the same time in Babylon,—it could well be understood that Nabonidus, the father, may have met the Persians in the open field, and after his defeat may have thrown himself into the stronghold of Borshippa as stated by Berosus; while Belshazzar, the son, may have awaited the attack of the enemy in Babylon, and have fallen under that awful visitation of the divine vengeance which is described in the book of Daniel. That the eldest son of Nabonidus indeed, who is distinctly named *Bel-shar-ezer* in the cylinders of *Mugheir*, could not have survived the extinction of the empire is rendered certain by the fact that when a revolt of the Babylonians took place at the commencement of the reign of Darius Hystaspes, the impostor who personated the heir to the kingdom and called his countrymen to arms, assumed the name of "*Nabukudruchur*, the son of Nabunit" (see inscription of Behistun), the rights of the eldest son having descended to the second. As the cylinders exhibited to the meeting were the only solitary documents on which the name of Belshazzar had been ever found, apart from the pages of Daniel, they were objects of special interest, and would no doubt be reckoned among the choicest treasures of the British Museum.

Col. Rawlinson, had not at present in his charge any relics of a later period, though he stated that tablets dated during the reigns of the Achæmenian monarchs from Cyrus to Darius Coddomanus, were by no means rare, and that he had even recently examined a number of cuneiform documents, consisting of benefactions to temples, which were dated under the reigns of Seleucus and Antiochus.

Among the miscellaneous articles exhibited were a number of signet cylinders, which were commonly used by the Babylonians as seals to authenticate official documents. All the benefaction tablets recently discovered were thus endorsed, having been impressed while the clay was soft. The legends however on the cylinders were of no consequence, merely consisting of the name of the owner, of that of his father, and of an epithet implying dependence on one of the numerous gods of the Pantheon. A black stone, bearing the symbols of the gods, and invoking their vengeance on any one who should alter or resume a certain grant of lands recorded in the document was also on the table. It was stated to be very similar to the relic usually known in Europe as "*le caillon de Michaud*." Another mutilated specimen of the same class which was obtained from Babylon by Mr. Rich being already in the British Museum, and being in fact the identical stone with which some years ago the famous Portland vase was dashed to pieces. The only other object of interest was a small cube of ivory, bearing on it certain mathematical tables, which were inscribed however in a character so minute, as to be almost invisible until examined with a strong magnifying glass, and it was suggested that from this specimen alone we might reasonably believe the Assyrians to have been in the habit of manufacturing lenses, and to have been thus considerably advanced in a knowledge of the science of optics!

Col. Rawlinson having been further requested by Dr. Wilson to say a few words on the subject of the language of the inscriptions and the mode of decipherment, explained, that the first clue to the reading of the Assyrian character was obtained from the autographic record of Darius Hystaspes at Behistun. As a translation in the Babylonian character and language, which already resembled the Assyrian, was appended to the original Persian edict at the latter place, the sense of the one being known, a sure basis was established for the analysis of the other. His comparison of the two versions of this inscription and his preliminary researches into the grammar and etymological affinities of the language

of ancient Babylon, had been published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society some four years back, and as he had since that time studied and analyzed many thousand inscriptions, not mere rock legends of a few lines restricted to the formulae of royal proclamations, but long elaborate histories, records of the chase, architectural reports, scientific treatises, prayers, invocations, and the whole arcana of the Chaldee religion and philosophy, he might now really claim a very extended acquaintance with the language. In all essential points the Babylonian was a mere primitive Hebrew—the roots were the same,—the grammatical construction perfectly analogous—the conjugations very similar,—the names of objects for the most part identical. The radical difficulty in reading and understanding Babylonian and Assyrian lay in the extraordinary number of the characters employed (the phonetic signs alone exceeding 300); in their variant powers, one character being often used to express six or seven different syllabic sounds; and above all in the very general employment both of simple and compound ideographs, of which although the meaning might be ascertained from the context, it was impossible to define the phonetic values without the aid of the explanatory tablets. From the latter source he had now succeeded in tabulating between 3 and 4000 ideographs with their phonetic correspondents, but he did not consider this branch of the subject to be one half exhausted. His own impression was that there were at least 20,000 ideographs in common use, and he considered that until these were all determinately explained and read, no one could pretend to have thoroughly mastered the language. He was now proceeding to England in the hope that he might advance the work of decipherment, and should steadily pursue the enquiry through his future life.

Col. Rawlinson, in conclusion, expressed his obligations to the Society, for the aid which he had received from it in his early studies, and especially by its extensive library, to which he was under great obligations. He had peculiar satisfaction in appearing before it on this occasion, on observing the parties by whom he was surrounded. To a distinguished friend of his Lordship in the chair, bearing the honoured name of "Elphinstone," he was greatly indebted. That friend had received him on his first arrival in India, and had greatly encouraged him in his study of the eastern languages, to which any success which he had experienced was much to be ascribed.

The Rev. Dr. Wilson, Honorary President of the Society, rose for the purpose of moving that its best thanks be conveyed by the Patron of the Society, Lord Elphinstone, to Col. Rawlinson, for his most able and interesting communications on this occasion; and that the Secretary should be directed to prepare a minute expressive of the regard which it cherishes for this distinguished member, whom it congratulates on the unparalleled success of his learned investigations. Col. Rawlinson, he added, had expressed his obligations to the Society, and especially to its library, for the aid which they had furnished him in his lingual and historical studies. But these advantages must not be overestimated. Without Col. Rawlinson's peculiar talents in the acquisition of the oriental tongues, his readiness and acuteness of observation, and his patience and perseverance of research, they would have been of no avail in effecting the great results, which had awakened the attention and secured the confidence of the scholars of Britain, France, Germany, and America, and which had excited the wonder and admiration of less competent judges throughout the world. He had certainly received no assistance from his contemporary members of the Society, except in the general sympathy which is common to them and intelligent observers everywhere to be found. It is to the honour of the Society, however, that Mr. Rich, one of its early members, who was much encouraged by the counsel of its founder, Sir James Mackintosh, had taken the lead in Assyrian and Babylonian research, exploring the ruins of Babylon and Nineveh, and making large and valuable collections of their minor antiquities; and that its transactions contained an analysis and review by Mr. Bellino, another of its members, of the first *tentamina* for the decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions of Dr. Grötefend and his predecessors; and that Dr. Grötefend himself had duly informed it of his own discoveries, as from time to time they advanced. Col.

Rawlinson was the party to whom the praise was due of bringing all the researches on the cuneiform inscriptions of those who had preceded him to a fruitful issue, and of making such advances in this study as required the greatest effort of the most learned orientalists to follow him. Dr. Grotefend, by attending to the groupings of the wedges in the Persepolitan and adjacent inscriptions, had been able to point out the forms of distinct letters and their composition in words separated from one another by a slanting bar. The phonetic powers of some of the letters he had ascertained, by making trial of their application to the names of the Persian sovereigns. The meaning of a few titles attached to these sovereigns, he had also ascertained. The distinguished linguist and archæologist, Professor E. Burnouf, of Paris, whose death was so much and generally regretted; and Professor Lassen of Bonn, one of the greatest orientalists and antiquarians of the present day, had greatly extended the knowledge of the ancient Persian alphabet, and made some of the cuneiform inscriptions intelligible, from their wonderful attainments in the Indo-Persic languages. But Col. Rawlinson had accurately transcribed and published the tri-lingual inscriptions of Bisitun, in the Persic, Babylonish, and Scythian cuneiform. He had completed the identification of all the letters of the Persian cuneiform, establishing the precise value of those formerly unknown or mistaken. He had translated the biography of the Achemænian kings as recorded by themselves. From a comparison of the Persian inscriptions with those in the Babylonish character, he had ascertained the import of the latter, and prepared the way for the decipherment and translation of the Scythian inscriptions by Mr. Westergaard, and more particularly by Mr. Norris, of the Royal Asiatic Society. He had found that the later Babylonish cuneiform letters were only a cursive corruption of the Assyrian cuneiform, and thus got the key to the Nineveh tablets, obelisks, and cylinders, the wondrous stories of which he had in substance unfolded to the world, awaiting a more particular literary exposition of them than public duty had yet permitted him to make. The most ancient Chaldean writings had not been able to baffle his ingenuity; and the Society had witnessed, in the course of his familiar address this day, how he was able to deal with them. His acquisition of antiquities at Nineveh and its adjacent sites reflected honour on the British nation, even after the success of Botta and Layard. What he had lately effected in Babylon and Chaldea, as illustrated by the interesting relics on the table, was most wonderful. It is impossible to over-estimate the importance of the researches in which he has been engaged, and in which he has been so successful. The great fact, that they went so far as they did to corroborate and illustrate the Hebrew scriptures, tended much to the confirmation and extended appreciation of those historical records, which, originally written by the pen of inspiration, were so dear to all our hearts. The statement which he had made respecting the language of the most ancient Chaldean relics, even, was of the greatest importance. He (Dr. Wilson) conceived, he could easily make by it an explanation of various Chaldeanisms in the earlier books of the bible, which by some incautious and unwary critics had been pointed to as neologisms, while, in fact, they are nothing but archaisms, such as would be used, especially in poetical pieces, by the family of Abraham, who was himself from Ur of the Chaldees. Col. Rawlinson's researches combinedly throw a flood of light on the history, art, science, and religion of the ancient world. Well worthy is he of all the honours which he has already received, and which doubtless await him in Europe, which he is about to visit.

Though the highest tribute of applause which this Society could extend to him was of small value, yet as it was offered with sincerity and cordiality, it might be accepted.

Dr. Wilson's motion having been seconded by Major-Gen. Waddington, C.B., one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society, was unanimously and cordially adopted.

Lord Elphinstone had the greatest pleasure in conveying the thanks of the Society to Col. Rawlinson, in the terms of the motion now adopted; and of expressing his own thanks for the singular gratification afforded by his address this evening.

Col. Rawlinson has arrived in London from Bagdad, having brought to a close the excavations in Assyria and Babylonia, which he has been superintending for the last three years, on behalf of the trustees of the British Museum. The results of these excavations have already in part reached the Museum, but the most valuable portions of them are still in transit. One hundred and fifty cases containing sculptures, inscribed tablets, terra-cotta cylinders, and a very large collection of small objects of Assyrian art, were recently unpacked at the Museum. One perfect obelisk, and the fragment of a second, are the only objects of this collection which have been yet exhibited to the public in the Assyrian Gallery; but the inscribed tablets, which amount in number, we believe, to at least 10,000, the two fine cylinders from Kileh Sherkat, and all the smaller relics—which, for better security, are deposited in closed cases—can be examined by the curious. A collection of almost equal extent and of greater value, inasmuch as the sculptures belong to the culminating period of Assyrian art, and are infinitely superior to those which form the present Nineveh Gallery at the Museum, was shipped last month at Bassorah, and may be expected to reach the Thames in August or September; while a third or supplementary collection, composed of select specimens, the master-pieces of Assyrian art, which were disinterred from the new palace at Nineveh during the past autumn and winter, is about to be brought to Europe, in virtue of an arrangement concluded between Col. Rawlinson and M. Place on board the *Manuel*, a vessel which was sent out by the French Government for the purpose of bringing home the collections of MM. Place and Fresnel. Col. Rawlinson has further brought with him overland a single small case, containing, among other relics of especial interest, the Nebuchadnezzar cylinders which he obtained from Birs Nimrud in the autumn of last year, and those still more valuable cylinders of Nabonidus, the last king of Babylon, which record the name of that monarch's eldest son Belshar-zer, the Belshazzar of Daniel. It is sincerely to be hoped that means will be found for exhibiting these slabs to the public, as soon as the whole of the three collections shall have arrived, either by a new arrangement of the present Assyrian Gallery, or by the allotment of fresh space to the Antiquity Department of the Museum. Unless, indeed, some measures of this nature are taken, the fruits of the late Assyrian Expedition, of which the labours are now brought to a close, will be lost to the great majority of the nation,—the number of those who can appreciate the historical and scientific results, obtained from so vast an accumulation of cuneiform materials, being, of course, comparatively few.—*Athenæum*, May 26.

The Treasurer of the Assyrian Excavation Fund received a letter from Mr. Loftus, dated Kouyunjik, February 12, from which the following is an extract.—“The S.E. palace at Nimroud has just yielded a large collection of beautiful ivories, relics of a throne or furniture, &c. They have been fitted together by means of rivets, slides, and grooves,—a complete Assyrian puzzle, and somewhat dangerous to sit on! Many exhibit traces of gilding and enamel, and were probably broken up for the inlaid gold and jewels with which they were once adorned. There is a decided Egypto-Assyrian character about the whole collection, perfect Egyptian heads being mixed with Assyrian Bulls and Lions. The heads were very fine indeed. Some of the articles were maces, dagger-handles, or portions of chairs and tables (for we have undoubted evidence of the Assyrians using such.) Figures back to back form a shaft, and support a flower-headed capital. There are also boxes, and a vase—all elaborately carved. The Assyrians were adepts in veneering, the layers being highly ornamented with sacred emblems and lion-hunts. Phœnician inscriptions are found on two or three articles. They were found strewed at the bottom of a chamber among wood ashes. They had escaped the flames, but are blackened from lying among smouldering wood. I have got up a horse-load of objects, and am fitting them together as fast as possible, preparatory to boiling them in gelatine. The whole room is not yet explored, as the earth must first be removed from above. I propose going down to-morrow.”

*Sesostris or Ramsès.*—It is well known that since the discoveries of Champollion there has been a great difficulty in respect to the name of the Egyptian conqueror of Central Asia, whom Herodotus and all the Greek historians call *Sesoios* or *Sesostris*, while the Egyptian monuments designate him as *Ramsès Meimoun*. The text of Tacitus bears out the reading of the monuments. In the royal list of Manetho, too, the name is that of Ramsès, and not that of Sesostris. In his twelfth dynasty there is the name Sesoctasen, also a conqueror, but he cannot be the true Sesostris. In a communication to the French Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres of Oct. 20, the Viscount of Rougé proposes a settlement of the difficulty on the ground of decipherings from the papyri of the British Museum, from which it appears that *Ses* or *Seson* was a popular abbreviation of Ramsès: it sometimes appears, too, as *Sesion*, which would give the form *Sesiois* of Diodorus.—*L'Athenæum Français*

*Syro Egyptian.*—March.—Dr. J. Lee in the chair. 1. Dr. Lee exhibited and made some remarks upon a small collection of ancient Maltese coins in his possession, upon which were certain well-known Egyptian subjects, as the Egyptian trinity,—Isis, Osiris, and Nepth; Isis crowned by victory, Osiris with two crowns, the lotus, &c. Also figures with extended wings, as in the objects in coloured glass from Egypt, exhibited by Dr. Lee on a former occasion. 2. Mr. Marsden exhibited and made some remarks upon certain engraved plates illustrative of Egyptian archæology. The first series represented a mummy case, found by M. d'Athanasia in the year 1823, in the small Temple of Isis at Thebes. It belonged to a person of a high military rank, whose name was Sevek Naa. The second series represented the mummy case of a priest of Ammon, Ouephré by name. Other plates represented the sculptured figures (a triad) on the reverse of a scarabæus of lapis lazuli; also the reverse of another scarabæus of calcareous stone, giving the cartouche of Amunoph the Third; also the representation, on a tablet of calcareous stone found at Abydos, of the funeral procession of a Jewish family; and, lastly, a tablet of calcareous stone, representing the King Pharaoh Hephra making an offering to the god Pthah. Other plates represented a royal sceptre in bronze, a dagger of bronze found at Thebes, a vase of alabaster found at Abydos; a war hatchet found in a tomb at Thebes, the blade of bronze, and on which is represented a man on horseback, which renders it remarkable. A last series represented the mummy case of a child, found in the small Temple of Isis at Thebes; upon the case were represented the cakes, apples, pomegranates, and other fruits, as well as the roasted duck, which was probably placed on a stand, with the baskets, by the side of the sarcophagus. 3. Mr. Ainsworth (in the absence of Mr. Bonomi) gave some account of Col. Rawlinson's discoveries at the Birs-i-Nimrud, illustrated by drawings by Mr. Bonomi. The terraced character of the 'Temple of the Seven Spheres' was further illustrated by reference to the Tomb of Cyrus, and the mounds of Mokhamur, Abu Khamira, Tel Ermah, and others described by Mr. Layard. The colour of the separate terraces, after the Chaldean planetary system, was illustrated by the description given by Herodotus of the seven walls of Ecbatana, and the seven-bodied palace of Bahram Gur, described by Nizami in his poem of the Heft Peiker. 4. Mr. Sharpe gave an account, which he had received from Dr. Lepsius, of the inscriptions discovered in the tombs of the sacred bulls near Memphis; those which contain dates begin in the reign of Darius, and continue through the reigns of most of the Ptolemies. It seems that the funerals of the bulls followed one another at intervals of about twenty-three years each, more or less. As many of them mention the number of years between the two funerals, they would be of use in settling the chronology of the Ptolemies, if it were not already more certainly known from the short work of Porphyry. The inscriptions which mention the funerals of the bulls in the earlier reigns, when such help to the chronology would be useful, unfortunately contained no dates. 5. Mr. Sharpe gave a short account of the progress made by Mr. Horner in determining the rate of accumulation of the alluvia of the Nile, by excavations made at Heliopolis for that express purpose.



*New Expedition into Central Africa.*—The limits of the great unexplored region of Africa may be roughly indicated by the parallels of  $10^{\circ}$  north and south from the equator, and extending from Adamana in the west to the Somanli country in the east. This extensive region is just touched by the routes of South-African explorers, Livingston and Lacerda,—and by the Abyssinian travellers, by Barth, Overweg, Vogel, and the Chadda Expedition in the north. The greatest inroad into this unknown region has been made by travelling up the Bahr el Abiad, or White River, on which and along which there has been a continuous tide of explorers ever since 1835, when the Egyptian Government despatched an Expedition up this river,—which was followed by several others of the same kind, as well as by Austrian Catholic missionaries, by many traders and adventurers. The extreme points reached on this river by any of the travellers lay between  $4^{\circ}$  and  $5^{\circ}$  north latitude.

At the westernmost bend of the Bahr el Abiad, in about  $9^{\circ} 10'$  north lat. and  $29^{\circ} 15'$  east long., this river opens out into a rather ill-defined lake or marsh, by some called No, or Nu,—by others, Birket el Ghazal,—by others still Lake Kura. Its circumference seems to vary at different times; and M. Brun Rollet in 1851, found it of very small dimensions. Into it, from the west, according to a variety of sources, is said to run an immense river, formed by two large branches, of which the one has a westerly or W.N.W. direction; the other one from the south-west. The name of the latter is mostly given as Bahr il Ada,—that of the former as Bahr el Ghazal, Bahr Kulla, or Misselad,—the latter names being also applied to the united main stream. The headwaters of these rivers are supposed to extend to the borders of Waday, Bagirmi, and even Adamana. But so little is known of the region thus described as the basin of the river received by Lake No, that nothing can be stated with any degree of certainty, except that certain rivers exist there, and that these rivers belong to the basin of the Nile. Thus, Dr. Barth, from information he received while in Bagirmi, from persons on whom he had reasons to place reliance, lays down a river called Bahr il Ada in about  $7^{\circ}$  north lat. and  $22^{\circ}$  east long. Greenwich, running eastward. In a report from Cairo, dated the 22nd of October, 1843 (see *Augsburg Zeitung*, Nov. 18, 1843), it was stated that a German traveller had been in Darfur, thence travelled for seven days due south, and came upon a river, on which he embarked, and on it ultimately reached the White River. This may or may not be true:—our present information relating to that region is altogether vague and uncertain. The extreme point reached by Europeans on the north side is Kobelth, the capital of Darfur, in  $14^{\circ} 11'$  north lat. and  $26^{\circ} 55'$  east long. Greenwich,—first visited by Browne in 1793. The furthest point reached by Barth (or any other European) from the west is Maseña, the capital of Bagirmi, the position of which may be taken at  $11^{\circ} 40'$  north lat., and about  $16^{\circ}$  east long. Greenwich. When in Bagirmi, Dr. Barth collected an immense amount of information respecting the countries between it and the Nile, which information he connected and laid down on the map. It relates, however, more particularly to the region east and north-east from Maseña, in the direction of Khartúm, along the various caravan and pilgrim roads, which, unfortunately, do not extend in the direction of Lake No or south of it. The distance between Maseña and Lake No nearly amounts to 800 geographical miles, being about equal to that between Kuka and Timbuktu.

The feeders of Lake Tsad Dr. Barth traced to about  $18^{\circ}$  east long.; there a broad mountainous region extends from north to south, which, it is little doubtful forms the line of waterparting between the basin of Lake Tsad and that of the Nile, and gives birth to the rivers running into the Bahr el Abiad at Lake No.

It is from Lake No that the new Expedition is going to penetrate to the westward, up the Bahr el Ghazal. This Expedition is fitted out by, and under the direction of, M. Brun Rollet, a Sardinian, who for the last twenty-three years has been residing at Khartúm, chiefly engaged in mercantile pursuits. This gentleman has already ascended the Bahr el Abiad several times from Khartúm as far as  $5^{\circ}$  north lat.,—of which explorations a full account will shortly be published. As may be supposed, M. Brun Rollet is intimately acquainted with the countries of the White River, its inhabitants and natural resources. He

has been very successful in his mercantile transactions, particularly in ivory and gum, so abundant in those countries,—the yearly export of the former amounting at present to about 800 cwt. But he has reasons to know that the country he now proposes to explore is much richer in that and other articles of commerce. This Expedition will consist of six boats, manned by about sixty men, all well armed. M. Brun Rollet is strongly built and inured to the climate, of scientific attainments, and has been aided in his scientific outfit and preparations by the *savans* of Paris and Turin. The Expedition is entirely a private one, and undertaken by his own means, the French and Sardinian Governments having given him special letters of recommendation to the Pasha of Egypt.

M. Brun Rollet is at present in Cairo, and will shortly start for Khartúm, where his final preparations will be made for the ascent of the Bahr el Abiad and Bahr el Ghazal, in the direction of Waday. It may be noticed that the latter river has mostly been called Keílak in late years; but I am informed by M. Brun Rollet that the Arabs and the black natives of those countries do not know it under that name, but principally by that of Bahr el Ghazal, sometimes Misselad."—*Athenæum*.

AUGUSTUS PETERMANN.

A project is on foot for "Exploring and Evangelizing Central Africa by means of Native Agents," and is rapidly gaining a solid basis of strength. The object seems to be—to dispute the possession of the Interior of Africa with the followers of Mohammed; and if we may judge by the moderation of the Prospectus, the warfare is to be carried on in no spirit of vindictive rivalry. The Committee state their case with modesty, and without that rancorous abuse of their opponents which at times accompanies religious zeal. The toleration, the disposition to help, and other good qualities of Moslem rulers are pointed out:—"No obstacle exists among any of the Arab tribes, or the Twareg, 'the lords of the Sahara,' to induce them to oppose or impede the circulation of the Bible, since every Moslem has the highest respect and veneration for Torat, Elanbeyaw walangeel Saidna Asia, 'the law, the prophets, and the testament of our Lord Jesus.' We can also mention the name of a Mohammedan prince and that of a cadi, residing in an oasis of the Desert, who have actually already done much towards so desirable an object. Mr. Richardson, previous to his departure for Central Africa in 1849, drew up a paper, in which he says:—'Whilst endeavouring to excite the Christian Churches to dispute Central Africa with the Mohammedans, I would not assert that Africa has not benefitted by the introduction of Mohammedanism, I would not be guilty of such injustice, even to the followers of the false prophet of Mecca. The Mohammedans have introduced deism in contradistinction to fetichism, and the worship of many gods. They have abolished human sacrifices. They have limited and regulated polygamy, and so protected the rights of widows and children. They introduced principles of abstinence and moderation in living by the Ramadhan. They have also introduced reading and writing with the Arabic language, besides many other things which have raised the Africans from mere brute existence to social and political confederacies. But they have failed in teaching the knowledge of the true God, as revealed in the Christian Scriptures.'" It is just and generous to cite this testimony. The Committee add:—"Ignatius Pallme, a Bohemian, who travelled in Kordofan in the years 1837 and 1838, strongly urges European Societies to direct their attention to Central Africa. 'If they delay much longer,' he says, 'it will be too late, for when the negroes have once adopted the Koran, no power on earth can induce them to change their opinions. I have heard,' Pallme continues, 'that there are but few provinces in the interior of Africa, where Mohammedanism has not already begun to gain a footing.'" If the explorers and missionaries work in the spirit of these words, faithfully, patiently, and without offence, they will at least merit success.

*China*.—It is probable that many persons may experience some disappointment that the Committee have not made more rapid progress than they are now able to report in the distribution of the million copies of the Chinese New

Testament, for the supply of which so much zeal and liberality have everywhere been displayed. The Committee, in their last Report, expressed their "readiness to provide for any probable or even possible contingencies where the interests of such a mighty population are concerned." They wish it to be remembered that the carrying out of this important project is contingent chiefly on the opportunities that may occur by the country being opened to such distribution—also on the supply of Agents to effect it—for which our main dependence must be placed on the Missionary staff already in the country. In respect to the former, it is sufficiently known that no events have occurred in the course of the past year which essentially alter the political condition of the empire. The opportunities for unrestricted Scripture circulation seem to depend very much on the success of the revolutionary movement. But no very definite information has lately been received as to the course or the prospects of the insurgents. The Committee are fully prepared to avail themselves of every opportunity to prosecute the work the moment such opportunity occurs. But under existing circumstances, the Bishop of Victoria and the Missionaries on the field of labour are strongly of opinion that it is undesirable to hasten forward the printing of large numbers of Scriptures, which the country either is not open to receive, or not in possession of adequate agency to disseminate. The books would inevitably be injured, if not destroyed, by damp and insects.

As the first instalment, however, of the million copies, about 10,000 have already been distributed by the instrumentality of the various Missionaries. In order to give a further stimulus to the desired circulation, the Committee have voted the sum of £1000 for the purposes of colportage, whenever the services of additional Colporteurs can be advantageously secured.

The Corresponding Committee at Shanghai are proceeding with the printing of 115,000 copies of the New Testament—the portion assigned to them of the quarter of a million that was, in the first instance, agreed to be prepared. They are also engaged in printing 5000 copies of the Old Testament, as a first edition; and two volumes, containing the sacred books from Genesis to the Psalms, are completed. They have also been authorized to print 100,000 copies in the Colloquial Mandarin.—*Report of British and Foreign Bible Society.*

*State of China.*—The following interesting particulars have been received from a Correspondent in China—to whom we must leave the full responsibility of the views expressed about the "Rebels:"—"The attempts which Sir John Bowring has lately been making in China to obtain copies of the ancient Buddhist works introduced into that country by a succession of Chinese travellers who visited Hindostan, and for many centuries continued to inundate 'the flowery land' with translations from the Sanscrit, have led to many curious incidents. Several places have been discovered where the blocks exist from whence the Chinese text has been printed;—the largest collection, consisting of many thousand volumes, being in Peking. The Buddhist monks at Kiaking, in the province of Kiangsoo, possess a considerable number of the blocks, and have been induced by the offer of liberal sums of money from Sir John Bowring, to print off some copies of various works he has caused to be selected. Not long ago, the priest, with whom Sir John has been in correspondence, was sent for by the Tartar General commanding in the district, to answer the enquiry whether he had sold books—the gift of the Emperor of China—to foreigners,—the blocks having been originally sent by one of the ancient Chinese sovereigns to the monastery at Kiaking. The priest replied, that as the blocks had been deposited by Imperial favour, for the purpose of making known the doctrines of Buddhism to the whole world, he imagined that he, in assisting their distribution, was only giving effect to the gracious intention of the Son of Heaven. The excuse could not but be received; but an enemy of the priest who had endeavoured vainly to extort from him a portion of the money paid by Sir John Bowring, denounced the priest as a correspondent of Langsew-ping,—the Eastern King—a self declared Holy Ghost, of the Tae-ping-wang movement, averring that he had seen, in the street, a letter addressed by the rebel monarch to the Buddhist priest. But the accuser failed in establishing the

accusation, and the priest remained unmolested,—though, being the subject of suspicion, he is under the surveillance of the police. He is continuing to print the books purchased by Sir John Bowring; and this object is more interesting and important as the Nanking rebels destroy the libraries wherever they prevail. They will allow circulation to none but their own books, which are written in the most vulgar style, and an object of great contempt to the literary people of China. Indeed, were there no other impediment to the successful progress of the insurrection, and its final triumph, the utter absence of education in its leaders and followers would prevent it ever becoming popular among a people so proud as are the Chinese of their ancient sages and their sacred books."—*Athenæum*.

*American Hebrew Christian Association.*—A meeting has been held in New York for the organization of an American Hebrew Association. The Rev. W. Gallatin presided on the occasion, and the following resolutions were read and passed:—

*Whereas*, there exist in the United States several hundred highly respectable and intelligent Christian Jews, many of whom reside in New York city and places contiguous to it; and *whereas*, it is the firm belief of many of these Christian Jews, that the present signs of the times are such as call upon them to abandon their now isolated position, and organize an association consisting of sincere and long tried converts, having for its object the promotion of the spiritual interest of its members, the relief of those of their brethren who for confessing Christ are suffering want and distress, the stirring up of the dry bones of the house of Israel, and the arousing of the Christian Church to more earnest prayer and increased effort for the salvation of Judah; and,

*Whereas*, The annual meeting and public testimony of such a body of witnesses to the Messiahship of Jesus, and the setting aside by them of all the sectarian formulæ of the present day, knowing nothing among themselves save Jesus, their common Redeemer, and cherishing love to all that bear his image, by whatever name they may be called, would lead many of our Jewish brethren to examine the religion we profess:—such an association be now formed.

The Rev. John Neander adverted to the prevalent desire for the reclamation of their Jewish brethren, in which this organization had originated, the appropriateness of the time, and the immediate and lasting benefits that would accrue from any exertion made.

Mr. Morris Franklin, of Union College, dwelt on the "signs of the times," and combatted those arguments, which, if accepted, would incite inaction. On behalf of the Jews who were Christians, it was absurd to style them apostates. They cherished the same faith that inspired Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and their descendants, the Apostles. Nor was there any reason why Christian Jews should be dissociated from one another. There was reason to believe that if they were thus fraternally combined, and Christian efforts well directed, the Jews would come over to Christianity in great numbers.

G. K. Ledger, Esq., made reference to the vast number of eminent converted Jews in foreign countries.

The Rev. Mr. Harris was not disposed to regard the divisions among Christians as seriously interfering with the conversion of the Jews, the Hebrews themselves being divided into sects, such as the New School Talmudists and Anti-Talmudists. He adverted, as did the preceding speaker, to the great number converted during the last quarter of a century.

After the nomination of officers, the meeting adjourned.

*Gymnasia in Austria.*—According to the official reports for the years 1852-3, there are in the empire of Austria, 264 gymnasia, or colleges, for the advanced education of young men, preparatory to the various courses of study which the Universities offer. Of this number, 184 have the full complement of eight classes for the pupils, 49 have six classes, and 67 have four classes.

The languages which are used as the medium of instruction, are almost as various as those employed in the empire of Russia, notwithstanding the very much more limited boundaries of Austria. The language spoken in

75 gymnasia is German.	1 gymnasia is Czechisch.
70                   Magyar.	12               German and Magyar.
70                   Italian.	7                German and Czechisch.
5                    Slavonic.	6                German and Polish.
3                    Romanic.	3                German and Slavonic.
2                    Illyric.	

In the remaining ten gymnasia, two or more of the above languages are variously employed.

The number of teachers in all these institutions is 3,046, or an average of between eleven and twelve to every gymnasium. The number of scholars is 49,745; of whom 44,638 are public scholars, and the remaining 5,107 are private scholars, that is to say, have private teachers, who give instruction under the general directions of some gymnasium.

The scholars are classified according to their religious faith, as follows :

37,748 Roman Catholics.	1,854 Jews.
3,316 Greek Catholics.	39 Armenians.
2,509 Lutherans.	127 Unitarians.
2,608 Reformed Church.	

*Trübner's Bibliographical Guide to American Literature* contains a classified list of books in all departments of literature and science published in the United States during the last forty years. The arrangement is most distinct and convenient for reference, the publications being classed under the following heads : 1, Theology ; 2, Jurisprudence ; 3, Medicine and Surgery ; 4, Natural History ; 5, Philosophy and Mathematics ; 6, Education ; 7, Philology ; 8, Modern Languages ; 9, History ; 10, Geography ; 11, Military and Naval Sciences ; 12, Politics ; 13, Useful Arts ; 14, Belles Lettres ; 15, Fine Arts ; 16, Music ; 17, Freemasonry ; 18, Mormonism ; 19, Spiritualism ; 20, Guide Books, Maps, &c. ; 21, Periodicals. The books under each head are arranged in the alphabetical order of the names of the authors. The proportion of works in general literature, under the head of Belles Lettres, is smaller than we might have expected. The amount of literary contributions to newspapers we suppose partly accounts for this, and many of the volumes in the list first appeared in that form. The few works on Freemasonry, Mormonism, and Spiritualism, do not deserve the prominence of separate classification, and might be grouped, with other special publications, under the common head of Miscellaneous. An Appendix contains a list of American Libraries, an account of the Smithsonian Institution, with list of works published by its funds, and a notice of the American Exploring Expedition of 1838—1842, with the list of the magnificent series of works in which the results of that national undertaking are recorded. Some introductory chapters present a brief and comprehensive survey of American literature from the earliest period down to our own day, with notices of the present condition of book-publishing, and also of journalism in the States. To English readers much of the matter in this introduction will be new, and the volume altogether is an acceptable and useful publication. A copious Index facilitates reference to the Catalogue raisonné of published works.

*Ruins of the Alexandrian Library.*—It is stated in the *London News* that Captain Newnham, an Admiralty agent on the Southampton station, who had just returned from Alexandria, visited, while there, the ruins of the Alexandrian Library. A large mound in Alexandria has been believed for ages to mark the spot where once stood the famous library which was burned by the Caliph Omar. This mound is now in process of removal, and splendid houses are to be built on its site. While Captain Newnham was there, an immense stone of blue granite was dug out, which weighed several tons, and is covered with letters, apparently Coptic. The Captain was unable to take a tracing from these letters. Beneath the mound, the remains of a building, something like a starfort, has been discovered, and masses of double columns, also signs of water and of places

for heating. The brick work is of immense strength and thickness—the brick being not so thick as English ones, but longer and broader.

An immense number of Arab boys and girls were engaged in carrying away the rubbish in baskets. Captain Newnham picked up many curiosities there, such as pieces of conglomerated brick, mortar, and metal-work, bearing evident marks of having been fused together by intense heat. The Captain learned in Egypt that the French *savant* who discovered the buried city of Sôcarah, beyond Grand Cairo, was picking up an immense number of treasures for transportation to France.—*New York Churchman*.

*Eruption of Mount Vesuvius.*—Naples, May 22nd.—Prof. Palmieri, of the Observatory here, has made a valuable Report on the Eruption. It appears that the needles of the apparatus of Lamont, which had been slightly effected on the 29th of April, were greatly agitated on the 30th; and on the following day the eruption broke out. No fewer than ten craters opened in the course of a few hours, followed by many smaller ones, all throwing out lava and heated stones, accompanied by subterranean thunders and ruddy masses of smoke. These streams, descending into the plain, called the "Atrio del Cavallo," formed there a sea of fire, whose shores were on either side the mountain of Somma and the lava of 1850. The materials which formed this sea, swelling from moment to moment, at length poured into the "Fosso della Vetrana," forming that wonderful cascade of which I have spoken. The enormous quantity of lava, ever increasing, filled up the valley at the back of the Hermitage; and pouring into the "Fosso del Favaone," formed another cascade, and rolled down in the direction of several townships in the valley. Early in the progress of the eruption, the lava was 100 palms in depth; and it was considered that if another such an accumulation took place, which certainly has now happened, the Hermitage and the Observatory would be in danger. In fact, they have been vacated, and the instruments removed. The precise number of craters it will be impossible to determine till all is tranquil. The same may be said of the materials ejected; though we have observed chloride of iron, gaseous matter destructive to life, and muriatic acid gas.

The magnetic apparatus of Lamont was used by Prof. Palmieri on the occasion of the earthquake of Melfi; and the results were such as to induce him to think that it would not be mute, as the event has proved, on the occasion of an eruption of a volcano. Anticipating, as it has done, such a catastrophe by several days, it is one of the most beautiful and convincing proofs of the practical applicability of science to the service of human beings that modern days has furnished us with. How many lives might have been saved,—how many may yet be saved by the needles of Lamont!

Passing from magnetism to electricity. Prof. Palmieri says, that on the first day of the eruption observations were impossible; but on the clouds clearing off, he ascertained that there was a great tension of positive electricity, which increased considerably on the fall of some ashes on the evening of the 2nd inst. In general, the electricity was always stronger when the wind blew towards the Observatory. It manifested itself very vigorously to the moveable conductor, not always to the fixed conductor; "and during the fall of the ashes," he says, "I verified a curious fact, which I have observed during the fall of rain also, that whilst with the moveable conductor we had positive electricity, with the fixed conductor a faint, negative electricity was observed." During the course of the greater quantity of lava in the "Fosso della Vetrana," on the north of the Observatory, the thermometer stood 8° higher than on the opposite side of the building. The humidity has been various during the eruption—sometimes there being a difference of 6° or 7° between the thermometers of the Psicrometer of August. The barometer during the first days was very low, at 701; it then began to ascend, and on the 5th was 710. The wind has been changeable from east to west, by the direction of the south,—often being excessively vehement for a few hours, followed by an unusual calm. The smoke has emitted the usual odour.

The lava, after falling into the Fosso del Favaone, progressed from that

point as from the apex of an angle, in two directions,—one bearing down on the townships of Cercola, St. Sebastiano, and Massi di Somma; the other, at a later period, in the direction of St. Giorgio a Cremano, and St. Jovio, close to Portici. The first branch being the earliest in order of time, I speak now of that. On the 10th inst., the lava had arrived within 3,850 palms of Cercola; on the next day it advanced 500 palms more, and there it has remained almost stationary; whilst during the last ten days the mountain has been pouring down its greatest fury by the other branch towards St. Jovio. As I had already been to the summit of Vesuvius, and watched the lava running rapidly down the sides, then flowing through a plain, and then hurling itself over a precipice until it was lost to the eye—I conceived a strong desire of intercepting the fiery monster in its course, coming face to face with him, and watching his every movement. To do so it was necessary to diverge from the road by Portici, and make the *détour* of the mountain on the north; and instead of performing any extraordinary feat, I found that I was but one of tens of thousands who were all bent in the same direction. The first evening of my visit was on a Sunday, when the peasantry of all the country round for many miles had assembled to look at the river of fire, and perhaps as much at the living stream of human beings flowing in from Naples. The bridge of Cercola was then passable, the villages in the neighbourhood were still open, and emerging from the last a few yards brought us face to face with the lava. It was pent within the deep banks of a wide bed, and was flowing down, not like a fluid, which is the ordinary motion of it, but like a mountain of coke, or at times like highly gaseous coal. It split, and crackled, and sparkled, and smoked, and flamed up, and ever moved on in one vast compact body. Pieces detaching themselves rolled down, leaving behind a glare so fierce that I could have imagined myself at the mouth of an iron furnace; and as every mass fell down with the noise of thunder, or rolled sideways from the upper surface into the gardens and vineyards, the trees flamed up, and the crowds uttered shouts of admiration and regret.

Nor was it the lava only which seemed bent on the work of destruction; for in every direction resounded the axe of the wood-cutter, and masters and men were cutting down trees and pulling up vines in those grounds which the fire was approaching. In some places they were too late, as a general conflagration told us. It often happened, too, that careless fellows broke off the end of their torches, which, falling on the dried-up grass, quickly burnt up all the undergrowth. Following the course of the stream, or rather tracing it back to its source, we walked by the side of that huge leviathan, through highly-cultivated grounds, now trodden under the feet of multitudes, until we arrived at the edge of a precipice, whence we looked into the boiling flood, fed by the cascade of lava, which was pouring down from above. The sublimity of that spectacle is indescribable; and were I to live the life of Methuselah, the impression it made upon me would never be obliterated. I can think of nothing else; and when I close my eyes, still that stream of fire dazzles my sight. Full 1,000 feet fell that glowing, flaming Niagara, in one unbroken sheet, over the precipice at the back of the Hermitage and the Observatory. Forming, at first, two cascades, the interval between had been filled up by the immense masses of scoræ, which the mountain had thrown out; and now it majestically rolled down one continued stream into a lake of boiling fire, and then descended into the plains which it had left. There were times when projections in the face of the lava seemed to impede its course, or when the adhesive character of it appeared to bind it up in a temporary rigidity; then, behind those projections, accumulated tons upon tons of material. It was a moment of breathless expectation:—all eyes were fixed upon that one blackened spot. There was a slight movement:—one heard a click; a few ashes and stones fell down like *avant-courriers*, and down went a mountain of solid fire into the boiling, smoking abyss, with the noise of thunder. The heat and the glare of light were at such times almost insufferable; and partly to avoid it, and partly as if the mightily fall had communicated its movement to us, we all waved back as by one impulse. The branch on the right, which has since flowed down to St. Jovio, in the direction of Portici, was there only an infant rivulet, stealing on its insidious course through

a wood of chesnut-trees, and wrapping them all in flame. Alas ! how much injury has it since occasioned,—how many trees teeming with the promise of fruit and the grape has it laid low,—how much land has it covered with tons and tons of scorias, whereon nothing more will grow for a century but the hardy cactus. In some places a hundred, in others two or three hundred, and in one place a thousand feet in width, it rises to the height of one or two hundred feet, and even more. We walked by what was a week ago a deep, though dry, watercourse, and looked like pigmies up to the top of the mountain of lava by our side; and this mountain was not one single excrescence on the face of the earth, it was a portion only of that marvellous river which, issuing from the side of the cone, ran through the valley by the Hermitage, broke over that precipice of one thousand feet in depth, and then dividing itself into two branches terminated a course of eight or nine miles in face of five or six flourishing and populous villages in the plain. From St. Jovio the summer residents have fled, and taken their furniture with them. At Cercola and Massa, at the termination of the other branch, a bridge has been cut away so as not to impede the free course of the lava; several houses have been removed for the same reason, and several have been either swept entirely away or half surrounded. In this state things remained till Sunday last; a kind of armistice had been established between the mountain, on the one hand,—and the Saints, Ferdinand the Second, the bones of St. Rocco, and the Cardinal, on the other. On Sunday last, however, above all other days, the mountain broke the armistice, and the lava has been galloping, not flowing, down ever since. As it flows, however, over the hardened lava of last week, the danger is not imminent; but if it continues, woe to Cercola and Massa. In the St. Jovio direction it does not flow. Again the interest is reviving; Vesuvius presents a more magnificent spectacle than ever, and crowds still throng the best points of view at night, or run down to the mountain.

*Athenæum.*

H. W.

*The late Dr. Kitto.*—Prospectuses have been issued for a Life of Dr. Kitto, by Mr. Ryland of Northampton. It will contain much of autobiographical matter, his Diary kept in Persia and other parts of the East, and a fine portrait. It will be published by subscription for the benefit of Dr. Kitto's family, and names are received by Messrs. Oliphant and Son, Edinburgh. Price, large paper, 21s., small paper, 12s.

*Widow Burning.*—Mr. Bushby, who was formerly in the East India Company's Civil Service, in a narrative just printed, gives a description of the horrible rite of Suttee, with a narrative of the successive steps taken for its abolition, and a statement of the present feeling and practice on the subject. It is not generally known that the legislation of Lord William Bentinck, in 1829, extended directly only to about thirty-seven millions of the population of India, and indirectly to about nineteen millions more, leaving at least twenty-one millions under native princes who still encouraged the horrid ceremony. Since that period many of the Rajpoot states, through the generous exertions of Colonel Ludlow, have abolished the rite; and more recently, as explained in a supplementary chapter, a heavy blow and great discouragement to the practice has been given by Professor Wilson's demonstration that the practice is forbidden in the ancient Hindu writings, and is an unorthodox as well as cruel innovation upon the doctrines of the venerated Vedas. When the text of the Rig-Veda is translated into the dialects of northern India, there is every hope that the horrid rite will be for ever abolished. Mr. Bushby's narrative will be read with much interest, both as a historical record and as an encouragement to the exertions of Christian philanthropists.

*Dr. David Strauss.*—This famous controversialist (Author of *The Life of Jesus*), has retired, we are told, from theological polemics, and has devoted himself to literary pursuits of a more peaceable nature. He is making minute and valuable researches as to the lives of the older poets and artists of his



Swabian fatherland; and after having published some years since a very interesting biography of Schubart, the patriotic prisoner of the Hohen-Asperg, he is now preparing a work on the old Wurtemberg poet, Frischlin, who, after having been incarcerated for his various vehement writings in the Castle of Hehen-Urach, tried to escape, but in scaling one of the high walls broke his skull, and died in the attempt. Revolutionary characters, it appears, are still most attractive to the learned Doctor, even after having retired himself from the scene of agitation. Monographies of this kind, however cannot fail to be of the greatest use to the history of German literature in general.

In the Press, and shortly will be published, "The Benefit of Christ's Death;" probably written by Aonio Paleario: reprinted in fac-simile from the Italian Edition of 1543; together with a French Translation printed in 1551; from copies in the Library of St. John's College, Cambridge: to which is added an English Version, made in 1548, by Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, now first edited from a Manuscript preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge. With an Introduction by Churchill Babington, B.D. F.L.S., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, and Member of the Royal Society of Literature.

Though many thousands of the work on the Benefits bestowed by Christ were disseminated, not one was suffered to escape: the book entirely disappeared, and is no longer to be found.—RANKE.

The inquisitors proscribed it, and it is now as hopelessly lost as the second decade of Livy.—MACAULAY.

*Proposal for the Publication of a Translation of Bengel's Gnomon of the New Testament.*—At the solicitation of many friends, Messrs. Clark are induced to issue proposals for the publication of a translation of the above invaluable work, so well known to all students of the New Testament.

They need say little of the merits of a work which, published more than a century ago, has passed through numerous editions, which has been a magazine from which almost all subsequent commentators have liberally borrowed, and which, even now, at the present advanced stage of theological science, is considered by all competent to give an opinion, to be as valuable as ever. To use the language of Archdeacon Hare, "It is a work which manifests the most intimate and profound knowledge of Scripture, and which, if we examine it with care, will often be found to condense more matter into a line than can be extracted from many pages of other writers."

It is calculated that the translation may be published in Five Volumes, Demy 8vo., of about 500 pp., which would be supplied (to Subscribers only), for 28s.

As it would require about 3000 Subscribers adequately to remunerate at such a price, it must be distinctly understood that the translation will not be commenced till the Publishers receive at least 1500 names; and although, in the event of the work proceeding, Subscribers will be supplied by their booksellers, it is obvious that, in order to ascertain fully the measure of support the work is likely to receive, all names should in the first instance be forwarded direct to the Publishers, or that, at all events, their booksellers be specially requested to do so.

It is believed that, in numerous instances, especially among the wealthy laity, one individual will subscribe for several copies, in order to present them to friends among the clergy or theological students. It is hoped that all who wish to encourage the work will forward their names as speedily as possible to the Publishers.

In conclusion, Messrs. Clark pledge themselves, that if the work proceeds, the translation will be executed in a scholarlike manner, so as to retain as much as possible the clearness and conciseness of the original.

All final arrangements will be afterwards announced.

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